5¢

PAUL ROBESON
SPEAKS TO YOUTH

PAUL ROBESON is known and loved in our country and throughout the world, both as a leader of the Negro people and as a great concert artist. He has just launched a new newspaper, "Freedom", which is in the forefront of the Negro liberation movement in the United States.

The present administration in Washington fears his voice for peace and freedom so much that he has been denied a passport to travel abroad. And on the occasion of the World Peace Congresss in Europe last November, his son, Paul Jr. an elected delegate, was also denied a passport, thus joining his father under virtual house arrest.

This pamphlet contains an address delivered by Mr. Robeson to the giant public session of the First National Convention of the Labor Youth League on Nov. 24, 1950. Despite denial of one hall for the meeting, despite provocations and attempted intimidation by fascist-minded hoodlums, more than 5,500 young people packed St. Nicholas Arena for one of the most inspiring and successful youth rallies in recent years.

I am happy and proud to take part in this first National Convention of the Labor Youth League. I am glad that my son and daughter are a part of your vital organization and are working, through it, to make their own contribution to a world of peace, friendship, and security.

You know, and I know, that there are people in our country who are NOT happy about your meeting. They want you to be quiet while they herd you off to fight the youth of Korea, China, Indonesia and Malaya, the youth of the Soviet Union and the New Democracies—and, sooner or later, the youth of Africa.

They want you to sit still while the Stassens and Eisenhowers turn the universities into barracks and bludgeon your young, inquiring minds into a meek conformity with the policies of the war-minded, the racists, and the rich.

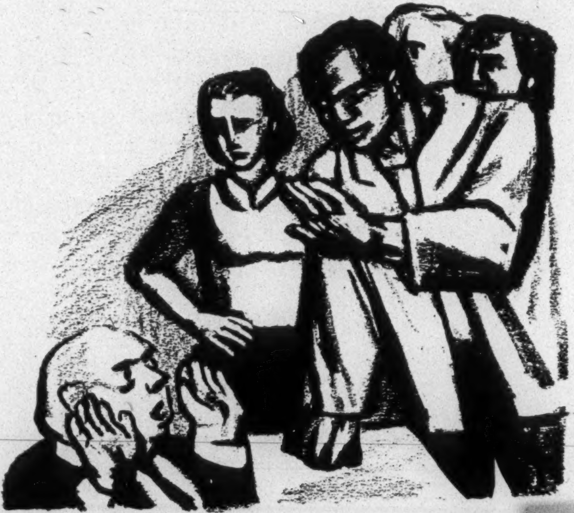
They want you to grow into a union-busting, scabbing generation in order to insure their dominance over labor and their ever-mounting, fantastic profits.

They want young America to absorb the anti-Negro and anti-Semitic poison which their hack writers turn out in textbooks and newspapers and radio and movie script—all for the glory of what they call the American way of life.

But YOU say, No!

You say, No more war! Books not bullets! Bread, not cannon! Life, not death!

You say, Peace! Friendship with the youth of the Soviet Union, of the New Democracies and all of Europe, of China and the East, of Africa and the West Indies, Latin America and Canada.



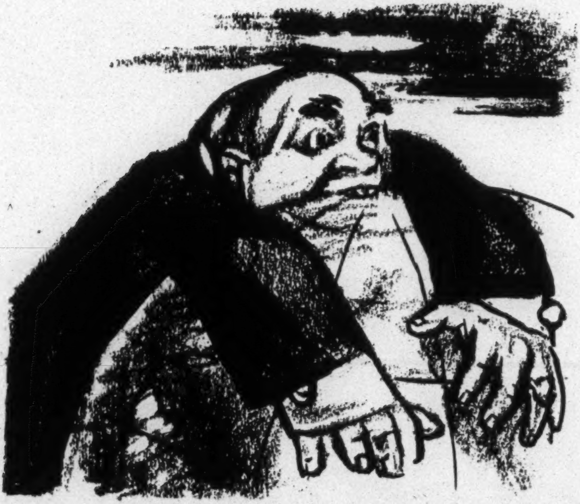
You say strengthen the trade unions as a means of securing abundance for the nation and security for the youth—apprenticeship training, adequate education, a chance for marriage without the spectre of poverty, a well-rounded and fruitful youth and young adulthood.

You say friendship, fraternity and equality of black and white. You say Negro and white youth cannot and must not live in the same land as strangers, or as enemies—that their common future depends upon their common action, their learning to build the future together, their social intermingling.

Thus is the issue joined between you and the men of the trusts and monopolies.

An increasing number of the American people know that you are right and they are wrong; that the future belongs to the youth.

For the big money men among us, and the politicians whom they control, are set in their ways. They are accustomed to a certain way of life and they do not possess the flexibility to change even though they see the handwriting on the wall.



They began at the turn of the century, in the war with Spain out of which they grabbed Puerto Rico—and even before that in the predatory Mexican war a hundred years ago—they began then dreaming dreams of empire and world domination and the white man's burden.

And in a hundred years they have not changed that dream. It has become a fixation with them.

But the people of the world have decided to make it a nightmare, to take their affairs into their own hands, to live in freedom, self-determination and security wherever they may be.

And then, after the bloody anti-fascist war of the '40's, the people of the Balkans said, "Our part of the world must no longer be a fuse to light the fires of war. We will transform it from a hell-hole of misery to an earthly paradise, from a tinderbox to a fraternity of peaceful lands." And so the new socialist-directed democracies arose in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria and Albania.

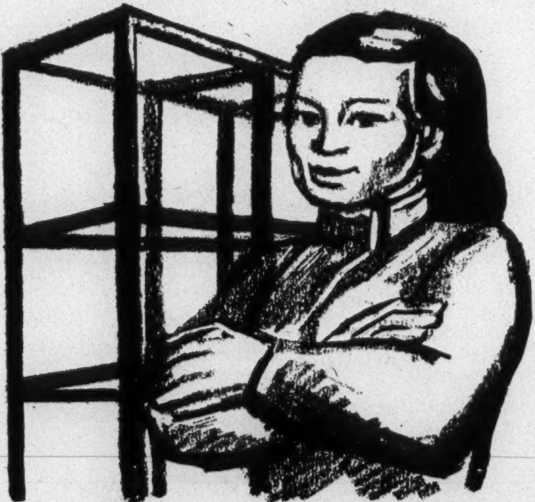
And the imperialists again tried to put down the tide—through the Truman Doctrine in Greece, the wasting of the taxpayer's money in Turkey, the Marshall Plan all over Europe, the Atlantic Pact, the rearmament and renazification of Western Germany, insults, lies and threats of war.

But again the people would not be browbeaten—even by the threat of the atomic bomb—and the people of Eastern Europe have gone ahead to reconstruct their shattered lands and buildings, strengthen their economies and enjoy their new life.

With the Soviet Union out of their grasp —one sixth of the earth's surface—and Eastern Europe established on a new basis of independence, American big business sought desperately to extend their holdings in the rest of the world. For they need the sources of cheap labor, the easy markets and the fields of investments in which to multiply the idle profits they have already wrung out of the toil-broken bodies of American workers, black and white.

Thirty-three years ago they decided in Russia that their economy, their culture and their very lives would no longer be the playthings of coupon-clippers, foreign or domestic, and the people set out to build socialism. Lincoln Steffens saw the future there and said it worked, but the old empire builders were frightened and tried to stop it with 19 armies of intervention. They failed and were crushed upon the rock of the determination and the courage of a new Soviet people—but they have never stopped trying.

But soon there was another great rumbling in the world. And 475 million Chinese patriots said, "No more easy profits for you in our land, no more extra-territorial rights, no more insults and degradation for us! We will determine our future in our own way in spite of all the Trumans, Dulles, Achesons, McArthurs or Chiang Kai-sheks whom you can marshall against us. And with their victorious, liberating war, the Chinese people began in earnest the transformation of all of Asia from a condi-



tion of dependence and unbelievable poverty to one of freedom, dignity and security.

No wonder our atom-toting politicians have had few nights of easy rest or calm conscience these past five years since the end of the anti-Hitler war. No wonder our diplomacy has sunk to such unprecedented low levels and our statesmen seek the answer to the world's problems in vain braggadocio, childish threats and, sometimes, when no other solution presents itself, in suicide.

As I have said, they are men of the past. And, faced with a world which is changing because it must, they shout, "Stand still! Don't move an inch, lest you disturb our profits! Remain in your present poverty and ignorance and disease and misery, because we like it that way! If you insist on changing things, we'd rather not have a world at all. If we must live with you as equals, we'll call it quits and blow the whole world up with our weapons! We have the atom bomb, you know!"

But you, the youth of the land, are here to answer, "Oh, no you won't! You may be tired, and afraid of a democratic world, but we, the youth, are not. We are young and the world, for us, is young. We have a future before us and it shall not be denied. So put your bombs away, sit down and talk peace—or be prepared to move aside for those who will."

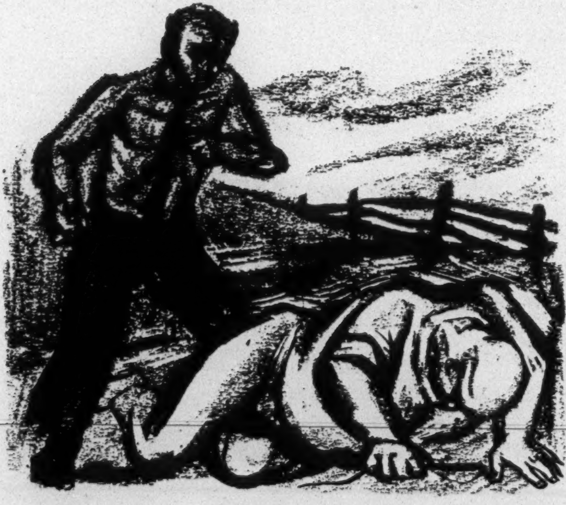
That's why big business and big brass fear the Labor Youth League. Your very existence pricks their conscience, reminds them of their sins against the welfare of the nation, increases their fear that they may not have their way much longer as they have had in all these years.

And that's why progressive America salutes you, rallies to your side, sees in you the guarantors of our early victory over fascism, war and race hatred.

I hope that you will bear in mind as you proceed with this convention and with your activities of the next year, that you are acting in the best tradition of the young generations which have preceded you at every critical moment of our history.

The Jefferson who wrote the Declaration of Independence was 32. The bulk of the men with Washington at Valley Forge were teenagers and young men in their early twenties from Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont.

Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner were young men when they struck for freedom. And the incomparable Frederick Douglass was still a boy when he whipped the slave-breaker Covey, still a minor when he broke from Baltimore for freedom, and was the outstanding figure on the anti-slavery platform in the United States and in England as a young man of 29.



I know that you will sweep aside—and that hundreds of thousands of American youth will join you in rejecting the backward creed that "youth should be seen, not heard," that you should leave world affairs in the hands of pot-bellied, addle-headed, jingoistic elders.

Quite the opposite, you must insist, and the whole progressive movement in America must support your contention, that the peace cannot be won, that fascism cannot be defeated, without the proper and vital contribution of the young generation of mid-century Americans.

I certainly know that the affairs of my people, the Negro people, must increasingly be placed into the hands of the forward-looking young men and women among us—and those of us older folks who share their young ideas.

No finer demonstration of this fact is needed than the role of Negro youth in the last great war against fascist brutality and in the years which have followed.

I hope that the Labor Youth League will be foremost among those in America who welcome and commemorate the glorious part which Negro young men and women are playing in our common struggles.

Let us remember, that in a lynch-ridden land, the first victims of mob violence are the young and hopeful—the Negro youth of the South (and the North, too) who have not yet learned—and I hope they will never learn—to "stay in their place"!

Remember the young couples—veterans and their wives—shot down in broad daylight at Monroe, Georgia, in July, 1946!

Remember the 19-year old Navy veteran at Columbia, Tennessee, who saw a white-supremacist of a storekeeper slap his mother in the face and decided that that was what he had fought a war to stop—and so knocked the white women-beater through a plate glass window, to protect his mother's honor. That, too was 1946, and as result Klan-inspired vandals killed the kin and sacked the homes of that young veteran in Columbia's ghetto.

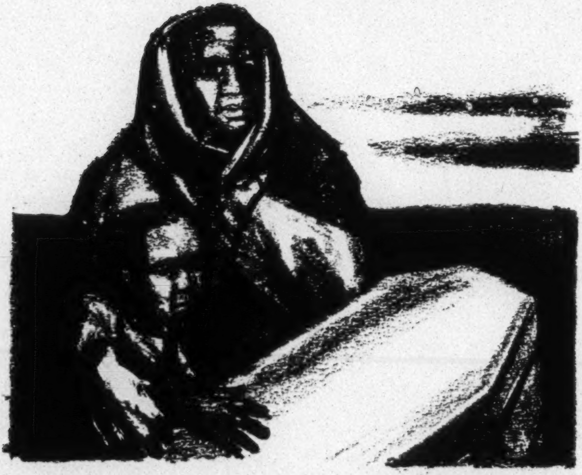
And let's remember, also in '46, Isaac Woodard, with his eyes gouged out because a South Carolina sheriff didn't like the idea of Negroes taking the war and its promises seriously.

And in the same South Carolina, Willie Earle lies dead, horribly lynched by 28 self-confessed murderers who were set free by a jury of so-called free men.

And when we think of sovereign Georgia we cannot forget the youth—the children of Mrs. Ingram who still suffer in bondage because they had the militancy and courage, and the humanity, to defend their mother's sacred honor.

And Georgia has given us also a classic and monumental reminder of the temper and determination of Negro youth in the person of Maceo Snipes. He was of age and so went to vote as every citizen should. The Klansmen shot him down. And his mother, at his funeral, placed the hand of a younger child on his casket and had him swear that when he came of age he, too, would go to vote.

And on September 8, 1948, when we were in the thick of the campaign for a man named



Wallace, who seems to have forgotten all this—forgotten his trip through the South and the face of American bestiality which was revealed there—on that September 8th another young Negro, Isaiah Nixon went to vote in the Georgia primaries in Montgomery County. And he, too, was shot down when he returned to the doorsteps of his little farming shack.

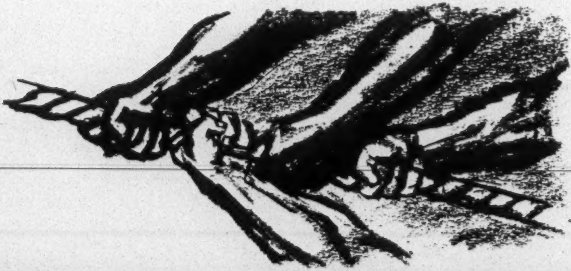
These heroes are but the outstanding exemplars of a generation of Negro youth who are ready to pay any price for freedom NOW. They sense that their hour is at hand—after all the heartbreaking toil of their parents, after all the generations of slavery, hardship, abuse and second-class citizenship which they and their people have suffered in this great land—they know that the hour of real liberation is near and that much depends on them.

They know that if they fight now, and fight well, the segregated school will soon be a thing of the past, the NO JOBS FOR NEGROES signs will become historic relics, the Jim Crow swimming pools and playgrounds, the closed doors of professional and technical institutions, will soon be an unpleasant memory among Americans who live a real democracy.

Most important of all they know that these goals will not be achieved simply because they ought to be achieved. They have learned well the admonition of Douglass, that "Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never has and it never will."

And so they, in the mass (not just a few advanced thinkers among them, not only the members of the LYL) but in the mass they are fast making up their minds that the place to fight for democracy and win is not against their young friends in Korea, China or the Soviet Union, but right where they've been fighting these last five years—in Mississippi, in Georgia, Tennessee, Texas and the Carolinas, and yes, in California, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New York, too.

These Negro youth, then, must be regarded as invaluable sinews in the arsenals of any fighting organization of young Americans. I'm sure that you know that we cannot win without them and that with them fully and freely functioning in the membership and leadership of all our movements for progress, it's hard to see how we can lose.



I think the State Department must have had some inkling of this important historic fact when they refused to let numbers of the youth, including my own son, travel to Europe for the great World Peace Congress. For why should this proud and powerful American government be afraid of these youth? Could it be they feared they would transmit to the people of the world this burning desire of American youth, especially American Negro youth, for freedom and the good life?

Could it be they did not dare permit these youth to express their feeling of kinship with the dark-skinned youth of the colonies which Negro youth in America feel so keenly?

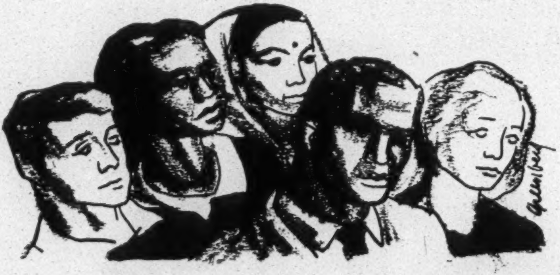
Could it be they were afraid that my son Pauli, for example, who spent a number of years of his childhood and youth in the Soviet Union, would certainly give the lie to the fantastic fabrication that the Soviet government and people are war-minded imperialists? Could it be they wanted to prevent his saying from a world platform that, in his own knowledge, the people of the Soviet Union have abolished race hate and made any expression of it punishable by law, have wiped out poverty, have built a land in which people whose colors are as varied as those of all of us in this auditorium live in peace, friendship and a society of flourishing independent cultures.

I can think of no reason so cogent as as these for the desperate and pitiful action of the State Department in having these youth join several of us here in their despicable program of "house arrests." But I promise you that they shall not succeed. I don't think they're going to keep the voice of any of the democratic, peace-loving people of this country from resounding all over Europe, Asia and Africa, and all up and down this land of ours.

Like Ol' Man River, I plan to keep fighting until I'm dying—or until my people are free.

And I'm sure nothing will stop the Labor Youth League from strengthening its organization, building the solidarity of the youth, and fighting for a land that's really free, in which men live in brotherhood, in security and in peace.

I look forward to the months and years ahead, in which you and I will find many occasions to join hands in pursuit of our common goals.



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Jerome. Dr. Ward

1. [American-Soviet Friendship] 1951

I am proud to be here to-night —
proud to be a member of this organization
devoted to friendship between the United States
~~U. States~~ ~~[illegible]~~ and the Soviet Union.

In these days of stress and struggle it
is necessary that our friends across
the seas & our friends in many
parts of the earth, know ~~that~~
there is a very important section of our
nation which understands the world in
which we live: which ~~kn~~ recognizes
~~that~~ ~~thus~~ this is a world of decisive and change,
that the roads to ~~freedom~~ are many &
that ~~the~~ freedom for ~~[illegible]~~ the millions must ~~prevail~~ prevail.
and that to secure not war ~~and~~
~~that~~ Peace
whatever the attempted confusion of the Dulles's or the McArthurs, this section is
the base America & the intelligence of men who do not speak for us.

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2.

~~[illegible]~~ up & down this Land, all People of varying faiths & varying political beliefs, youth, women who want life not death, masses of workers & the great body of the Negro People — they want Peace! ~~they w[illegible]~~ They eagerly look (in an atmosphere of hysteria & terror) for some way to express their deep desires.

¶ No, this is not the America of the ~~Dulles's~~ & the McArthur's — ~~but~~ not the ~~America~~ of the cruel, of the evil forces which would turn back the march of men & women toward a new liberation. No, this America ~~[illegible]~~ which we here ~~[illegible]~~ represent is the America of ~~the~~ those who through our history have been the guarantors of ~~[illegible]~~ and the defenders of our ~~illustrious~~ tradition & dream of freedom & equality.

3.

This struggle in which we are to-day engaged has been ~~a~~ long ~~and~~ and continuous. For millions of us, white & black, it has ~~a~~ been a struggle ~~often~~ ~~the~~ bitterly waged ~~[illegible]~~ for the most basic ~~—~~ for the simplest rights of citizenship; for secure standards of living, — often for survival. For it is the ~~people~~ — Irish, Scotch immigrants & English indentured servants — ~~[illegible]~~; brave from Central & Eastern Europe; Jewish People from all parts of the world; Puerto Ricans & workers from the West Indies, and all through our history, ~~[illegible]~~ Mexicans, Latin-Americans; from before Columbus: the Negro people — These are the ones upon whose unpaid ~~[illegible]~~ — toil, and from ~~[illegible]~~ upon whose backs ~~[illegible]~~ the basic wealth of this nation was built.

People like ourselves in other parts of the world have taken their destiny into their own hands. They build to-day not for the few, but for the many. They create for the individual, but for a new kind of human being-living at a higher level. They use ~~the~~ the newly discovered scientific power for [illegible] not to destroy abundance & plenty— ~~centuries-old~~ achievements, humanity's hard-won to decide #

¶ To-day we are helping to decide whether we shall have fascist brute rule or equality & friendship among peoples & nations;— the enslavement of master race theories or liberty and ~~&~~ freedom for the American people, ~~especially~~ particularly the Negro people, and their colonial allies throughout the world.

And we of America have a grave responsibility. For in the years since the end of the War, the American ~~trusts~~ and the government they control have everywhere moved against the People who are trying to break thru to liberation. To-day these neo-Fascists ~~[illegible]~~ move with arms against the brave People of Korea, ~~and~~ they threaten ~~not only~~ the Indo-Chinese, the People of the Malay States, and — very hesitatingly to be sure — dare to challenge ~~with~~ ~~[illegible]~~ the mighty Chinese People's Revolution —

These acts cry out to the world that our nation, these U. States, born in a ~~[illegible]~~ battle for freedom against tyranny ; ~~[illegible]~~, ~~[illegible]~~ has fair to become itself the first enemy of freedom — the chief tyrant of the mid-century world.

6

These evil men by their deeds ~~[illegible]~~ warn more than half the world's population who people the vast continents of Asia Africa, & South America ~~that~~ until the course of our foreign policy is changed they can no longer look to this government for help in their battles for a new independent life. And so with the masses of Western Europe. There they signed the Stockholm ~~peace~~ appeal in the tens of millions. They serve notice ~~they~~ ~~[illegible]~~ that no war-mongers here, in the U. States ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ can plunge the world into self destruction. The peoples of the world meet to-day in Warsaw in a great peoples Republic, to fashion the means of Peace — a peace we, decent americans, ~~[illegible]~~ must implement to the full.

~~It~~ will be our ~~task~~ to mobilize [redacted] the real America we know ~~exists~~ — mobilize it ~~lt~~ by reaching deep down into the masses of the workers white & black, exposing the false supposed leaders of labor and of progress ~~that~~ ought — whether it be a Murray or a ~~Green~~, ~~the~~ ~~or~~ whether it be a Reuther, ~~or~~ whether the ~~The~~ a Wallace who has deserted ~~the~~ the American people at their time of greatest need ~~#~~ and daily moves ~~#~~ further war-mongering further into the camp of the ~~ca~~ " " enemies. ~~whfff~~ who will use him and finally fling him aside in utter contempt.

¶ Our ~~duty~~ is to hold fast and firm to accept courageously our historic tasks of helping to preserve our own democracy and peacefully to work with the new democracies springing up all over this earth. We either join in friendship or we will be left behind. For in every subject land, in every dependent area, hundreds of millions have set their eyes upon new stars that rise in the East & they have chosen as models for their conduct & aspirations the brave people & stalwart leaders of the Soviet Socialist Republics; of the new Peoples Democracies of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania; of the new North Korean Republic seeking to unify a long-suffering people;

9. [9]

~~[illegible]~~ of the Republic of the Chinese People & gifts ~~[illegible]~~ And they say to ~~the~~ our atom-toting Politicians:— Send your guns & Tanks & Planes ~~to~~ our oppressors if you will; we will take them away from them & put them to our own use— we will be free in spite of you if not with your help!

This challenge of the Colonial world has deep meaning for the Negro peoples of the world. Africa, source of ~~4,000~~ thousands of tons of uranium annually—for the U. States; source of 1/2 of world's gold, 1/5 of its manganese, 80% of chrome, 60% of its cocoa— of its cobalt, offers untold wealth to the world—but how? ~~Africa among~~ already as it does under the strains of imperialists the deepest ~~of~~ Poverty & ~~deg~~ human misery, Africa—

10.

But the African Peoples are moving rapidly to change their unbearable conditions. And 200 million Africans on that great continent are an important part of the eternal tidal wave ~~[illegible]~~ that is washing upon the shores of history and breaking thru the ramparts of ~~[illegible]~~ imperialist rule everywhere. It was an important day ~~where~~ in the history of the world when laboring men + women ~~exp~~ exploited there – these African workers – railroad men, miners, Mechanics, sharecroppers + craftsmen, factory workers – clasped hands ~~groups~~ with white, brown, yellow, + other black workers ~~hands~~ around the world + formed the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The masses of the American Negro People are sullen – they are not being fooled by attempts to measure their misery by the gifts to a few. They "laugh to keep from crying" when they hear would-be leaders chosen by their age-long oppressors explain that all is well with the Negro People — that they are doing just fine.

¶ No, they look at the ghettoes. They look at Southern plantations. They recall the daily insults. They look at their brothers & sisters on the West Indian sugar plantations. They look at a United Nations which harbors a South Africa headed by a Malan.

¶ And they gather their strength.

12

no ¶ They want for courageous, militant leadership. They await an ~~[illegible]~~ honest Program ~~[illegible]~~ devoted to their liberation. They await ~~[illegible]~~ the outstretched hands ~~[illegible]~~ of their allies of all colors in a common struggle for full democracy in the land of their birth.

They saw the beginning of such a ~~supposed~~ liberation in the Civil War days of their struggle, ~~[illegible]~~ and in the contemporary triumph of unions in steel, at Peekskill in the vigor of the Wallace fever, and in many struggles of labor for its rightful share of the wealth it alone creates.

We must find — and we are finding — the organizational means to mobilize the Negro people for an America of the People, this tremendous Power for Peace. —

13

For an America which will recognize ~~that~~ Colonial Peoples are going to have Freedom, not new slavery — which will recognize ~~that~~ to-day, as in China, so ~~of~~ to-morrow great parts of Africa will demand & ~~take~~ their long awaited Freedom. Thenceforth ~~&~~ ~~to~~ maintain it & ~~to~~ ~~that~~ No power will hold them back. ~~the~~ The American reaction can tell those Colored Peoples of the ~~World~~ not to be friends with the Soviet Union. For Peoples of the [illegible] they ~~hear~~ get to ~~k~~now of the vast changes in this land —

14

They see as ~~do~~ many of their ~~their &~~ Peoples of their
own kind building a life — undreamed
of while they still live in poverty
& subjection — in some cases just across the border of
Iraq ~~[illegible]~~ or
whether it be Iran
Japan. To ~~the~~ ~~Peoples of~~ Far
many of the Peoples of the Soviet Union
are colored. They were in bondage
before 1917. Within one generation
they have become Peoples Republics —
full citizens of and equal partners ~~the other colored Peoples~~
in this 1/6 of the earth.
The other colored Peoples want to know these ~~[illegible]~~ Soviet Peoples better.
They want to learn and to receive
the benefits of such a society and a decent life
And they want to enjoy ~~[illegible]~~ some abundance based on savings — not destruction in an atomic war.

So ~~wo~~men American who are in the vanguard must not be frightened by ~~[illegible]~~ anyone.

What a travesty in the last election: Tydings, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Bowles ~~[illegible]~~ defeated for being ~~too~~ the Communist, Really ~~to some lady [illegible]~~. But it showed the American people how gullible they have become.

As for the basic issue, Americans must recognize that there are millions & millions of people in the world ~~&~~ hundreds of millions who are Communists & ~~tools~~ of millions who proudly advance under Communist leadership.

I ~~have~~ ~~[illegible]~~ had the privilege of seeing Partisans the liberty-loving, Peace-seeking and the in many Europe parts of the world; it is also true that many are not, many are Communists.

They represent a new way of life in the world, a new way that has won the allegiance of almost half the world's population. In the last war they were the first to die in nation after nation. They were the heart of the underground ~~[illegible]~~ anti-fascist movements, and city after city in Europe displays monuments to their heroism. They need no apologies. They have been & are the solid core of the struggle for freedom.

Rather than be ~~timid~~ afraid ~~to [illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ if together with all others american progressives & left would rally to ~~[illegible]~~ american in the next immediate days, we could create an atmosphere where the brave ~~Communists~~ leaders of the american working class — men like Eugene Dennis

17.

Henry Winston - Ben Davis
Gus Hall - Bob Thompson - Gil
Green - Irving Potash - Carl Winter
Jack Stachel - Johnny Gates - Johnny
Williamson - could get counsel -
We could create an atmosphere where these gallant
lawyers in the original trial would
an atmosphere
be freed of impending jail - where
all Americans could again breathe freely.
For ~~[illegible]~~ mark it well: if the ~~Smith Act~~
~~he will~~ eleven are not freed,
the American working class, the Negro
people, liberals of every persuasion.
For these leaders
will not escape. For these leaders
are a part of the world's vanguard
~~the~~ History will record ~~that~~ in our generation they helped ~~heritage~~ creative elem- to our continuing
make the finest contribution, ~~to our generation~~.

Let us unite here in these United States, we who are the true Americans — Quakers, Churchmen, workers + liberals, honest intellectuals, ~~artists~~, the Jewish ~~people~~ masses, the Negro masses, + Catholic workers who remember the struggle in Ireland, + who remember Kevin Barry; Italians who remember Garibaldi — ~~Spanish~~ ~~[illegible]~~ all ~~[illegible]~~ — ~~Spanish who remem~~

All of us unite with our friends ~~af~~ over the world — with those meeting to-night in Warsaw — to beat back the attacks against ~~[illegible]~~ the Peoples' living standards, the attacks on their very lives. ~~Let us~~ Let us help stop the drive toward fascism! Let us halt the chariot of war in its tracks!

Below

And let us keep to bring to pass in America & in the world — the dream our fathers dreamed — lands ~~that~~ are free — of people growing in friendship in love — in co-operation & peace.

This is history's challenge to us. ~~Let us~~ We cannot — we must not fail.

This organization for friendship is engaged in this task must be helped to the utmost — The facts about the S. American leaders, Republics must be made known to the American People. If they can get them. their danger against the Hitler's deception will be unfounded. So help to ingest materially. They need your help.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards
86 Commercial Street
San Francisco, California
SUtter 1-8657

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA -- May 4, 1951 --

"If 15 million Negroes speak out for peace there will be peace!"

"If 15 million Negroes speak out against anti-Semitism there will be no anti-Semitism!"

"If 15 million people speak out against persecution of the Mexican people that persecution will end!"

Words such as these from Paul Robeson brought forth thunderous applause from 175 Marine Cooks & Stewards delegates and 1100 more observers at the Thursday night session of the MCS 4th Biennial Convention.

"And behind these 15 million Negroes," said Robeson, an honorary MCS member, "are the 200 million Negroes in the continent of Africa pressing in the same direction as the people in China."

Robeson's declarations followed a MCS resolution for Negro-White Unity that declared: "The MCS exists today only because in our Union there is unity of Negro and white.

"The Negro people are on the move. They are in action and they are determined to achieve equality and full status as Americans in every walk of life -- industry, government, education.

"We must recognize that this great upheaval really lies behind the attacks upon Negro leaders and scholars such as Paul Robeson, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, William Patterson and Charles Howard, rather than any alleged subversive activities by such outstanding members of their race.

"It is to our interest - to our most selfish interest - to ally the MCS with the Negro people. In such an alliance we have everything to gain in terms of our future economic security.

(over)

"Only in this way can we march forward toward a world in which there will be truly the brotherhood of man."

Robeson, introduced by MCS President Hugh Bryson, as an honorary member of the union, declared: "I have never been so proud to be a member of a Union. I'm proud to be standing here tonight part of a fighting union that pushes aside the screening, and the wage freeze."

In condemning the "profiteers" Robeson said, "People all over the world are fighting back. Everywhere they ask for peace to work out their destiny in their own fashion."

"We ask for some understanding of the idea that all men are brothers," Robeson said. "Let every American look at Warsaw, at Coventry, at Stalingrad. Then let them dare to suggest that the people want war. So much of the future is up to us. Only we are being cheated of our heritage. Truman, MacArthur, Hoover and the rest have found a whole lot of suckers and of course you never give a sucker an even break. Labor let itself break up its trade unions. How the shipowners must laugh and gloat as they see labor beat out its own brains."

Robeson hit out at the "legal lynchers", at the crimes against the Martinsville Seven, Willie McGee, the Trenton Six, and "anywhere a black face dares to answer back, anywhere a brown body dares to walk in peace."

"The Negro people are restless," Robeson said. "And the boys are a little restless about me. They are trying to separate me from the Negro people. They better watch me walk down the street and see the folks run to shake my hand."

"The Negro people feel their power," Robeson said. "It's because we want out freedom and we want it now."

"Let us not be found wanting in the eyes of our children and grandchildren," Robeson said. "Forward in the struggle to protect our union'.

For the rights of the Negro people, for Wesley Wells, McGee, Bridges, DuBois, and the 11 leaders of the American working class."

Robeson sang Joe Hill, Scandalizin' My Name, Water Boy, Four Rivers, Four Insurgent Generals, No More Auction Block For Me.

Many MCS members hit the microphone calling for Negro-White Unity in MCS and throughout the labor movement, the country and world.

James Herman, San Francisco delegate, said: "In the hands of us white members lies the responsibility of achieving Negro-white unity. It is the white people that have always been the lynchers, the oppressors."

"We in this Union have come a long way from the days when this was predominantly a lily-white union. Still we've just laid the foundation. Some of our white members are nonchalant. We think that with the election of brilliant Negro leadership and with our democratic MCS Constitution our job is finished.

"The vilification leveled against this Union has to some degree registered. Our enemies say that we exploit and capitalize on their discrimination. How can there be too much talk of Jim Crow while it still exists?"

Herman told of his childhood when he was taught the myth of white superiority. "It was not until on MCS ships at the point of production I met and worked with Negroes that I realized the capacities of these people. The pace is being set in this Union by the tried leadership of our Negro brothers who are giving us the fruits of their experience. Let's join hands with our Negro brothers to achieve a peaceful world for all people."

"So long as one man in this country is oppressed I am not freed," declared Howard Rose, Wilmington delegate. "We white members must learn to equal the fighting spirit of our Negro brothers."

Luchell McDaniels, San Francisco delegate, called upon the U.S.

(over)

government to issue the same policy and statement on Negro-white unity as the MCS. "When I say black and white unity I mean everything in between," McDaniels said in urging the solidarity of all groups for the equality of all people.

"You can't tell the color of the cow when you see him in the butcher shop," Jerry Buran, SS Alameda delegate, declared. "Our Union must be like the farmer's team. The black and white horse both must pull together to get the job done."

"As a member of the Spanish speaking minority group peoples," Antonio Montoya, San Francisco delegate said, "I want to say that my people are starting to wake up by seeing the great work the Negro people have done. By putting our shoulder to the wheel both our peoples will get representation, not only in city government but in national government."

Al Thibodeaux, San Francisco patrolman of the Union and Secretary of the Negro Labor Council in San Francisco, condemned the Murrays and Reuthers of the labor movement and the so-called leaders of the Negro people, the Townsends and the other "Uncle Toms".

"For the first time in U.S. history," Thibodeaux said, "Negro people are being called traitors to their country. Our Negro members are being screened off the ships. If Negro-white unity, if by working together we Negro people with the help of our white allies are to be made traitors so we can walk in dignity, then the majority of members of MCS stand before the bar of justice and plead guilty."

"They say we Negroes in MCS are misguided fools," said Joe Johnson, Wilmington port agent. "No, we're not misguided fools. We see where we're going and we're going to get there."

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Robeson

Am Peace Crusade - Chicago

PAUL ROBESON – FRIDAY NIGHT, JUNE 29 [1951]

I am here in Chicago as I have been many times before on my missions. I have never been so happy as I am tonight to see you here in the cause of peace. (APPLAUSE.)

I recall one of the songs of my people – MY SOUL SO HAPPY THAT I CANT SIT DOWN... but we hare here for action in this Congress – for the business of winning the peace – so I will talk but a few moments.

The hope of the world has been alerted by the events of the last few weeks, days and hours, and it is good to know that many forces in the world are recognizing the futility of cntinuing the carnage of the past year and have proposed to do the only sensible thing about it – stop the fighting and start making the peace.

And flowing frm this understanding, there is certainly no doubt in my mind but that it is possible to find ways of agreement between nations of differing economic and social systems. The peoples of the world really want agreement. It rests with us here in the U.S. do to our share to give the final peoples' push, peoples push which will let our government know that the people of this great country in their vast majority want peace in the world, not destructin.

We have come from all over America, representing various views, differnt beliefs of all kinds – flowing from the great diversities in our American life; but however varied our backgrounds, we are united in the task of working out common grounds for action, action for peace. There is plenty of cooperation and friendship with the other peoples of the world.

We may not see, we may not see eye to eye on all the problems of this troubled world, but we know that unless we unite in a singl0eminded determination to win the peace, we may soon have no world in which to exercise our differences.

As for me, I see war as the major evil of our time. It is a monster which solves no problems and aggravates all. The present conflict and its danger of expansion has placed the burden of mounting armaments on the backs of the working masses of our land, have accentuated the obvious and tangible disparity between the ingrained profits of the wealthy few and the meager existence of the farmers, producers and workers; and confronted by auto, railroad, steel and other industries, labor finds today not only there is no bonanza in this war, but that the guns instead of butter results in lowering not raising standards. The rise of the hopp-ed up war e onomy is hastening this nation to a situation of "boom and bust".

In addition, our civil rights are one of the main casualties of the war, as is already clearly evident. The First Amendment today lies temporarily gutted as a result of the Smith Act, and the projected jailing of the Communist dissenters from American foreign policy. No other dissenter can feel safe in the exercise of his right to criticize and complain so long as the Smith Act stands on the statute books, and the Supreme Court decision remains. (APLUSE.)

From all parts of the land there is clearly evidence that the people respond to this challenge in the true tradition of American liberty. The heartening dissents of Justices Black and the protesting voices of many papers, the paid advertisement signed by Roger Baldwin, Zechariah Chafeee, Stringfellow Barr and others; the formal dissent of the American Civil Liberties Union - all are reflected among the most representative circules of the American people.

In my thinking, that is a peace question, for the inevitable conclusion is - should they be allowed to continue - it will be the silening, but indeed, of all Americans who subscribe to the principles of the New Deal and the grand decency of true friendship with the socialist nations. (APPLAUSE.) Thus, just as in Europe on the eve of World War 11, we see today in America the persecution of political ideas, moutning terror against minority peoples 9x - in Erope first it was the Jewish people; here, first of all, the Negro people, the foreing language people, Jewish people, Mexican-Americans - and other minorities are numbered among the victims. This, too, is the price we pay for "Operation Killer" against the long-suffering exploited peoples of Asia who are destined to be free - at whatever the cost. (MUCH APPLAUSE) And as with the bleeding people of Asia, so with the hundreds of millions more in enslaved Africa, the West Indies, and our own Americas - including the subject millions of our own colonial south - the fight for peace, resistance against the exploiters and oppressors of mankind who want war to further their greedy ends.

The fight for peace today is the center of all these struggless; of all the aspirations of working people, artists, intellectuals the world over who form t the world movement fo peace. We, here in America, have the central responsibility to build, as the peoples of Eureope and Asia have built, a powerful movement representingave of every section of our country, which will develop from the cease-fire order in Korea into a genuine and lasting peace and freedom for all mankind. (APPLAUSE)

These are some of the reasons that I am for peace; reasons which grow out of my life, my travels, my experiences with people in many lands. They may not be all of them your reasons, and you are stimulated by experiences I have not shared, but for whatever these reasons, whatever our backgrounds, we are united here, colored and white, workers, professionals and businessmen, men and women and youth, in the sacred search for enduring peace. (WHISTLING, STANDING OVATION.)

PAUL ROBESON'S SPEECH TO THE CNA CONVENTION JANUARY 26, 1952

I am deeply privileged to be with you this morning. I am glad that this is an informal- even intimate gathering. Ernie has just spoken of our sitting down together with a few of the members of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts from time to time and of the mutual constructive give and take. And when he expresses a desire that this happen more often and with all the members of our organization - I understand so deeply what he means. For in recent months and weeks, I have been sitting down in the apartment houses, in the tenements, in the churches, in the clubs, exchanging views with the workers, with the struggling oppressed of my people.- talking about liberation, about concrete day to day problems of rents, food education-- but more than than, I have experienced the warmth, affection and understanding of my folk, ten, twoenty or so. So I look forward to much participation in the day to day work and activity, cultural and otherwise of our memberships.

As Ernie and Roy have said, we must be a part and a continuously larger part of our whole American culture. We must continue to help break down all barriers in the concert field, in the opera houses in the theatres, inthe films in television, radio, in the salons of painting and photography, in sculpture , in the sciences, in the professions and the Committee for the Negro in the Arts already has a magnificent record-- but in doing this, we must not lose respect for or fail to deepen and help to develop the great traditions bequeathed to us, we must not extract ourselves from our own communities. We must remember as Mrs. Vicki Garvin has indicated, our responsibilities as artists to the whole larger problem of the complete liberation of our people. There can be no doubt, that we are gathered here to participate in an historicl conference.-

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We must remember, as Mrs. Vicki Garvin has indicated, our responsibilities as artists to the whole larger problem of the complete liberation of our people. There can be no doubt, that we are gathered here to participate in an historical conference - A conference dealing with the problems of the Negro in the Arts - an historica conference because the struggles of the Negro people have reached a new historic level.

Recently, I was privileged to address the cultural session of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, directed to some aspects of the same problem. These remarks have since been recorded in "Masses and Mainstream".

But today, we are gathered in Harlem. Let us start out ~~up~~ with the full realization that we spring from a great people - rich in artistic tradition, rich in struggle, ever fighting back- even sacrif cing- ever confident that the colored peoples of the world including the black and brown segments will win thru to full freedom in a world of leaping change.

Our African forebears have given us a tremendous heritage - a magnificent poetry, quite comparable to the Hebrew, the Chinese, the Hindu, the Arabs, the Perian; a wonderful music- presagin the polyphony of Bach, rhythms which have inspired, enthralled a Stravinsky and a Milhaud, rhythms which form the very base of Spanish, Brazilian and Yemenite music, stretching from T in to Spain , where Villa-Lobos and Brazil, with out the Y who still speaks in Brazil the puerst dialects of that wonderful T indigenous to Nigeria. How a ccount for Modern

Art - Picasso, Modigliani, Epstein, Braucusi,-without the influence of the B   classic sculptural tradition of Southern Nigeria. And still to redeive its just recognition is the clasic dance; classic ballet   a Pearl Primus- Dunham, a wonderful   Miss Burney and springinf from the very loins of many of our African friends in this country.

And coming to our own land - where in popular forms, were the richest ~~source~~ source of our serious contribution ; but through the influences of the Negro peoples creations and the very persons of Negro crative artists such and Swanson, Still, Burleigh, Will Marion Cook , Dett, Johnson and my dear friend and esteemed colleague - Lawrence Brown. Saw Dizzy Gillespie not long ago. Told me that some one remarked that he sounded like Stan Kenton - So Billie Holliday sounds like Shore, Bessie Smith like Tucker, Bert Williams like Jolson, Bill Robinson danced lik Astaire and Marie Bryant dances like some of the current movie actresses she trained. Earl Dancer learned choeography from Leroy   - Please let us not labor the point. But the seriousness is evident when we see literally the millions goings into the pockets of everyone exdept the real creators - the real developers of these forms and much of the content.

What has been our history in the arts? . Against a background of mis-representation and calummey, we all felt we had to prove to our oppressing world that we could do as well as they int their own ways of creation and expression. We accepted their standards whatever the violence to our own age-long traditions of culture . From "   for example " - I remeber going to a concert with some of my African friends- a symphonic concert. They listened politely for a while - then became throughly bored. Finally one said to me - "Paul, do these people ever do anything but this 1-2-3-4, 1-2-3-4- or 1-2-3-, 1-2-3- (our foxtrot and waltz rhythms). ? Let's go." I immediately understood , for African rhythms ,based on the infinite changes of language, tones and accent are among the most complicated in the world. And again my Hindu friends of India complained about the bareness and poverty of melodic content. ~~Therefore~~ The people of the West, ~~xxxxx~~ decided on a well tempered clavichord for harmonic purposes and in so doing sacrificed many of the old modes and most importantly restricted themselves to whole and half tones - the Indian people rooted in nature - like five divisions of a time - even a 1/32 or more . So here again the Western music was not in any wise the final answer. And so with Hebrew and Chinese music, there are riches loost in the more mathematical music of the west.

Our sights have been always on the stages and in the salons outside of our own communities. What is the picture in America for any artist whatever his background?. Culture is for the few -- in concerts-- what is the set-up? Society matrons in BayButte, Montana running a concert with an artist from Columbia Concert Bureau will admit a few Negroes. Workers- white and black- are no part of this. If I had not been on the picket lines, in the churches, etc.I would not have reached people. But artists of the colored people have their beginning in the churches; in fraternal organization- presented by fraternities, etc. The Negro newspapers have played an important role here.

I think of Bessie Smith, Marian, Roland- any of us-- started in the churches. Sister Tharpe and Mahalisa Jackson (now filling ball parks) started in the churches. When we look at the organization in the churches, we see where our audiences are: 5 Million Baptists; ½ million A.M.E.Zion. Money and power is there . CME just purchased the Lafayette theatre property- $5,000 to NAACP.

Basic setting - Negro Labor Council Convention in Cincinnatti marked a new day for Negroes in the trade union movement. Leadership must also move in the community- utilize this to side of peace. Without struggle, deepest feelings of Negro masses will not be felt.

Sojourners in Washington

Youth movement.

So we as artists are related to this liberation struggle.

Dr. DuBois, one of our greatest artists, Langston Hughes.

Languages - People everywhere since creation -

Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Chinese, African, Yiddish, Scotch,(AnnieLaurie) , Moussorgsky, Debussy, Bartok(Shakespeare Pushkin ,Dvorak-New World, Bach (chorale) Earl Robinson, Blitzstein.

But important part of liberation struggle is in South .

Russell, Connally, George, Trumen, Dewey(contempt for us and art).

Smith Act - Life and Death

Jefferson and Frenhh Revolution

Douglass and Mexico

We and Korea
Elevena and Smith Act
Jefferson and Alien and Sedition Laws
Douglass in England
Patterson in Paris.

Our Allies must understand the basic nature of the struggle of the Negro people- against the background of a changing world-- a world changed by the events of 1917 and following - the new Peoples Democracies and a new China. The Colonial world struggles towards freedom-- takes the initiative - and receives the full support of the advanced workers of the metropolitan countries.

And so in the arts -- In West Africa among the Arbanti- there is an art-form close to that of the Chinese - their work in gold coins and figures parallels the work of the Chinese in jade.

The Negro struggle must be seen in this context. Help us to deepen in the Negro communities - to win millions to the side of peace, plenty and a new and better world.

Let other groups deepen in *their* communities - the various alnguage groups, the Jewish people. Let us later join forces in an advanced and free and truly democratic America. Do not extract us, one by one, from our communities.

Release our Negro artists in all catagories for activites in Negro communities; give them every support. This is their task.

Let us work together and make it possible to join later the thousands and thousands of our various communities.

Responsibility of all to CNA - their work to deepenin Negro communities.

But at this historic moment- a great responsibility lies with the Negro in thi land-- and today and tomorrow with this committee, rooted in the struggle, steeled by struggle, rich in talents and personnel of diverse kinds . We shall not fail in any to fulfill our historic tasks.

END

Feb 14

Dear Louis:

Returning Draft, which I thought was fine. Telepress' interesting issue, appeared Feb 8 — Hunton should have a copy — as soon as I get some extra copies, I'll let you see it.

Will Weinstone

Freedom

"Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!"

53 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. • ENRIGHT 9-3980

Dear Will —

Here are 2 copies. I have no other. Would you return one to me for Paul to see?

Lou

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FOR TELEPRESS

[Feb. 1952]

NEGRO HISTORY AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

by Paul Robeson

A century ago Frederick Douglass, the great Negro abolitionist leader, stood in London, Wales and Scotland and aroused the conscience of Europe against the slave power in the United States. In doing so he performed a great service to the people of this nation and the world.

When the slavers, through Civil War, threatened to place their accursed symbol, the Confederate flag, atop the White House, the strikes of Manchester cotton mill workers, the indignation of British churchgoers, and the condemnation of workers throughout the Continent helped to turn the tide for Union and democracy. Thus was preserved the unity and sovereignty of the nation which had been the first great popular democracy in modern times.

Today the very nation which Douglass, spokesman

-more-

for five million black slaves and freemen, helped to save, threatens to enslave all of mankind.

All over the Far East Hundreds of millions of people, subjected for generations to the heel of alien oppressors, march bravely toward their freedom and independence: they find the colossus of American imperialism blocking their path. U. S. Big Business, bloated with unprecedented profits as a result of World War II and the post-war armaments drive, envisions an "American Century." It seeks world domination over the peoplesof the Near East, Asia, Africa, Latin America - and the peoples of continental Europe as well. In this drive for conquest, it is not only the people in the colonial world whose independence struggles is threatened; the sovereignty of all of Western Europe is compromised as the U. S. billionaires seek to convert them, through the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, into pro-consuls in their projected world system of plunder.

-more-

A principal weapon in the arsenal of U. S. imperialism is the depraved doctrine of "white supremacy" and American Anglo-Saxon superiority. It is safe to say that hardly any people in the world have been spared the presumptious arrogance of the American ruling circles.

This arrogance, this barbaric doctrine of "white is right" is based on more than 300 years of cruel and calculated oppression of the Negro people in the United States. Thus the annual celebration of Negro History Month in February 1952 has special meaning, not only for the Negroes themselves, nor for the American workers alone, but also for all humanity around the globe which is struggling against the invasion of its liberties and rights by U. S. Big Business which temporarily controls the government of this land.

The lesson of Negro history is the lesson of unyielding resistance to oppression. It is the lesson of a brave people fighting, sometimes almost alone, always with their allies in the working class when such alliance was possible - but *fighting* for full citizenship and equality.

-more-

The history of my people shows that victories can be won today against U. S. imperialism - just as in 1865 as historic victory was scored over the "white supremacist" slavocracy.

The Negro people are making an invaluable contribution to the world struggle for peace and against the danger of a resurgent fascism centered in the United States. The historic petition, "We Charge Genocide," edited by that stalward Negro fighter for civil rights, William L. Patterson, and recently presented to the United Nations, is a weapon of the first order in the struggle against the U. S. - led war camp. The volume and intensity of the protests against the Christmas night bomb-killing of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Moore (he was the Florida state coordinator of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) has reached a new height. In the formerly slave South the registration of more than a million Negroes as voters is an imposing threat to the continuation of Wall Street-Bourbon domination, not only of the South but of the entire nation.

-more-

As this movement for Negro liberation grows, we witness a fertile growth of the rich culture of our people. Though Hollywood and the commercial stage and theatre never fail to presnt a ~~[illegible]~~ false and distorted caricature of the life of the Negro people, in our communities themselves and in the life of progressive America Negro artists, writers, singers, poets and dancers are forging a cultural weapon of inestimable value in the fight for peace and freedom.

Three centuries of oppression in the United States places the Negro people in a position where they refuse to have anything to do with the sickening "theories" of gradualism. We want our freedom and we want it now. ~~[illegible]~~ The masses of our people are prepared to join hands with the peoples of the colonial world, of the great Soviet Union and the Peoples Democracies, of all the world , to achieve peace and the full equality of all mankind.

That is the lesson of Negro history, 1952.

##################

[1952 Progressive Party Convention – July 1952]

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~~OUTLINE~~ DRAFT

on an N.A.A.C.P. Picket line in St. Louis I entered the day to day struggle of People for [illegible]

In 1947 I decided to retire from the concert stage and ~~support the Peace ticket.~~ I know how critical it was in 1947 when the Truman Doctrine officially launched that critical turn in the American foreign policy which has now taken us into a senseless war in Korea for over two years. Pease was the issue in 1947 and 1948.

Some opportunity to wage war in battles around in Africa & elsewhere

Peace meant freedom for my people. ~~Peace meant~~ an end to colonialism. Peace meant security and jobs. Peace meant a return to the Bill of Rights.

therein the U.S. States & ~~[illegible]~~ for

Some chance of

In 1952 after four years, how much more we know that peace is the most important issue in this election, affecting everything... ~~[illegible]~~ bread & butter issues & Negro, ~~more abstract~~ - Housing - Jobs - Steel-workers & minority pressure less concrete;

I spring logically in fighting (for full civil Rts & Equality of my folk — I entered the struggle for Peace

I remember our famous tour in the south in 1948 election campaign, standing before 4,000 Negro and white citizens of Houston, Texas, the same Texas whose delegates to the Republican convention Eisenhower and Taft are fighting over as though it made any difference which ~~the~~ set of delegates were going to vote for State Rights. (My folks can't get any part of a seat)

~~I remember weathering the storm of eggs and tomatoes.~~ And I remember ~~standing in a huge auditorium~~ before a mixed audience in Memphis, Tenn. I remember huge meetings all over the South — whites & Negroes standing side by side in militant challenge

In 1948 and since 1948 I have been touring up and down this land for the cause of peace and for the freedom of the Negro people. As I get about I see the men and women of labor and I see my people, the Negro people, responding to what has happened to them in 4 years, insistently calling for honest leadership. It is these visits with and talks with the people themselves, which ~~h~~ has given me strength to continue the battle which lead from the campaign of 1948 into my tour of 1949 and was climaxed by Peekskill. We have come a long way since Peekskill. ~~Omxm~~ I come to you tonight stronger than ever in the conviction that the ~~xhanxe~~ choice I made and the choice which almost two million Americans made in the 1948 elections was the right choice.

in '52 10-20 — in Harlem, in Brownsville — on South Side in Paradise Valley

For I can tell you that our fight in the 1948 elections slowed down the drive toward war and forced out of the Democratic party a discussion of the real issues which affected the people. And I stand before you stronger than ever in the conviction that the need is greater ~~than even now~~ for the party that we luanched together four years ago in Philadelphia.

And the possibilities are greater today than ever

There was a committee on Civil Rights. came almost immediately after a great mobilization in 1946 in Washington embracing every Section of Negro life & thousands of our allies.

Many of us have been discouraged in the fight since four years ago. A couple of summer soldiers have left, but I will tell you they were very few and that a whole host closed up the gap left by their going. The pople want peace. The people want civil rights. The people want jobs and security and protection for their old age. Some approximation of the ~~2~~ democratic heritage of which we boast; responses to the

& And the recent occurrence around the treatment of the Negro people & the appearance of myself & Mrs. Sampson — shows the height of the "tremendous progress" – the progress of a few big shot jobs & appointments – while the great masses of our folk in the South – yes & in Chicago Detroit – Cleveland & Gary – struggle for every little gain in living wages – in upgrading – in dignity of leadership while Ciceros – ~~[illegible]~~ – Martinsville [illegible] of Korea. (XX) of our citizens - black & white - & of whatever religious persuasions = They are recalling that after 1927 it was Debs now it is Gene Dennis & Ben Davis further back it was Douglass & Tubman & the abolitionists - & earlier in our history it was Thomas Jefferson & the so-called rebels, Faneuil Hall agitators

They want a return to the Bill of Rights for all ~~people~~. And I will tell you something else, the American people they are beginning to fight for these things. I know this from my recent tour of the country. ~~The reception to me my tour was one of the~~ Most significant ~~things I can think of~~ events & most important developments for the life and reception of the peace & Freedom ticket. I reached close to 100,000 people on ~~my~~ the tour. And the people themselves reversed the verdict of Dewey and his State Troopers at Peekskill and they registered this by winning the right for me to sing in ~~four~~ many municipal auditoriums throughout the country, in Seattle, Berkeley, Denver and Milwaukee ~~at~~ at very high ~~xx~~ levels of struggle:

The tour was climaxed at the border when 40,000 ~~xxxx~~ Canadian and American citizens standing on both side of the border ~~and~~ at the peace arch listened to a concert for peace & Freedom. ~~Or~~ And in Chicago, when close to 15,000 of Negro people stood ~~in~~ on the south side in Washington Park as I sang songs ~~for peace~~ of liberation & peace. ~~Or~~ all along the west cost thousands, to thousands of Negro people recently up from South - some of whom are delegates right here, at this convention, joined ~~me~~ in fighting ~~this fight for peace.~~ hysteria & in fighting for dignity of my people. for unity ~~at~~ at a much higher level; (OO)

~~For me~~, this tour represented my taking up ~~again~~ again my function as an artist, but on a level deeper and higher and bigger than ever before because I sang to and with the people ~~for whom~~ to whom my talents ~~assembled and not in cloistered concert halls~~. & my life is dedicated - to the people who happen to be the source of all great art. Just as certain am I that this convention in 1952 brings the battle, the political fight for peace and security to a deeper level than any we have been able to achieve in 1948. For the ~~same~~ forces which made possible this tour ~~of mine~~ are the same forces that are making possible new achievements in the political life of the American people. The people are getting fed up with war and with hysteria and ~~repression and political~~ regimentation. They are ready to fight for ~~the true American heritage of free~~ citizens, for friendship among the peoples of the ~~world~~, and for equal rights for the Negro people and all minorities, for peade.

Return again

The outstanding organizations of the Negro people clearly recognize that both old parties want to retreat on civil rights. The clear cut demands of the Negro people for equality and particularly for the use of the full powers of the Federal Government to secure Fair Employment Practices -- this straight forward demand has cut through the rosy glow that was built up around Eisenhower and Taft & the Dixiecrat forces.

The Negro ~~people~~ (OO) in magnificent leadership were joined by ~~Great~~ great sections of the Jewish people = great sections of those who have come to our shores from all over the world to build ~~xx~~ this America = millions recently insulted by a cowardly - dastardly McCarran & a whining - fame-seeking Walter.

only recall genocidal & serfdom
Allies, ~~Nazis~~ 3 ways of Slavery &

my People =

And the democratic dilemma
will not be solved by any stepped up
double-talking by either Truman or Harriman.
and ~~It's~~ dangerous double-talk = ~~but~~ our
folks want civil ~~rights~~ now.
Negro
See 2 Republican delegates from N. York
supposedly in Dewey's pocket = can't
~~take Eisenhower~~ because Negro People
Can't take Eisenhower = And the Democrats
will discover ~~that~~ the old "Dodge" that
its Congress - not Truman = the Dixiecrats
not Truman = will not suffice to
put up a hedging "States Rights"
Stevenson - or a Dixiecrat Russell.

my people will notice the remarks
of a Mrs. Roosevelt in the Human Rights
Division of the United Nations 2 that there
U. ~~States~~ could not sign the Human Rights

Document against Jim Crow &
Discrimination - because of "States Rights"
Mississippi - Alabama - Georgia
must decide our fate!
That's supposed to be our
America = well - well!
~~Did Truman can set~~ Mrs. Roosevelt
a ~~Truman~~ double ~~[illegible]~~. Please!
So Truman's for States Rights "in unity"
when you get down to the guts.

And So again we are witnessing what I saw in 1948. In 1948 the campaign of the P.P. challenged the two old parties on civil rights. So in 1952 our campaign is challenging the two old parties and raising that challenge to new heights. We ~~are again forcing~~ will force the Democratic party in the person of Mr. Truman and his Wall Street boy Mr. Harriman to respond to the demand for genuine civil rights for the Negro people. 18 organizations of the Negro people have set forth a clear cut demand for Federal FEPC with teeth, anti-lynch legislation, anti-poll tax legislation, the end of segregation and discrimination in public facilites, and housing. The PP extends its hand to these spokesmen of the Negro people. We join them in their fight for these minimum demands for full citizenship for the Negro people.

Our convention meets this challenge and addresses itself to these demandsin a way which neither of the two old parties can because we have no vested interest in Jim Crow, because we have no special need for segregation, because as a party we have no investment in slums, because the PP does not own the railroads where Negroes have to hide behind curtains in dining rooms as on the railreads Mr. Harriman owns. On Mr. Harriman's Union Pacific Railroad they just sent out an order that dining car stewards must seat Negroes with Negroes and white with white and must separate them at the ends of the cars.

Our interest is in wiping out these things. Our interest is in equality. We do not make hypocritical promises for votes; we fight every day in the year for civil rights and for peace.

At this convention of the PP we see the fight for these things and the fight for equality fully united. A brave and courageous lawyer who has sacrificed everything he holds dear to defend the right of a union and its leaders to remain alive is joined in this campaign by a sturdy fighting ~~Negro~~ Colored woman whose life has been a forthright struggle for the rights of her people to live in peace as first class citizens. She's a great woman is Mrs. Bass — tried in struggle — forging understanding in the fight for unity of Black & white — a true modern Sojourner Truth! We make the fight for peace and the fight for equality indivisible. We know that we cannot expect a Tom Connolly of Texas or a Russell of Georgia or a Byrnes of South Carolina or a Taft or Eisenhower who are willing to live with oppression of the Negro people in this country -- ~~we do not expect them~~ to do anything else abroad. In South Africa they stand by and support the Nazi racist theories of a Malan who oppresses millions of Negroes. In Africa they support British imperialism and in Tunisia French imperialism and in the middle East and Asia they support all the decadent imperialisms who would prevent the colonial peoples of the world from seeking that elementary liberty that our own colonists fought for in 1776.

The leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties are united in ~~bringing~~ preparing for war. Preparing for war means ~~fix~~ that they must destroy civil rights. Not one of them embraces the one, real practical alternative which is desired by all the peoples of the world - peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union, a nation which has demonstrated that many Republics ~~nations~~ can live together in peace & friendship. Last ~~xxxxxxxm~~ week in the British Parliament the British Labor Party united in violent protest against the arrogant war making activities thoroughly approved by a Taft, Eisenhower and Truman. The People of France Italy Denmark ~~That is a~~ These are signs a sign that the people ~~Masses~~ want Trade & Peace, not Destruction of the world are revolting against a policy of war and are demanding a policy of peace. (X) Today we alone in the elections of 1952 offer a ~~that~~ chance to vote for peace, for equality or ~~for~~ all peoples, for true security, for freedom. full Freedom & full human Dignity

* Survival and a Promise for the Future. They want their youths not dead but alive to build anew. And certainly Stevenson — I want the Negro & working youths of this land alive to ever strive toward ~~the~~ fulfillment of our generations long dream. As Langston Hughes has said — America has not yet been all [illegible] — but it will be — because our struggles will make it so — And then ~~and~~ only then ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Deep Hope will change to Love, & Partisans love ~~all~~ all of embracing a new-born Republic. (XX)

NEWS RELEASE

Campaign Headquarters
VINCENT HALLINAN for President
MRS. CHARLOTTA BASS for Vice-President
Issued by: **THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY** *National Office*
17 West 45th Street • New York 36, N. Y. • JUdson 6-2335

September 26, 1952

PROGRESSIVE PARTY NEWSLETTER #4

(Note to editors: Material in this newsletter is for use during the week of September 28)

MRS. BASS MAKES SIXTH TRANSCONTINENTAL TRIP IN ELECTION FIGHT

Mrs. Charlotta Bass, Progressive Party candidate for vice-president will return from California to the east coast next Monday (October 6) to continue her vigorous campaign for election.

The three thousand mile California to New York trip is the sixth transcontinental trip that Mrs. Bass has made in her coast to coast campaign since her nomination at the Progressive Party convention in Chicago on July Fourth weekend.

Following a nine day speaking tour through California where she made her home and ran a newspaper for forty years, Mrs. Bass will again talk to meetings arranged in the congressional district in Harlem where she now lives and throughout the New York metropolitan area and northern New Jersey.

On Saturday, October 11, she will go to Philadelphia to speak at a mass rally organized by a special woman's committee organized in her support. Mrs. Bass, the only Negro woman to run for vice president will then travel to Washington, D. C., spend three days in Virginia later carrying her campaign to the New England states. She will return to New York for a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden on October 27, appearing there with Vincent Hallinan, the party's candidate for president, this meeting being the second Garden meeting to be held in New York this election year, an accomplishment neither of the two major parties have attempted.

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ROBESON CHARGES DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS WITH EVASION ON CIVIL RIGHTS -- ATTACKS POWELL

Paul Robeson, national co-chairman of the Progressive Party, last week charged Republicans and Democrats alike with attempts "to evade the question of full equality now for 15 million Americans.", but added that "issue will not down."

Speaking of the Progressive Party and its candidates, Vincent Hallinan for president and Mrs. Charlotta Bass for vice president, Robeson said, "This party -- and this party alone among the contenders for the presidency - deserves my support and that of the Negro people."

Robeson charged that Adam Clayton Powell's endorsement of the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket showed that Powell "is built for speed and not endurance", and that "maybe Mr. Powell got some guarantees, but the Negro people have received none whatsoever from the two old parties."

The following is the text of the remarks he made following a short concert before 1600 Progressive Party and New York American Labor Party guests at a joint banquet held last Wednesday (September 24) in the Grand Ballroom of the Astor Hotel in New York City at which Hallinan made his first New York campaign appearance:

"As we approach the home stretch of the 1952 election campaign it becomes clear that we are witnessing an unprecedented political spectacle. Each of the two old parties accuses the other of being made up of a bunch of crooks, tax dodgers and influence peddlers. And the public knows that both of them are right.

"Each of them cries peace and the public searches the speeches of their candidates for a clue to the ending of the most shameful war in our nation's history -- to no avail.

"Each of them tries to evade the question of full equality now for 15 million Negro Americans, but the issue will not down, and they are forced to make verbal concessions to the demand for FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills, an end to segregation in the armed forces and in Washington, D. C., and fuller Negro representation in all fields of government.

"Walter White has an article in the current issue of LOOK Magazine in which he warns the Democrats and Republicans that they must win the Negro vote or lose the election. He reminds Eisenhower and Stevenson that in 17 states with 293 electroal votes -- more than enough to elect the President -- Negro voters hold the balance of power in any fairly close election.

"And not long ago Congressman Adam Powell threatened to call upon Negroes to boycott the presidential election unless real guarantees were forthcoming from his party, the Democrats. But it seems that Mr. Powell is built for speed but not endurance, for his hot words had hardly cooled off before he leaped publicly into the lap of Stevenson - and Sparkman.

"Maybe Mr. Powell got some guarantees, but the Negro people have received none whatsoever from the two old parties. At least I haven't heard Mr. Sparkman say that if he had it to do all over again he'd vote 16 straight times for instead of against civil rights in the Senate. Mr. Sparkman is obviously a die-hard "white supremacist." He's too proud to make even a verbal concession to the demands of an oppressed and long-suffering people on whose disenfranchisement and exploitation his political fortunes have been built.

"Well he's not the only proud one in the land. I'm here to say that I'm going to be too proud on November 4 to give him my vote and to place him one heart-beat from the presidency of the United States. And I'm confident that there are going to be a lot of proud Negro men and women going to the ballot box to say that nobody deserves our vote but a party and its standard bearers who are not only ready to say that they are for full and unconditional equality for my people - but who live it every day.

"It is a real pleasure for me to do honor tonight to a man who has earned the enmity of this Administration and served time in its jails because of his determined fight for a militant union of longshoremen, not the least of whose achievements is its continuing battle for the rights of its Negro members.

"I take a special satisfaction in doing so because Vincent Hallinan and the Progressive Party have done honor to themselves by choosing as their vice presidential candidate a great woman and a great leader of my people, Mrs. Charlotta Bass.

"This party - and this party, alone among the contenders for the presidency - deserves my support and that of the Negro people. It deserves too, in the weeks ahead the stepped-up activity of all its members and friends. We can win victories, important ones, if we but work hard enough. We can win victories for constitutional liberties, civil rights, and peace if we but put our shoulders to the wheel from now until election day. You can be sure I'm going to do my part in every way I can.

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Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
ENright 9-3980

FOR RELEASE UPON RECEIPT
October 30, 1952

REMARKS OF PAUL ROBESON
AMERICAN LABOR PARTY MASS MEETING
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK
October 27, 1952

Well, President Truman was up in Harlem the other day -- talking about civil rights.

He promised.

And last Saturday, General Eisenhower condescended from Morningside Heights to Harlem -- talking about civil rights.

And he promised.

And Mr. Stevenson -- the papers say he's coming up to Harlem -- to talk about civil rights.

He's going to promise, too.

FEPC? --naturally! Anti-lynching?--absolutely! Jobs, housing, equal rights? -- Positively!

They come and they go -- these Democrats and Republicans. And they hope to go on forever. Promise and forget. Pledge and betray. Bow in -- and sell out. Grin in your face and stab you in the back. Last election -- this election -- and the next one too, they hope.

Eisenhower? -- well, it seems that my people don't like Ike, or Nixon either. Stevenson? -- well, the best I can hear about him is from those folks who say, "He doesn't mean us any good but that's more than you can say for that other one." And as for Sparkman -- well, they figure that the best thing to do is to keep him out of Harlem and just pretend that he's a smear invented by the other gang!

But I'm here to say this: On Election Day I'm not going to vote for any kind of evil -- not the 5-star evil or the no-star evil.

Brass-hat or silk hat -- Jim Crow has got to go!

I say: no more of this double-talking, double-crossing business! No more of this lowdown game of the higher-ups! No more of this double-deal of the two old parties of white supremacy!

I say: vote for Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass, that remarkable contemporary Sojourner Truth!

I say: get out the vote next week for the people's candidates of the

---more

Progressive Party, the American Labor Party and Local civil-rights and peace tickets!

And I want to say something else too, in answer to those who warn about "wasting your vote" if you don't intend to vote for some kind of an evil that has a chance to win.

There is a lesson here for all progressives from Negro history. My people have been in this struggle for a long, long time. Yes, a hundred years ago we were, as we are now, a minority in this land. Enslaved, we fought for freedom. We founded the abolition movement. We said that slavery had to go. We said that our minority interest in that great struggle was, in truth, the majority interest of the American people. My people persevered on that line from the very beginning. When they got a chance to vote in the North, despite all of the restrictions, they supported those minority freedom parties that first raised the anti-slavery banner.

Did they waste their votes? Did they do wrong by not choosing a "lesser evil" brand of slavery?

No -- and all Americans since that time, and we progressives here today, owe much for whatever freedom we now have.

Their slogan was -- abolition of slavery! and they refused to settle for less.

Our battle cry is -- Civil Rights Now! -- and we aren't going to settle for less. And certainly not for some "lesser evil."

Yes, it's a long, long road, a battle all the way, and we are not going to stop after the ballots are counted this coming Election Day. I know I'm going to stay in there fighting. I promised a dear friend of mine that I'd carry on and I'll never let Ben Davis down.

Yes, we are a minority -- and our party here is a minority -- but we are a minority that represents the rights and interests of the majority of the American people.

Millions of people around the world have come to see that truth. What about the Negro in America? That question -- rising from every part of the globe -- confronts and confounds the rulers of our land. Not all of the jabber about Marshall Plans, Atlantic Pacts, and Point Four, can drown out the clamor of that single question: when will the Negroes in America be free?

And behind that question is something more: it rises with the tide of colonial liberation that is sweeping the continents of the world.

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Yesterday's Times -- did you see it? There was a map and the title was "Troubled Africa". But it seems that it was the Times that is troubled about what is happening over there in what they called "Six areas of tension."

French Morocco -- the trouble there was labeled "Drive for Independence". (That's bad trouble)

Tunisia -- the caption read: "Dispute over home rule." (The Tunisians want Tunisia.)

Egypt -- "Conflict over Suez." (Old Pharaoh's people want to be let go too.)

Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan -- that's a "Dispute over Control."

Kenya -- labeled "Campaign of Violence". (The British are shooting down the Africans who are "conspiring to teach and advocate" freedom).

And finally, there is South Africa: that is called "Clash over Racial Policies". The Africans call it defiance of white supremacist rule.

Trouble -- yes, plenty of trouble for the ruling classes of the so-called Free Nations - and for the Wall Street money-lords, who reap all the profits. (No share for the gentlemen on the London and Paris Stock-Exchanges.)

We might recall the recent editorial in the Wall Street Journal which pointed out "what we (the Bankers and Industrialists) have more than a moral interest in South Africa. We have $137 millions invested there and shiploads of uranium on the way"; yes, on the way, from those "beautiful" mines with further stakes in copper, manganese, chromium - diamonds and gold. (Boy oh Boy!)

What do these fellows plan? See page one of the New York Times of October 27 - British troops marching in Kenya. Another Korea? Only slightly in reverse: This time the British will initiate the deal -- soon they'll send to the United States for help (I know that the United Nations Command dare not play with this). Are you going? Will you support this vicious attack against the Freedom aspirations of our African, Indian and Colored brothers and sisters? Or will you join the fight for Peace to ease world tension; will you enter the fight not only for peaceful co-existence between nations - but for mutual trade, cultural and scientific exchange; friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the New World of this historic period -- with the hundreds of millions of citizens of the New Peoples Democracies, of the New China - and with the history-making peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

You see, Africa and all of the oppressed colonial peoples -- in Viet Nam, in Korea, in Malaya, in the West Indies -- are having an election campaign, too.

--- more

They are electing to be free!

Over here they say that the various predictors and pollsters don't know how our little election campaign is going to turn out -- but one thing is certain: the world-wide "election campaign" I'm talking about is going to be decided in favor of the real peoples' choice -- freedom.

Trouble? -- well, gentlemen of the New York Times and your Wall Street bosses -- YOU AIN'T SEEN NOTHING YET!

We've all got a big job to do here at home. On Election Day to really turn out a rousing vote for peace and civil rights. After Election Day -- to buckle down for the struggle ahead.

I mean, to get those promises fulfilled.

I mean, not to take no for an answer.

I mean, to finally answer the question about Negro rights in America.

I mean, nothing less, nothing "lesser", than CIVIL RIGHTS NOW!;

Than the moving toward full freedom for all of us - whose families came from many lands to build this America - for the Negro People, for the brave Jewish People, for the Puerto-Rican People, for those of various language groups - together with the toiling and aspiring millions of this land. This too, is our America, and to save it, we will march forward, under the leadership of Hallinan and Bass, to a Smashing Vote for Civil Rights - Peace - Decent Lives and Human Dignity - on this Nov. 4th.

Robeson Remarks
Rosenberg Theatre Rally
November 19, 1952

I am happy to take my place tonight among the cultural workers of this nation who have come to raise their voices against the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

Happy, too, because we are joined by cultural giants who see in the death sentence meted out to the Rosenbergs a threat to culture and all decent human values everywhere in the world. Martin Anderson Nexo, that greatest of all modern Danish humanists, has spoken out - as I knew he would. Mexico's Siqueiros, Picasso of France, and many others have joined hands with us in this great and urgent crusade.

They know that if we save the lives of the Rosenbergs - as we must - we save more than the precious right to live of two human beings.

We save ourselves and the world from the further encroachments of a hysteria-minded, war-mad oligarchy that seeks to run this country and ruin the world.

We save our nation from the infamy which befell the great German people when they permitted themselves to become victims of the barbarous Hitler creed of "Aryan supremacy," anti-Communism and anti-Semitism.

We save the possibility of restoring to the *American* people their social sanity, their democratic bearings, their dedication to justice and due process.

Kill the Rosenbergs?

The wolfpack is on the march. The same small, privileged wolfpack that called for the blood of the innocent fish peddler and cobbler in Boston, Massachussets.

The same wolfpack that framed Mooney in San Francisco.

Then it was the hysteria following World War I. Sacco, Vanzetti, Mooney were scapegoats. They were sacrifices of the working masses delivered up to the altar of big business greed as it rushed to consolidate its gains of the war, crush the rising union movement - and lead the nation into the crash of 1929.

Kill the Rosenbergs?

They cried: Kill the Scottsboro Boys! Kill Willie McGee! Kill the Martinsville Seven! More scapegoats - sacrifices of my people to crush and intimidate the great movement for Negro liberation which shakes this continent from shore to shore.

They killed Willie McGee. They killed the Seven Brave Men of Martinsville.

But we saved nine Scottsboro Boys - and if we fight now as we fought in 1933 - 4 - 5 - and 6 - we'll save Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

My people are not strangers to frameups. They know what to expect from the courts of this land.

They know that the same judicial mentality which gave Mack Ingram in Yanceville, North Carolina (the North Carolina of my forebears), a "suspended sentence" for "leering" at a white woman dressed in men's clothes 75 feet away - they know that this is the same mentality which subjected Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to an unprecedented pentence for a crime no honest man believes they commited.

They know, too, that the rulers of this country can act for justice if they want to. It's not that they can't find a way to rid Negroes of the heavy burden of Jim Crow. They just don't have the will.

So, the will of the people must be forced upon the rulers of government if Negroes are to be free.

And the will of the people must be forced upon Harry Truman if the Rosenbergs are not to go to their underserved deaths! Truman can find the way! He can grant clemency! He must respond to the people's will.

This meeting must be the beginning of a great and unprecedented mobilization of cultural workers to make the President hear our will!

The time is short. The issue is enormous. It involves the honor, the decency, the future, the lives of all of us and of all Americans.

We "intellectuals" are usually regarded as men and women of thought. We must now be - every minute of every day - men and women of action. That's what I'm going to be until the Rosenbergs are free of the death sentence - and I know that you will, too.

################

[Ca 1950-1952]

Take up with Ben in next speech

Tunis + Formosa

Cf. Panama

1. Korea —

~~against background of~~

~~For~~

The Negro People understand the aspirations of colonial Peoples all over world to achieve real freedom real control of their own destinies

Let us remember the Struggles of the ~~Indo-Nigerian~~ Chinese people against corrupt Chiang Kai-shek backed by Same financial Powers of our Wall St. — the Du Ponts Morgan ~~Harriman~~ — Dulles — Rockefeller — Same Powers — who control to-day much of the wealth of Africa — the West Indies & Latin America — and important ties — mostly the wealth of the South in these United States where mostly the Negro People live in Poverty & terror.

Let us remember ~~too~~ Indo-China — Dutch East Indies — Malaya — where ~~Dutch~~ — French & British imperialism are trying to set up puppet regimes — backed by United States arms & money

[KOREA AND THE NEGRO PEOPLE]

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

to stifle & choke the
surge toward freedom
of these Peoples.

Certainly these Chiang-
Bao-Dais are selling out
their People on a larger scale.
The People, when they can —
strike back against their
own betrayers & the would-be
slave masters from outside.

South Korea —
There has never been any
Southern Republic by will of People
This from the first has been
comparable to one of those
Fascist regimes in Latin America
backed by money of American Fruit
& metal ~~interests~~ — regimes
which have been established
to keep the People in Poverty
for the greed of the few.
~~[illegible]~~ Tens of thousands of the
Harlem People can testify to
these conditions in Panama
Jamaica — Trinidad —
Brazil — Cuba Puerto Rico
& ~~[illegible]~~ elsewhere on the ~~the~~
& Hawaii
Sugar Plantations — in the oil fields
of [illegible]

The condition in Korea has been sharp since the end of the world war. There people have seen ~~the~~ fruits of American intervention in China - all over Asia - they hear about Africa - ~~et~~ How could they accept the equivalent of the kind of domination suffered by Negro people in S. Africa or Georgia or Mississippi ~~from~~ these Negro-haters and ugly ~~Bourbons~~ ~~[illegible]~~. Fascistic haters of Negro people & all colored peoples & majority of any peasants working-class people struggling toward freedom.

The American financial ~~A~~ big-wigs - who we all see trying to stir up a world world because they are afraid of the cries for independence all over the world - who want to invest large sums of money in Africa for they say for benefit of the Africans; but we know in order to enslave the Africans all ~~the~~ even more tightly than they have even up to the present

For they've been investing in Africa for a long time - where's African Freedom

They've been investing in West India sugar & bananas & oil for a long time - where's the Indian Freedom -

They've been investing in cotton - Tobacco, Textiles oil - etc in South for a long time - where's our Freedom there - where are gains of Negro People except a few crumbs for a few So called Top flight leaders - who don't protest too much the condition of the Negro millions

But People are hitting So the [illegible] back everywhere. There are strikes - rebellions - & sharp demands for independence or vastly improved conditions in all parts of Africa.

Did you see that 9 million S. African Negroes surrounding 2 million European

5.1

are refusing to work
for one day in Protest
against Segregation &
~~&~~ denial of civil ~~rts~~.
& terrible working & living
conditions — (very similar
any worse to conditions in
Harlem & other ghettos
among Negroes of America.
What would happen
if we stopped work for
a day or 2 up & down this
nation. We could you know —
When did we advanced Negroes
of this great land become
more & more
more timid than our oppressed

S African brothers & sisters.
~~So~~ People of Korea

are in more — Oh yes —
Mr. Robeson had some
idea of feeling of the
Korean People. That's why

6.

be just Capital flown over
to Korea to restore [illegible]
the military power of the
lily white government
led by a Mr. Rhee – in interests
of American Big Business
not interests of Korean
People.
That's why Mr. Johnson
Sec. of Defense was just over
& Mr. Dulles is the
Same the Negro People refused
to vote for in N.Y. last year
because he was viciously
Primarily anti-Negro anti-
Negro- anti- the American
People. He represents every
~~interest~~ in this land which is
opposed to our freedom
& full citizenship.
greedy
So Mr. Dulles & war forces

of our land touched off
~~this~~ conflict. Just as
in China — where is the
Peoples Resistance to unity
of Korean People —
why do they join with
their northern brothers instead
of fighting to death??
no this gamble of trying to
touch a world war won't work.
Yes not a question of Communist
intervention — it's a fact of
long suffering peoples wanting
Freedom against centuries —
old European enslavement.
Times Editorial
~~A Second one~~ (Forward)
A Powerful 2nd Reason
for this action is ~~to~~ the

We went to
Formosa to
to the
continue
[illegible]
now Chinese
[illegible]

Desperate efforts of Powerful few here in U.S. to stop the mountain demand of the American People black & white for Peace. For we now have joined with hundred million & more of Peoples of world in signing the World Peace Appeal to ban Atom Bomb to set up adequate international control declaring first are user this method of warfare a criminal

This action in Korea only shows how deeply necessary is the need immediate ~~fast~~ signing of the Petition to obtain free expression of the People to order of Peace

9.

& sowing hatred that no subterfuge or undeclared war can confuse or deter the People in their struggle for peace & a world in which they can build constructively for their own & their childrens future. The United Nations can obviously take no major ~~b.~~ of properly balanced & representative binding decisions when whole So. Union & [illegible] government of China are absent from the sessions. They ~~too~~ I am sure must correct ~~uphold~~ this hasty resolution taken without ~~[illegible]~~ clear access to true facts & realities of the Korean Situation.

In light of age long struggle for freedom of all groups we Negroes among most understand what is happening in this part of the world. So much like ~~[illegible]~~ Africa from which we stem.

125
250
6200
250
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1

62
61
5
128

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL CONVENTION
DECEMBER 4 - 5 - 6, 1953

ADDRESS OF PAUL ROBESON

It is a great privilege to be meeting with you once again in this - for the Negro Labor Council - historic city. Here we first gathered and declared to this nation and to the world - for news travels fast these days - that the Negro trade unionists, united and militant, joined with and by their staunch white brothers and sisters of the whole labor movement, were determined to help in the advance of the struggle of the entire American people to a new level; and particularly within that struggle to set out boldly on the path of the full liberation of the Negro people from whom we spring.

We had come to these decisions because the Negro people themselves were moving - I said moving, man - tired of being double-talked, tired of being denied the full fruits of their labors, denied the first class citizenship for which millions of our forbears had struggled and died.

Nowhere in the United States has the fight for decent jobs, for higher wage levels, for workers' welfare, for upgrading, for the full dignity of the Negro trade unionists, leader and rank-and-filer, been sharper. In no city has the fight of the Negro people for the right to live where they want to, to be rid of the slums and the ghettoes, been more fierce. It seems to be just one more bomb after another. But heroes spring up from all sides, crying out bravely, "Here we stay"-- and stay they do and will remain "to see what the end will be."

Some Americans have already worked out a blueprint for what the end will be. McCarthy, Jenner, Velde, Byrnes, Talmadge, Shivers, see in the end a world of rotting corpses on foreign battle fields, of darker peoples licking the boots of a new, American "master race," of European, Asian and Latin American nations bowing down before the power of the Yankee dollar, of Africa prostrate at their feet.

They see fabulous riches for the few while the mass of American workers, black and white, yellow and brown, live on the very edge of survival. They contend that "what's good for General Motors is good for America."

They see millions of American workers at the very bottom - Negro workers, poor white workers on the iron ore ranges, in the mines, in the California fruit fields, together with great sections of our Mexican, Phillipine and Puerto Rican-Americans brothers and sisters.

Well, I think I know the temper of the delegates to this convention well enough to know that we say: "That dream of yours is out-dated, gentlemen. This is the TWENTIETH century. You've put your money on the wrong horse. You're living in the wrong century. The dream that's about to be realized is not yours, but humanity's - humanity's dream of a world of brotherhood, of equality, of plenty for ALL of the working masses of this land, of colonial liberation, of full freedom for the Negro people of these United States, of eternal and everlasting peace!

Did I say peace? Yes, peace! The end of war, the elimination of armament races, the abolition of atomic weapons, the dedication of the sacred energy of humanity to construction and culture, rather than devastation and blood-letting.

And here at home we, the Negro people, must also be partisans of peace. For what have we to gain from war? Nothing - nothing, that is but more Jim Crow regiments, more high cost of living, more hatred of colored peoples and master-race theories, more dictation by Dixiecrat generals and admirals, more prejudice and repression.

For 90 years since Emancipation our people have been playing "catch-up" in American life. We have been battling for equality in education, health, housing and jobs. We have been struggling to reach a plane of identical treatment with all other Americans.

And now, today, 90 years later - despite all the croaking about the great progress we're making - any Negro who's not looking for a second-string job on Eisenhower's "team" will tell you we've still got a long way to go.

How are we going to get there?

Will shooting down Chinese help us get our freedom? Will dropping some bombs on Viet-manese patriots who want to be free of French domination help American Negroes reach a plane of equality with their white fellowcitizens, and, most important, will a war in support of Malan in South Africa, or the British exploiters in Kenya, or the French in Tunisia place black Americans on the same footing with whites?

To ask the question is to answer it. No! For Negroes to take arms against the New China or against the subject, colonial peoples of Asia and Africa will not advance our cause - it will befoul and degrade us in the eyes of the freedom-striving masses of the colonial world and set back our struggle for equality.

No one has yet explained to my satisfaction what business a black lad from a Mississippi or Georgia share-cropping farm has in Asia shooting down the yellow or brown son of an impoverished rice-farmer.

Mr. Eisenhower or Senator McCarthy would have us believe that this is necessary to "save" the so-called "free world" from "communism." But the man who keeps that Negro sharecropper from earning more than a few hundred dollars a year is not a Communist - it's the landlord. And the man who prevents his som from attending school with white children is not a Communist - it's governor Talmadge or governor Byrnes of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations.

I believe, and I urge upon this convention the belief, that any Negro who carries his brains around with him and has not yet been bought and paid for must agree that it is time for 15 million colored Americans to disassociate themselves from a foreigh policy which is based on brandishing the atom bomb, setting up hundreds of air bases all over the world, and threatening colored peoples with death and destruction unless they humbly recognize the inalienable right of Anglo-Saxon Americans to sit on top of the world.

Negroes, as I said, are still playing "catch-up." And with the kind of war that the atom-happy U.S. diplomats are planning we won't be catching up - we'll just be "catching," and relinquishing any hope for liberation and freedom.

I say that, even though Eisenhower is meeting at this very moment with Churchill in Bermuda, we will not, and must not support the British overlords in Kenya - we will fight to free Kenyatta! I say, even though Laniel of France is right there with Eisenhower and Churchill, we must not approve the squandering of billions of American taxpayers' money on the "dirty war" in Indo-China - we must insist that the French rule in France and leave the Viet-namese to govern themselves. And I trust that this convention will record that it is against the interests of Negro workers, the entire Negro people, and the nation as a whole to pursue one step further the suicidal, blustering, threatening, war-minded foreign policy which is the hallmark of this Administration. What Negroes need, and all America needs, is PEACE.

Just join me for a moment in taking a look at what kind of country this could be if peace reigned in the world. What could we do with the forty-to-fifty billion dollars of your money and mine which an arrogant government now spends to build up a war machine here at home and all over the world?

How many counties are there in the South with large Negro peoulations but not a hospital which Negroes can enter? How many thousands of our people have had their life's blood drip away, like Julia Dericotte (whom I knew) and Bessie Smith, one of our great artists, because the county hospital would not take them in? Could not some of these billions be used to build hundreds of hospitals and clinics in rural and city areas, South and North, for Negro and white Americans who now lack adequate medical facilities?

Let's talk about schools for a moment. How many millions - no billions - are really needed to eliminate segregation in education, or to push the level of Southern education up to the inadequate achievement of the North? The money that's not spent for a single H-bomb plant could do this if we really had peace.

Or take housing. Have we eliminated the unpainted rural shacks with the rain pouring inside; the urban tenements and shanties with inadequate plumbing or no plumbing at all, the rat-infested slums in the major cities of the country? Nobody who has traveled through the South or taken a look at the fire-traps here on Chicago's Southside would say that we have. But can we replace these horrible excuses for human habitation with comfortable, sturdy homes for all the American people and at the same time spend billions on war? No, obviously not. If Americans workers, Negro and white, are going to have decent homes to live in then we must have peace.

Yes, peace and vast programs of peace-time construction - hospitals, schools, homes, roads, community centers, bridges and dams - would mean jobs - jobs in the tens of thousands and millions for workers who are now beginning to feel the brunt of layoffs in the electrical trades, in the auto industry, in textile, steel and packing - and you can just keep filling in the others.

Every consideration of the interests of the Negro people, every concern for their security, their fight for equality, their dignity, demands that this convention and every gathering of Negro Americans declare that we must have peace, not war! Let Mr. George Schuyler marry Joe McCarthy if he wants to - we beg to be excused from the ceremony. Let the decrepid Max Yergan lounge around in illusions of 19th century imperialist omnipotence, if he will - we have other ideas. We are convinced by everything that has happened in this nation and abroad that the path to Negro freedom lies in firm conjunction with the giant strides which humanity is taking in all other countries of the world, barring none, towards enforcing the peace and silencing the warmakers.

Now, if you preach this doctrine that I've been advancing tonight - of peace, friendship and brotherhood among the world's peoples - you may still run into a little trouble in the United States. That old devil McCarthy may set out to get you!

But a lot of Americans are waking up to the fact that to be the victim of an attack by McCarthyites may not be fatal.

In fact, the only thing fatal for the American people would be the failure to fight the McCarthite madness. For McCarthyism means destruction of the constitutional rights of free speech and free press and free religion. It means the prohibition of free assemblies such as this one. It means the burning of books which proclaim the scientific truth that all men are created equal. It means the reign of fear, intimidation and terror.

The Negro people, and the masses of American people, have had many obstacles in the climb toward democracy. They overcame the Alien and Sedition Laws of the post-Revolutionary era; they stamped out slavery, they turned back the "Bolshevik" Scare after World War I. I have no doubt that they will beat back McCarthyism and restore our traditional liberties. But to do this we must reject the Big Lie on which McCarthyism thrives. The big lie is the fairy tale that the American people are somehow threatened by "communism."

If we subscribe to this falsehood then any militant leader of labor or the Negro people's struggles may be in jail tomorrow. If we concede that the ex-city councilman of New York, the ex-lawyer from Atlanta, Ben Davis, belongs in a Terre Haute Jim Crow jail, then we concede McCarthy's right and Brownell's right to jail you and me and Harry Truman, and to dig up Franklin D. Roosevelt and put him in jail too!

The defense of Davis and his colleagues, the demand for their immediate amnesty, is the very foundation of any claim we have to basic civil liberties. Certainly we of the Negro people, bombed and lynched and falsely jailed for decades can understand this.

Talk about potential allies in this struggle on the McCarthy issue - brother, we'll have plenty. Truman's on the hot seat. Morgenthau, Mrs. Roosevelt, and 20 million-odd Democrats and plenty of Republicans - no matter how hard they try to look the other way, we can move out to them and tell them, "Man you'd better stay with me - we're in the same boat, brother."

We must counterpose to the Big Lie the Big Truth of our times - that any kind of general war will destroy all the peoples of the world, that different social systems must live together in peaceful cooperation and competition, that the American people will not be abreast of the rest of the world until we choose a government really dedicated to the needs and welfare of the working people, the poor farmers, the Negro millions and all the oppressed of this land.

If we are to do our job, we must move among the great rank and file of all workers, and among the masses in our several communities; and for us particularly of the Negro Labor Council, we must move among the stirring masses of the Negro people. Our strength, courage andprogram is for them an urgent and dire necessity.

Yes, our strength and courage and vision must broaden and deepen within the very innards of the magnificent body politic of our great people. Instances spring to mind. The Packinghouse's fight on discrimination is no accident. It represents a deepened understanding of the needs of our people, of many of our most mature trade unionists, men and women of every group in that union sensing way down in their hearts the meaning of this struggle and sure in the knowledge that the Negro stands on the threshhold of gaining his long-sought freedom.

Another example, I was reading in this week's "Courier" an article about Asbury Howard of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, an article written with dignified respect for a great event - his election to the vice-presidency of this great international union. Great credit is due to this union and its fine leaders and rank and file, and great credit is due to the Negro people. For in them is Asbury Howard rooted.

Read his story. Yes, rooted in Bessemer, Alabama, near Birmingham, couldn't get rooted deeper in that Southland. Rooted in his Negro community; fraternal leader, church leader, NAACP leader, labor leader, and a proud leader of the Negro Labor Council. So he brings to his union the tremendous strength and powerful potential of the whole Negro people. The Union was conscious of Howard's strength among his people, as well as in the union. The two came together in a magnificent unity, at a new level. Because of this dual strength - within his union and within to the struggle for Negro liberation - Howard, according to the report, was able

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bring great strength to his colleagues, Maurice Travis, Clark and others. This is moving into the realm of united strength of all Americans of all colors, of all different origins, giving some measure of full human dignity to one's brother and sister, in this instance a Negro brother.

We must all learn to function in our communities, to win the communities to our side. Here in Chicago, Negro Americans, Irish Americans, Polish-Czech-Americans - we progressives must fight for unity and common struggle. We must convince our different groups of the need for unity between white and black and brown and yellow. White groups must convince white communities that struggle for Negro liberation is their struggle. We of Negro America must convince our Negro brothers and sisters of the overwhelming need for unity with honest, tried and true friends of the Negro people.

In other spheres of American life - middle class, professionals, social agencies - in the joint efforts of the NAACP and B'nai Brith, for example, we must also see the possibilities of progress. Did you see the television program emanating from Washington, D.C. the other night? The B'nai Brith, an organization of the Jewish people - hopefully, I suppose, honoring President Eisenhower with a plaque for his efforts in behalf of minorities - got to the real business of the evening by devoting most of an hour's program to the question of civil rights for the Negro people.

And most importantly the program was a magnificent one in cultural form. A Script by Rodgers and Hammerstein, leaders in the musical comedy field, with actors like Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer, Lucille Ball of "I Love Lucy", William Warfield, the great baritone; Ethel Merman, Jackie Robinson, and others - all around the basic issue of full citizenship for the Negro people.

So clearly here in this militant section of our democratic struggle there is no need to stress the growing importance of Negro freedom to the whole question of the sincerity and truth of American democracy. Certainly we didn't create this concept, this historic fact. What created it? Three hundred years of slavery, a civil war, the movement of colonial peoples, white, brown, yellow and black, all over this earth, the earth-shaking events of 1917 in the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics, the events in the growing Peoples Democracies, in China, in India, in Africa, in the West Indies, particularly British Guiana, in Latin-America - from Mexico south - in our own South, here in Chicago.

Yes, freedom must and will raise its head. And one of the most important, long overdue historic necessities in our great land in this 1953 is freedom, full freedom for my people. Yes, unsegregated schools in the South and everywhere, the right to office in this land, the right to the most beautiful homes, the right to full business opportunities, the right to full cultural opportunity and growth, the right to travel anywhere, the right to speak our mind out, the right to the status and dignity of full citizenship.

We have valiant brothers and sisters who stand with us, who everyday as we have to battle courageously for their rights and privileges. For all American labor also stands under the whiplash of our common enemy. But a Maurice Travis, an Ernest DeMaio, a Jimmy Pinta stand firm. A Ben Gold hurls the enemy staggering back, yes, the National Labor Relations Board, itself.

An outstanding example of deepest unified struggle is reflected in the pictures in the press today showing black and white, Hawaiian, Mexican, Phillipine-Americans standing firm on the San Francisco docks, many of them heroes of historic struggles. So Harry Bridges and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union stand locked in a bitter fight with Jim Crow Lundberg and his Jim Crow union around basic labor issues, around basic rights of Negro men and women to sail ships. And the very heart of this struggle is the Union's Local 10 with 1,800 Negro members, a real force for progress.

Velde and his committee, strangely, arrived at the very moment of Lundberg's provocation with stool pigeons, white and colored, to attack this fine union. If ever there was an issue involving the right of our folks to work, and yes, to live, it's this. I know we will support this struggle to the full. I am a life member of ILWU and stand ready to fly to that picket line, in the line of trade union duty.

So American labor, with us of the Negro Labor Council a very important segment, have the opportunity to play a great role in this century's historic growth, in this historic realization of the full potential and richness of a great people - a people, builders of this land; givers to this land of a great part of its culture; continuing contributors to its material, cultural and spiritual growth.

Let us set about fulfilling our historic tasks. No, not alone, not just alone with the Negro people, but with all sections of the American people - indeed, with the similarly heavy-burdened Jewish people, with the language groups from every section of Europe, East and West, with the descendants of Asian-born forbears, with our brother and sister Americans stemming from the great cultures of the Mayas and the Aztecs of Mexico (Saludos, amigos caridos!) with the Phillipine-American and Puerto

Rican-Americans - indeed, as the Ballad for Americans says, with Irish, Negro, Jewish, Italian, French and English, Spanish, Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Finnish, Canadian, Greek and Turk and Czech and double-Czech Americans!

It has been some time since I have been able to visit my friends in other parts of the world as I used to. The State Department has declared that it's best to keep me at home, you know. But I intend to be going soon again. I have invitations to do Othello in London and to sing and act in many parts of the world.

I am bringing a suit in the Federal Courts to test the right of a few arrogant bureaucrats in Washington to decide to keep an American under virtual house arrest. I am confident that you will be with me in this fight which will continue until the whole constitutional issue is settled.

I am confident that you will be with me in the building of the publication FREEDOM, a voice of the Negro people, and especially of the Negro workers, crying out for peace, democracy and equal job rights. A special issue of FREEDOM dealing with the struggle in Africa is available in the lobby of this convention and I hope every delegate will read FREEDOM and subscribe to it and get friends in the shop and neighborhood to do the same.

The Council on African Affairs, of which I am proud to share the leadership with that great American, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, faces hearings before the mis-named Internal Security Committee under the McCarran Act. It is being persecuted because it fights to arouse Americans to an understanding of their stake in African freedom. It deserves, and I am sure will receive, your support in its fight against this persecution.

I am confident, and I am happy. Confident that we shall win peace and abolish war in our times. Happy that under the sterling leadership of the officers of this Council, the Negro workers are playing a bigger and bigger part in the battle for full and equal citizenship. It has been a long time. But that fact that you are meeting, and that you will not be turned back, means that it will not be as long as it has been.

You are the future. I salute you.

The End

1 ERWIE 1. Vicki [illegible] Garvin [illegible] Garvin

Roy

We are gathered here to

participate in an historic

a ~~the~~ conference

Conference.

dealing with the problems

Level

of the Negro in the arts.

Sitting down with

Recently I was Negro people

privileged to address it

S/d with [illegible]

the Cultural session

the arts, & scores of professions

Some aspects

directed to the same problem.

These remarks have ~~much~~

been received in ~~the~~

Collective

masses & mainstream.

To-day we are

gathered in Harlem

[illegible]

one of the most important
centres of the Negro struggle
toward liberation. ~~[illegible]~~

So my remarks will be more
specifically confined against ~~that~~
background — ~~Harlem~~ —
~~Chi~~ South Side — ~~Detroit~~ — Antimony St
Central Ave. & West Side of Los
Angeles — ~~Fillme~~ more section in
San Francisco — 16th & South
in Phila — Washington N. W.
St Louis. Kansas City —
& S. W., ~~[illegible]~~ way & St Petersburg
on into the deep South —
We are dealing here
with ten million of our people

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3.

closely joined in the
Cotton belt = forming
as real a nation as the
Irish, surrounded by
the English & the Scotch =
as real a nation as ~~the~~
~~Bros~~ our brothers & sisters
in the Islands of the W. Indies
and we are out- posts of
that nation = sprung from
them = in constant touch
back & forth with them
& having the deepest &
most sacred responsibility
to them as the core of our

People's struggle for full freedom = The recent history of the human family in family make this horribly clear; to us as artists - the appearances of our beloved warrior conclusion in that same strife = seems as how inevitable is the struggle of our People and the task of the our artists = in helping to advance not retard that struggle toward full freedom

3

hol~~[illegible]~~ues start off with
the full realization ~~that~~
we spring from a great People
rich in Artistic Tradition.
rich in struggle = ~~ever~~
fighting back - ever
sacrificing - ever confident
~~that~~ the several Peoples of ~~[illegible]~~ ~~and specifically~~
the world -
the black & brown ~~sections~~
segments will win their
~~to~~ full freedom in a
world of leaping change.
Our african forbears
have left us & give us

6.

a tremendous heritage
A magnificent Poetry —
quite comparable to the
Hebrew the Chinese
the Hindu — the Arabic
the Persian = a wonderful
music = Presaging
the Polyphony of
Bach = Rhythms which
have inspired but baffled
a Stravinsky & a Milhaud —
Rhythms which form the
Spanish &
keyboard
Brazilian — & Yemenite
music — How account
And de Falla & Ravel

without ~~that~~ African
heritage – stretching from
Timbuctoo – straight up
~~[illegible]~~ thru the Moors – into Spain –
~~[illegible]~~ where Villa-Lobos ?
Brazil = without that
Yoruba – who still speak
the purest dialects
in ~~Old~~ Africa Land
of ~~that~~ wonderful ~~[illegible]~~ Tongue
~~[illegible]~~ indigenous to Nigeria'
~~Where the~~ How account
for modern Art = Picasso
Modigliani – Epstein
Brancusi = without the
influence of the Benin

8

Classic Sculptural
tradition of Southern
Nigeria =
And still to receive
its first recognition is
the Classic Dance
classic ballet - outstanding
of Balanchine - of Dunham
a wonderful Trinidadian
(Mrs Burnay) ~~[illegible]~~ and ~~[illegible]~~
springing from the very
loins of our African ~~[illegible]~~
many of our friends in this
Country

~~[illegible]~~

~~[illegible]~~

9

And coming to our own
Land = whence our popular
forms = whence ~~the~~
richest Source of our
Serious contributions =
but that the influences
of the negro ~~peoples~~ creators
& the very persons of
negro creative ~~artists~~
such as Swanson —
Still = Burleigh —
Will Marion Cook =
~~Dett~~ — Johnson and
my dear friend & esteemed
colleague Lawrence Brown

#. 10 -

Saw Dizzy Gillespie
at Carnegie. Told me that
Someone remarked that he
Sounded like Stan Kenton —
So Billie
Bayofby = like Shore —
Holiday sounds like
Bessie Smith
Tucker = Bert Williams
like Jolson = Bill Robinson
Danced like Antoine =
~~Mar~~ Marie Bryant dances
like some of the current
movie actresses she trained
~~Ted~~ Earl Dancer ~~learned~~
choreography from
LeRoy Prinz =

Please let us not blame
the Print.

But the seriousness
is evident & when we
see the literally millions going
into the pockets of everyone ~~the~~
except the real creators
the real developers of these
the much of ~~the~~ content
forms & these

What has been our
History in the Arts =
Against a background of
misrepresentation &
Calumny – we all felt

#2

We had to turn to an
oppressing creed —
~~that~~ we could do as
well as ~~they~~ in their own
ways of creative expression
We accepted their standards
whatever the relevance to us
own age-long traditions

of culture.

In music for example —
may say — and
Eastward vs West = African
(Rhythm —) | Hindu Melody
Tunes

Hebrew — Chinese —
So in art (Ashanti - ascetic
of Chinese. (In Greek.

Intro 4-Stages / 3-

~~[illegible]~~ our 51 shts have been
always on the ~~[illegible]~~ stages —
in the salons ~~as~~ outside
~~[illegible]~~
our own Communities = not including our community
What is the Picture
for any artist
in America
whatever his background
Culture is for the few =
thus is set up
For concert = foreign concerts Society [illegible]
Say in
Columbus = Butte Montana
admit a few negroes
Workers white & black —
were no part of this = tho picket
lines, churches etc or I would not have reached people
~~we~~ the
But artists & the [illegible] we
[illegible] people = thus begin

14

In clinics = in fraternal organizations - presented by fraternities etc =

Negro news papers =

Death of Bessie Smith

Marian - Roland

I = any of us ask -

In theatre (at the [illegible] & others

To-day = Mahalia Jackson

Sister Tharpe

fill ball parks

Bands (Hawkins = etc, Much of Count = (our audiences

Negro organization

telephone money

Baptist

7 million

A.M.E. Zion Power

1/2 million

money - A.M.E. - Ball organ

1 billion

N.A.A.C.P. T 5,100

~~Bar~~ Setting 15. →

X Negro Trade Union convention

Council in Cincinnati =

New day for Negroes

Trade Union movement also

~~Reut~~ Leadership [illegible] in

Negro Community –

Influence class to side of

Peace = militant

Struggle (deeper feeling

of Negro masses)

Sojourners in Washington =

Youth mobilization

—

So we as ~~artists~~

Associate ourselves &

their liberation

struggle.

16

Dr. Du Bois one of

our greatest artists = Poet -

L. Hughes = Languages

X People everywhere

Sense of creation

= Hebrew

CP Arabic

Persian

Chinese —

Language

African (O lovely music!

Yiddish

Scottish (ancient Language

Boy Bible

{ African
{ Chinese

Mayakovsky = Delivery.

Barlow (Shakespeare / Whitman
Pushkin / [illegible]

17

Dvorak - New World -
Bach (Chorale)

Earl Robinson
Bernstein
Langston (Wayfarers Suite

---

our African languages
wealth
heritage
includes
humanity
Brazil
[illegible]
Portuguese
[illegible]
[illegible]
Similar (Scandinavian
Bern = Negro
popularity
(Willie The

Rap
Rest Road
Carry them
go Father
Duty of Negro artists
to community
Negro
Native
way

Duty of an [illegible]
(Beginning
Television
Antenna
Simplification

Federal Reserve - (International Conference)

48

~~unquestioned~~

But Part of Liberation

inst
struggle = on South

Russell's Candidacy =

George = Truman =

Dewey = (Contempt for as

at Accord) =

~~States Rts~~

~~Peace~~ = implementation

of Constitution - amend-

ments (Not ~~make~~ demands

them) Truman = Stevens =

Smith

Fight for them (~~Eleven~~)

Smith Acts - Life & Death

Jefferson & French Revolution

~~Bowen~~ Douglass & Compromise
of 1848

Douglass & Mexico
We & Korea

1 E.

Truman & Smith Act
Jefferson & Alien & Sedition
Laws =
Douglass in England =
Patterson to Paris
R in Paris
Du Bois in Speeches

~~Colored World =~~
on Power = China
Africa

Two Classes = Two
Colonial Struggle
S. Union
1917 - Chinese Revolution
1949 -
China Power
New Balance of
Stanley
See Film of
Impose Peace

1917
Financial
Control
in Balkans
U.S. in Panama
etc
Two
Colonies

Peace

Peace Film (mean-ing)

20

Support Negro Peoples

Struggle =
Whatever Success
Have Come to ~~Bars~~
Many appearances
Feb. 17 – Feb. 24

~~Stan-~~
Sponsors (The People)
E Sponsors

Freedom
Comment on African affairs
Trade Union Councils –
Whole Cultural life

a Theatre
Fisk Africa
Albany Jungle
Social Conference
Self

Genuine struggle

Harlem Arts C Council

achieved
~~Achieved~~ in theatre ~~to~~ to
must be
~~in~~ ~~being~~ made available
our People = not few

21.

An ~~Fat~~ Earth to find ways
of Communicating
+ Measured Lines
Arts = Sculpture
Painting (part of use
in Society

Song (Heine need
always
(Africa) =
related || Broaden ~~seekers~~
term Arts

Thank Committee

Will work close - even
so close from now on =

Sink [illegible] our Roots.

Com

Bring to our allies =
millions of our People =
let our allies win millions
in their communities to our common
struggle.

Community
Children
Hospitals
Nursing
Playgrounds
[illegible]

Start here

22-

must work in various [illegible] other organ- [illegible]

Reliance on Negro

Cafes & Churches for

activities in Negro communities

give them every support.

This is then Task.

Do not pass on Your communities

Dont Puerto Rican me by

one - Let us work together

history & Am make possible

Latin thousands

by thousands of our

various communities.

[illegible]

Right wingers must

not control any of our

communities = Jewish

Hungarian Polish = Czech

22A

Responsibility to
all to C. N. A

Must reach to deeper
in [illegible] communities

Collection

Articles of
People

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23,

But at ~~this~~ historic moment - ~~the~~ a great Responsibility lies with the Negro in this land = and to-day + to-morrow with ~~this~~ Committee = vested in the struggle = steeled by struggle & personnel rich in ~~talents~~ of Diverse kinds: ~~Let~~ We shall not fail in any ~~limited~~ measure to fulfill our historic tasks.

THE REMAINDER OF THIS FOLDER CONSISTS OF FRAGMENTS OF SPEECHES, NOTES, AND MISCELLANEOUS UNDATED MATERIALS.

[EMANCIPATION DAY – 1952]

6. ?

We want real Emancipation –
real Freedom – not Genocide –
not endless oppression & denial of
opportunity and we are prepared to ~~we~~ fight to
the end for our rights

Yes we are dealing on this
Emancipation day in 1952 – with a
great people, their very survival
testifies to ~~that~~ – one hundred millions
sacrificed and wasted in the slave
ships – in the cotton plantations –
in order ~~that~~ there might be created
the basic wealth of our land –
It must have been a tremendously
strong people – a people of tremendous
stamina – of the finest character

7.

~~that~~ would merely have survived.

But not only have the Negro people survived in America - they have given to the United States a new language - given it ways of speech - given ~~great~~ scientific achievements - as I have ~~said~~ it, the only indigenous music.

This folk music is deep within me - For first ~~five~~ years of my career - I would sing nothing else - but nothing. Later when then ~~with~~ Larry Brown - as Harry Burleigh - Nathaniel Dett, the works & others before him - the world recognized our music as great folk music - I began to learn the folk music of other peoples.

This has been one of the bonds that has drawn me so close to the peoples of the world - bonds through this likeness in

music ~~that~~ made me understand the
political growth of many folk -
the struggle of many peoples - and
brought me back to fight here in this
land, as I shall continue ~~to do~~.
And this great culture of ours in these
U. States has its roots in ~~the~~ great
~~traditions~~ of the African peoples from
whom we stem - Traditions which
have deeply influenced the arts of Europe and
of Latin-America as well as our own.
In this particular field I was impeded

Radio - Television - movies -

Sat 2PM

Leon A Gilbert, Sr.
Chapman Funeral Home
135 S. Queen
York, Pa.

I am deeply privileged to be with you this morning. Am glad that this is an informal - even intimate gathering. Ernie has just spoken of our sitting down together with a few of the members of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts from time to time - and of the mutual constructive give & take. And when he expresses a desire that this happen more often and with all the members of our organization - I understand so deeply what he means.

For in recent months and weeks I have been sitting down in the apartment houses - in the tenements - the churches - in the clubs exchanging views with the workers with the struggling oppressed of my people — talking about liberation about concrete day to day problems of rents — food — education = but more that I have experienced the warmth — affection understanding of my folk = ten — fifteen — twenty or so; so I look forward ~~to~~ much participation in the day to day work activity, cultural & otherwise of our membership.

As Ernie and Roy have said = we must be a part and a continuously larger part of our whole American culture — we must continue to help break down all barriers in the concert field — in the opera houses — in the theatres — in the films

in Television - Radio - in the Salons
of Painting & Photography - in sculpture
in the sciences - in the professions =
And the Committee for the Negro in the Arts -
~~h~~ already has a magnificent record =
but ~~we~~ in doing this - we must not
lose respect for - or fail to deepen
& help to develop the great traditions
bequeathed to us - we must not
extract ourselves from our ~~own~~
Communities. We must remember,
as Mrs. Vicki Garvin has indicated,
our responsibilities as artists ~~to~~ to
the whole larger problem of the
Complete liberation of our people.

4.

There can be no doubt ~~that~~ we are gathered here to participate in an historic conference, a conference dealing with the problems of the Negro in the arts. An historic conference because ~~the~~ the struggles of the Negro people have reached a new historic level.

Recently I was privileged to address the cultural session of ~~the~~ the Arts, Sciences and Professions - directed to some aspects of this same problem. These remarks have since been recorded in "Masses & Mainstream".

But to-day, we are gathered in Harlem -

Insert at Bottom of PP. ⑫
of original manuscript =

From "in music for example" —

I remember going to a concert with
some of my African friends. A Symphony
Concert. They listened politely for a
while — then became thoroughly bored.
Finally one said to me — Paul, do these
people ever do anything but these 1-2-3-4
1-2-3 (our
1-2-3-4 or 1-2-3-
Fox-Trot & Waltz rhythms) =
he's so = I immediately understand
for African rhythms based on the infinite
changes of language tones & accent =
are among the most complicated in the world.
And again ~~the~~ my Hindu friends
of India

12 a

Complained about ~~the~~ barrenness &
Poverty of the older content. [illegible] The people
of the West, decided on a well-
[illegible] Tempered Clavichord for
harmonic purposes — and in so doing
sacrificed many of the old modes —
and most importantly restricted themselves
to whole & half tones = The Indian
People, rooted in Nature, like finer divisions
of a tone even a 1/32 = or more.
So here again ~~the~~ Western music was
not in any wise the final answer.
And so with Hebrew - & Chinese music -
there are riches lost in ~~the~~ more
~~mathematical~~ music of the West.

Passage on Allies of Negro People:

"Our allies must understand the basic nature of the struggle of the Negro People — against the background of a changing world — a world changed by the events of 1917 ~~that~~, the emergence of the Socialist Republics of the Soviet Union — the events of 1945 & following — the new Peoples Democracies & a new China. The Colonial world struggles towards freedom — takes the initiative — & receives the full support of the advanced workers of the metropolitan countries

128,

And so in the arts = In West Africa
among the Ashanti = there is an
art-form close to that of the Chinese -
Their work in gold coins or figures
quite ~~parallels~~ the work of the Chinese
parallels

In Jade - =

~~the Chinese~~

The Negro struggle must be seen
in this context. Help us to deepen
in the Negro communities - to win
millions to the side of Peace-Plenty
& a new, & better united -

Let other groups - deepen
in _their_ communities - the various
Language groups - the Jewish People -
Let us later join forces in an advanced
& free & truly democratic America.
Do not extract us, one by one from
our communities.

PAUL ROBESON

I need not say how moved I am today and how humble, and how proud to receive this award in the name of the American fighters for peace. I want to thank Howard and I want to thank Dr. DuBois. I shall never forget their words.

I want first to read from an article that I wrote some time ago in "The New World Review", and then a few words more.

"In 1937, the highly expectant audience of Moscow citizens; workers, artists, youth, farmers from surrounding towns, crowded the Bolshoi Theatre. They awaited a performance by the Uzbeck National Theatre headed by the highly gifted Tamara Hanun. Suddenly everyone stood, began to applaud, to cheer, and to smile. The children waved. In a box to the right, smiling and applauding the audience as well as the artists on the stage, stood the great Stalin. I remember the tears began to quietly flow and I too smiled and waved. There was clearly a man who seemed to embrace all. So kindly. I can never forget that warm feeling of kindliness and also a feeling of sureness. Here was one who was wise and good. The world, and especially the Socialist world, was fortunate indeed to have his daily guidance.

"I lifted high my boy, Paul, to wave to this world leader, and his leader, for Paul, Jr. had entered school in Moscow, in the Land of the Soviets.

"I was able to travel to see with my own eyes what could happen to so-called backward peoples; In the West, in England, Belgium, France, Portugal, Holland, the Africans, the Indians, East and West, Many of the ancient peoples were considered so backward that centuries perhaps would have to pass before these so-called colonials could become a part of modern society. But in the Soviet Union, the ____________, ____________, had respect and had a chance to advance with unbelievable rapidity in this Socialist land. No empty promises such as colored folk continuously hear in these United States, but deeds. For example, the transforming of the desert in Uzbekistan into

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

blooming acres of cotton. An old friend of mine, Mr. Golden, trained by Carver at Tuskegee, played a prominent role in cotton production. In 1949 I saw his daughter, now grown and in the university, a proud Soviet citizen.

"Today in Korea, in Southeast Asia and Latain America, and the West Indies, the Middle East, in Africa, one sees tens of millions of long oppressed colonial peoples surging toward freedom. What courage, what sacrifice, what determination, never to rest until victory. They have sung, sing now, and will sing Stalin's praise. In song and story, ("______________") "Glory to Stalin"! Forever will his name be honored and beloved in all lands! Yes, through his deep humanity, by his wise understanding, he brings us a rich and monumental heritage. Most importantly he has chartered the direction of our present and future struggles. He has pointed the way to peace, to friendly co-existence, to the exchange of mutual scientific and cultural contributions, to the end of war and destruction. How consistently, how patiently, he labored for peace and ever-increasing abundance, with what deep kindlinessand wisdom. He leads tens of millions all over the earth, bowed in heart-aching grief. But as he well knew, the struggle continues. So, inspired by his noble example, let us lift our heads slowly but proudly high, and march forward in the fight for peace, for a rich and rewarding life for all.

"In the inspired words of Louis Allen, our progressive lyricist, 'To you, Beloved Comrade, we make this solemn vow. The fight will go on - the fight will still go on.' 'Sleep well, Beloved Comrade, our work will just begin - the fight will go on 'till we win, until we win.'"

"And to your people, to their great leaders of today, and to the peoples of the Soviet Republics, I say again as I have often said, "I have been, I am, and always will be a firm and unbending friend of the Soviet Nations." ("________ ________ ________") "

Today, the fight, the fight essentially for peace, for the living together of many peoples, of the co-existence of many ways of life, demands more and more of every section of humanity, but especially do those demands broaden and deepen in this America of ours.

I have just traveled back and forth across the continent. I have sung and spoken to over 80,000 Americans and Canadians, all searching for, all working for, struggling for peace - in Korea and in the world. Tens of thousands of other Americans want the same peace. They are disturbed. Disturbed, that a comparatively small band of those in powerful positions, talk peace, but clearly rush toward war, That other peoples, so-called allies of ours, call for a halt to this modern expression of imperialist arrogance and claiming to special destiny in this century. Public expressions of this discontent and grave concern come from every walk of American life. From representatives of labor, from every political party, the clergy, liberals, from great sections of the Negro and Jewish people, Italian, Puerto-Rican-Americans, Mexican-Americans, indeed from allgroups, who in reality have built this America.

There must be, and there are ways to make the American people understand that the world has changed. That it cannot be set back. That the changes springing from the great revolution of 1917 are as real and as continuous as those of other times - of 1775, of 1789, of 1860 and from 1943 on. The Soviet peoples, as we see, stand on guard, unbending. They will go on building their Socialist way of life, fast moving into the stage of plenty in both contribution and distribution. As the effects of 1789 spread far and wide on the European continent and beyond, so resting upon historical necessity, but reali ed a new and higher level by human labor, plan, wisdom and courage, peoples of many lands inspired and guided by the experience of the Soviet Republics have now for years been building new ways of life.

The peoples of Albania, Bulgaria, Czchekosdovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, East Germany, North Korea, and of mighty China, stand onsure ground. They are nations indestructible in spirit and in fact, their futurepath chartered with wisdom and with certainty. Surely, we as Americans, can and must understand this and this understanding must be brought to millions mofe of our fellow citizens.

Other peoples have their beliefs also in their historic destinies, in their human dignity, in their love of, and belief in, their fellowmen, in the "oneness," as Howard said, of human kind. Any embarking on a path of trying to lossen the bonds of these new societieis can only lead to the destruction of all we hold dear. So we, as Americans, deeply rooted in our land, must hold back our evil doers, wherever they raise their heads or pious voices in councils domestic and international. We can be inspired by many of our brave leaders, in prison and out, many here today, alive with us today, and many dead, who have sacrificed and are sacrificing that we and our children shall inherit a decent and abundant earth. We can be proud that we live now, and take the advanced position in the struggles for our people.

I was lately in Oakland. It was difficult to do concerts because of pressures, but I walked into where the people were, and instead of struggling for a concert audience of a thousand, I spoke to 5 or 6 thousand in one day, just by going from church to church and from gathering to gathering. And in one church at a concert a minister welcomed me and said, "I have heard you, I heard Dr. DuBois not so long ago - Mr. Pattersonp many of your brave fighters have been here", and he said, "You, in the audience, I want you to know that these fighters, and many like them, are taking the blows for us." "The blows for us" - how could there be a finer contribution, how could one say it's sacrifice when one can take the blows, or part of them, for his whole people; for his whole people. And so, we can be proud that we are privileged to share in this great struggle for lasting peace, that we can stand, side by side, with a Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, with a Howard Fast, with many others here today. That as Howard says of Sacco and Vanzetti in his fine book, "Our sacrifices as their final sacrifice, as that of the Rosenbergs, are hallowed by the hopes of peoples of every culture, of every color, of every belief, and of every clime."

We shall not fail in our historic tasks, and this award to the peace fighters of America supports this faith.

The great Russian poet, Pushkin, was accurate in his prophecy, accurate within a century, 1835-1935, "Arise, welcome to you, my greetings, a new race, a new people, young, unknown, not I, will see your powerful later growth." ("____________________") So the great leader in whose name is this sacred peace award, knew that by the last turn of this century, all these peoples for whom he labored, black and white, yellow and brown, would well deserve the greeting of the immportal Pushkin, "Hail to you, a newpeople - young, but known ("__________ ________") "Known by your mighty heroic deeds", in the building of a new life, a new dignity, one of the final steps in humankinds long, hard, toil-ladened, but triumphant quest."

Text of Talk by Howard Fast
Hotel Theresa, September 23, 1953

I am here to fulfill a request made of me by the jury which awards the Stalin International peace prizes. The jury asked that I present the citation of the prize, and the gold medal, to Paul Robeson.

You may believe that I am conscious of the fact that this request is in itself no small honor. We live in an age when mankind has come to realize in all of its multi-millions, that the very name of mankind implies that war is intolerable in terms of the continued existence of humanity. This is not entirely a new concept. As far back as recorded history goes, man has spoken and written of the imbecility of predatory warfare, and of the particularized vileness of the act of so taking human life.

We have now arrived at a point in the development of our race, the human race, where the sacredness of life is boldly voiced by hundreds of millions of people who have joined themselves together in a mighty peace movement. My own feeling is that we are finishing our experience with the age of warfare, the age of murder and destruction, the age of senseless killing and barbaric and wanton destruction -- and that now we stand upon the threshold of the age of peace. Of course, the struggle for peace is not an easy one. Who could imagine that the struggle for that which humanity has prized so dearly through all of its existence, would be an easy struggle? Far from being easy, the struggle for peace is the most tremendous, the most difficult, yet at the same time, the noblest struggle upon which the human race ever embarked.

For this very reason, the heroes of the struggle for peace are the noblest heroes, the bravest that mankind has produced. When the history of our time is recorded, when, thousands of years in the future, our descendants living in a humane and good society, look back upon these times, they will place high on their records of human glory and dignity, the names of those gallant men and women who fought for peace.

It goes without saying that this struggle becomes most difficult in those areas from which the threat of war is gravest. Today, I stand next to a man who has taken that splendid human virtue, courage, and ennobled it. I have known Paul Robeson for many, many years -- so long now that it hardly seems to me that there was ever a time when I did not know him -- and during those years I have fought in struggles alongside of him. It has been my privilege, my very high privilege, to watch the growth of a mighty man, a man who belongs to the future far more than to the past.

It is no accident that almost all the world regards Paul Robeson as one of the grandest and bravest sons of the United States of America. He exemplifies what is best in our land. He went into this holy conflict for the peace of mankind without reservation. He has consecrated his life, his career, his heart, and indeed his whole future, to the cause of the peace and the welfare of humanity. He has joined the mighty and noble struggle of his own people for their freedom, with the struggle of all mankind for mankind's freedom. Through this struggle he has loomed up out of a sea of hatred and hypocrisy, out of cold terror and hot repression, out of the lies and the deceptions, like some mighty giant.

How fitting it is that today he receives this beautiful award, the highest award which the human race can bestow upon any one of its members. As Paul Robeson, winner of the Stalin International Peace Prize, he is joined with the great immortals of our time who consecrate their lives, not to this people or that people, but to the oneness of mankind -- mankind looking forward to the day when as a single community of love and brotherhood, it shall occupy this earth in peace and happiness.

Therefore, Paul, I express my own love, and thereby attempt to express the love of millions -- and the honor which is done not only to me by this act, but also to millions of my fellow countrymen. I present you with this peace award.

THE STALIN PEACE PRIZES

At the celebration of Joseph Stalin's 70th Birthday, December 21, 1949, the International Stalin Prizes for Strengthening Peace were instituted. The Decree of the Supreme Soviet said:

"The prizes are awarded to citizens of any country of the world, irrespective of their political, religious or race distinctions, for outstanding services in the struggle against the warmongers and for the strengthening of peace. Persons awarded a prize shall receive:

(a) A Diploma

(b) A Gold Medal Bearing the Image of Stalin

(c) A money prize of 100,000 rubles. This will be paid in the currency of the country where the recipients live. (The cash value of the prize in American money according to present official rate is $25,000.)

"A Committee from among representatives of the democratic forces of various countries of the world shall be chosen to name annually five to ten prizes.

"The award is to be made each year on the birthday of Joseph Stalin--December 21, beginning in 1950."

The Committee of Awards was as follows:

Chairman of the Committee: Dmitri Skobeltsyn, Professor in Moscow State University.

Vice-Chairman: Kuo Mo-Jo, of the All-China Association of Workers in Literature and the Arts (China)

Louis Aragon, Author (France)

Members of the Committee: Martin Anderson Nexo (Denmark; John D. Bernal (Great Britain); Jan Dembrowski (Poland); Bernhard Kellerman (Germany); Concetto Marchesi (Italy); Pablo Neruda (Chile); Mikhail Sadoveanu (Rumania); Alexander Fadayev, General Secretary, Union of Soviet Writers; Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet writer.

The Awards for 1950 were as follows:

1. Frederic Joliot-Curie, Professor of the College de France
2. Soong Ching-ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), President of the Chinese People's Relief Administration
3. Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury (Britain)
4. Eugenie Cotton, Honorary Director of the Higher Normal School in Sevres (France)
5. Arthur Moulton, former Protestant Bishop (United States)
6. Pak Den Ai, President of the Democratic Women's Union of Korea
7. Heriberto Jara, Ex-Minister (Mexico)

Presentation of the prizes to the above were all made in Moscow except in the case of Bishop Moulton, who refused to accept the prize.

The prizes for 1951 were:

1. Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences
2. Pietro Nenni, Member of Parliament (Italy)
3. Ikuo Oyama, Member of Parliament (Japan)
4. Monica Felton, social worker (Great Britain)
5. Anna Seghers, writer, (Germany)
6. Jorge Amado, writer (Brazil)

The prizes for 1952 were:

1. Yves Farge, of France, who led the French National Peace Council since its inception.
2. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew of India, Chairman of the All-India Peace Council.
3. Elisa Branco, prominent Member of the Brazilian Women's Federation.
4. Paul Robeson, the celebrated American singer
5. Johannes Becher, leading German poet and public figure
6. The Rev. James Endicott of Canada, a fighter for peace and international cooperation. In his book, "I Accuse" he exposed the employment of the germ weapon by the "UN Forces" in Korea.

7. Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet author and vice-chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee.

All of them received their awards in Moscow, with the exception of Paul Robeson, who was denied a passport by the United States State Department.

From these facts I think this audience will easily understand how great an honor has thus come to America, to the Negro race and to Paul Robeson. He is thus placed among the great men of the world and recognized as a prime mover in the greatest causeof our day, PEACE. He is without doubt today, as a person, the best known American on earth, to the largest number of human beings. His voice is known in Europe, Asia and Africa, in the West Indies and South America and in the islands of the seas. Children on the strees of Peking and Moscow, Calcutta and Jakartha greet him and send him their love. Only in his native land is he without honor and rights.

Of Paul Robeson himself, I need add no word to this audience. He fought his way up from a large Methodist minister's family in New Jersey, through high school and college; of which the world heard only his prowess on the football field. He studied law and facing practice, turned to art--to the music of his fathers and the drama of life. He sang his way around the world and all over the Americas until one day in Paris he dared tell the Black World never to fight the one nation which had legally abolished the color line. Here White America found the excuse it was searching for. It hastened to slander and imprison from the world this Great American Negro.

Song on his lips he came;
Song on his lips he went; -
This be the token we bear of him, -
Soldier of discontent !

Mr. Robeson receives the Stalin Peace Prize tonight at the hands of Howard Fast, especially designated for this duty by the Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Awarding Committee.

I need not say how moved I am today and how humble, and how proud to receive this award in the name of the American fighters for peace. I want to thank Howard and I want to thank Dr. DuBois. I shall never forget their words.

I want first to read from an article that I wrote some time ago in the"New World Review" and then a few words more. "In 1937 the highly expectant audience of Moscow citizens, workers, artists, youth, farmers from surrounding towns, crowded the Boshoi theatre. They awaited a performance by the Uzbeck National Theatre headed by the highly gifted Tamara ~~xxxx~~ Hanun. Suddenly everyone stood, began to applaud, to cheer and to smile. The childred waved. In a box to the right, smiling and applauding the audience as well as the artists on the stage stood the great Stalin. I remember the tears began to quietly flow and I too smiled and waved. There was clearly a man who seemed to embrace all. So kindly. I can never forget that warm feeling of kindliness and also a feeling of sureness. Here was one who was wise and good. The world and especially the Socialist world was fortunate indeed to have his daily guidance.

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I was able to travel to see with my own eyes what could happen to so-called backward people; in the West, in England, Belgium, France, Portugal Holland, the Africans, the Indians, East and West; many of the ancient peoples were considered so backward that centuries perhaps would have to pass before these so-called colonials could become a part of modern society. But in the S. U. the (-- --) had respect and had a chance to advance with unbelievable rapidity in this Socialist land. No empty promises such as colored folk continuously hear in these United States, but deeds. For example, the transofmring of the desert in Uzbekistan into blooming acres of cotton.

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1. Fast Reception speech 4/22/54

To-day, the greatest of honors comes to our great writer - representative and continuator of the very best in the hallowed traditions of our land. Said Lincoln of us - "a Nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition ~~that~~ all men are created equal." And we know that true Equality means the raising of the levels of life of all Peoples = ~~to~~ [illegible] help insure their highest contributions to the jointly-achieved richness of our many-faceted societies.

So we as Americans, should,
Can and must understand one of
the Profound meanings of this highest
of awards: This is the Stalin Peace
Prize - given in the name of one of
the great leaders of the Peoples of ~~and of the whole~~
the Soviet Socialist Republics ~~Socialist~~ ~~world~~!
and of all (~~mankind~~) human kind.
Stalin understood Profoundly
the meaning of Equality among Nations
and the unbreakable unity of these Soviet
Socialist Republics with the the New China,
with the new Peoples Democracies - does
honor to his memory. And most of
All Stalin labored unceasingly for Peace;

For mutual understanding between various ways of life; for mutual exchange = cultural, scientific & material; - for the abolition of nuclear weapons; for vast constructive uses of ~~[illegible]~~ inventive genius for human good not destruction.

Our guest and honoree, Howard Fast has worked nobly in this holy cause. With this award, comes added responsibilities to work heroically to help save our cherished land and people in these fateful days.

~~([illegible] middle of [illegible])~~

Many of us are sprung from an heroic, ever-suffering - ever struggling people - partially emancipated from slavery's chains barely a century ago. ~~To-day~~ We stand aghast this day in the land of our birth and travail. Aghast ~~that~~ irresponsible men in high places in our country - could dare to contemplate unthinkable destruction of human lives in the pursuit ~~[illegible]~~ of continuing vicious inequality among nations. Our valiant History - one full with names of Toussaint, Harriet Tubman, Douglass, John Brown, Thaddeus Stevens, - Tells us - helps us to comprehend that the Peoples of the world march toward full liberation, - to-day in Indo-China - to-morrow in Africa the West Indies and in many sections of this hitherto - colonially enslaved ~~earth~~ globe.

(~~[illegible]~~) We know that there is an honest America - an America of the ~~tens~~ of millions dedicated to the Principle of the ~~Rights~~ of all to Equality and Freedom. Together with Howard Fast & Liberal of Progressive America we shall do all in our power to help arouse ~~[illegible]~~ these millions ~~this America~~ - ~~[illegible] once [illegible]~~ fend their voices once more. There are low rumblings - There must be and soon, a mighty bursting forth of our will to help impose the Peace -

an over-Powering Surge
to insure that we and those
to follow live in Friendship
with all Peoples, upon this
Potentially all Providing Earth.

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson

On Howard Fast's
winning of Stalin
Peace award -

NEGRO LIBERATION Paul you often use the term 'Negro Liberation', what precisely do you mean by this term + what in the relationship of Negro + White trade unionists to this concept.

Yes ~~We~~ often ~~hear~~ the phrase Negro Liberation is used and we hear ~~We~~ often ~~talkxdee~~p speak of the terror against the Negro people. I would compare the struggle of my people today with their struggle of the days following emancipation. We had been presumably freed from slavery; our leaders had great power in many of the southern states; we had representative in the senate; in bongress; we were building a new land in the south based upon the unity of Negro and white at a tremendously high level; That level was based upon the/ ~~xxmplete~~ necessity, the complete necessity of Negro leadership and Negro representation based upon the democratic concept of the majority, With profound respect for the rights and privileges of the minority.... This minority being white in many states in the south just as it is today. We know the history of that period. The south refused to accept the defeat of the civil war. We saw sinister colaboration between the ruling class of the south and the financial and industrial powers of the north...we saw our freedom vanish.~~xxntilxrewon~~x Until rewon... that is our challenge today. Can we together with our allies, gain that freedom at this new level.. at this decisive momement, not only in our history, but in the history of the entire world. So when we speak of Negro liberation, we speak of this in these grave terms.

The 15 million of american Negroes are workers in the main, poor farmers. These workers organized and unorganized ~~look~~ expect Negro trade unionist ...especially Negro trade union leaders to be very close to their problems and to their struggle. There is the most profound demand in Negro life ~~that~~ for the closest association between the churches and the trade union leaders of the masses of the Negro people. The workers look one way for a kind of inner unity which has helped preserve us and to the other for militant and uncomproising struggle...for a decent material life. The Negro trade unionist has the deepest responsibility to the Negro people in their struggle for liberation. This was the essence of Cinn. The Negro trade unionist recognized the demands made upon them by the masses whom they lead and/ millions of ~~th~~ others who will look to them at some future time for guidance.

When one speaks of the allies of the Negro people, at this moment, it is very clear that the demands upon the allies must match the heroic struggle of the Negro people. It was not easy in the days of the underground railroad; it was not easy in the 1850's and 60's, but the Negro people found a John Brown and E. Lovejoy; A Wm. Lloyd Garrison

"Negro Liberation II

A wendel Phelps; millions of white brothers and sisters in America and over the world who stood by and struggled until victory. This was the meaning of a Maurice Travis, spokesman for the allies of the Negro people at Cinnciannati. It is in this context that we speak ...that we must speak ... of a new and much higher livel of unity between the Negro people and their white allies. But especially between Negro and white trade unionist for here rests the very foundation of the struggle for full liberation based as it must be on the unity of the working ~~class.~~ People.

lead into last point from here.

Negro liberation cont

Speaking of unity Paul the story of Peekskill in which Negro & white stood together has gone around the world what ~~[illegible]~~ 3 estimates do you have to this event today.

Certainly one contemporary evidence of ~~this~~ unity at the highest level was Peekskill. ~~25,000 people, white and black come from all over the~~ state ~~to help~~ Defend ~~build our America.; the very essesence of what we mean by the American people at their finest~~.... The victory of Peekskill... the challange to a would be fascism was only made possible by the diciplined strength of thousands of Negro and white trade unionist. ~~This~~ Following Peekskill the spirit carried all over this land. Who mobilized thousands upo n thousands fighting for freedom of speech...for freedom of cultural expression; fighting for the very right to walk the streets alive; again.... courageous, heroic trade unionists, In these cities of Cleveland, Phil, Detroit, Winston Salem, L.A. San Franscisco, the historic necessity through threw great burdens upon all trade unionist but especially upon my Negro brothers and sisters because of the pressure of govt.... federal and state...of police... state and municipla... all of these gatherings in churches, ball parks, auditoriums ...in the streets themselves... had to be held in the Negro communities. So for all to witness, were the close links that exist between the progressive Negro trade unionist and the masses of their people.. they carried out magnificantly, the most challenging ~~taks~~ tasks. I emmerged from this series of struggles deeply convinced that the hard core of the liberation movement rested with the Negro Trade Unionist. And I was deeply moved, as in city after city, I found myself literally surrounded by a wall of these fighters for their people's freedom, standing ready to accept whatever might happen. And so one of my proudest moments was in Cincinnati when I was able to stand with them as one of them.

~~So finally~~, I would say ~~I might sum up~~ this~~; way:~~ The Negro people sense the profound attacts on the very concept of their right to be first class Americans. This is the meaning to them of Martinsville, Va.. especially of the bombings of the Moore's in Florida, of Cicero, of Cairo, this is the meaning of the attacks upon their leadership symbolized by that lifelong fighter for his people Dr. W.E.B. Dubois. This is the deepest meaning of the bombing of the Moor's in Fla... the Klu Klux moves again supported by the state power; supported b the power of the courts; they challenge and treaten with distruction ~~nxxxx~~ not only rank and file but the leadership of the Negro people..leadership built with such toil and sacrifice.

The Negro people say once more in our history we are fighting to survive. Where are you...working class leaders of our people. Where are you..trade union leaders in these big unions. Are you fightihg for the

Question Many of us in the past have been Trade Union members & not Negro Trade Unionist, But we have heard the call of our people and we are taking steps to build our Negro workers power & take our place in the front ranks of the struggle what would you Paul say to us.

Negro liberation cont

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4. negro liberation

Are you fighting ~~fxxx~~ with every bit of your strength for the freedom of your people; are you standing yourground as uncompromisingly as did Frederic Douglas; as did Hariet Tubman; are you afraid of nothing; are you fighting for the full dignity of your people. Do you know , do you have realization of the tremendous power of the Negro people today. Do you recognize that they try to terrize us because they fear us. Do you understand that we, the 15 million Negroes of America are closely bound with 3/4 of the population of the world...colored peoples like ourselves. Do you know that we are closely bound with the peoples of Africa, of the West Indies; of Porto Rico, of Mexico. all of ~~latin~~ latin America. We are closely bound sith the hundreds of millions ih India. Do you understnad that we see 500 million of our brothers and sisters in China determining their own destiny. Millions like ourselves who have found new life in the soviet lands and the new people's democracies. Do you understand, we the Negro people, are a part of a changing world and that we can't stand still. So the Negro people demand of the Negro trade unionist that they fulfill their job of organizing these millions.. organize the power of these millions for militant struggle...for full liberatio n. That to do this, the Negro trade unionists must reevaluate their relationships within the whole labor movement and they must demand for their people new standards of unity...that they must insist upon the deepest understanding of the struggle of the Negro people....yes, of the Negro nation ..for the recognition of the fact that only the closest unity between the labor movement and the Negro people's liberation movement can win democracy for our country at this historic moment. So the Negro trade unionist must demand of his white allies the kind of heroic action that characterized the actions of the Negro people in their earlier days of ~~trial~~ travil. ~~If~~ So the Negro trade unionist, like other ~~sections of the~~ honest sections of the Negro people struggling for freedom must demand of their white allies ~~the~~ especially progressive allies, the highest concepts of unity...unity based upon the full recognition of the right of the Negro people to leadership and to the determining ~~of~~ many of their greatest problesm. This must be so at every level of participation..in progressive organizations, in the whole trade union movement but it is a complete necessity within the Negro liberation movement itself. Yhe Negro trade unionists say to their fellow white workers ..help us in every way but especially in this. Go to your own communities...fight within your own trade uions for the highest level of understanding of the struggle of the Negro People.

I

Some of your closest associations are mong Negro Trade Unionist and you have certainly given expression to many of their deepest feelings and aspirations. How do you account for that?

Well, remember the background from which I come. I was the last of 7 children .... born when my father was 55. As pastor of a medium sized church in Princton, N.J. he spent a lifetime in educating his children. ~~In my youth, he had to start all over again after pastoring in the Princton church for over 20 years, at the age of 60, the congregation wanted a younger minister. There were no pensions; and my father went to another little Jersey town and started to build a new church from a storefront.~~ I came up in poverty, struggling together with my hard working relatives not too long from the cotton and tobacco fields of North Carolina. I had to ~~helpxoutx~~ begin to help out at a very early age. I can remember myself as a little kid barefooted hoeing in the corn field; at the age of 12, I was kitchen boy in one of the largest hotels in Rhode Island; I was up at 5 A.M. and I worked through until night. At the age of 16, I was in a brick yard doing a man's work. We worked seven hours a day because that was all the men could take. There were about 2 men short trying to catch a machine so no one has to tell me about speedup. I worded in the ship yards as a riveters helper. I worked on the docks; I was a hod carrier. So I should know something of the problems that face workers....especially Negro workers. It's no mystery. It should be perfectly clear that within the framework of Negro life itself, in this country, that I should feel very close to the working masses of my people and ~~through them the organized Negro trade unionist~~ especially aware of ~~themselves~~ the responsibilities of their leaders in the organized trade union movement.

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2 cont.

When I returned to American in the days of the struggles of the CIO, you must remember that I plunged into those magnificent battles of the American Working Class and I fought for Auto; for Mine and Mill; that I was in Winston Salem with tobacco workers led by that magnificent representative of her people, on the docks of San Francisco in more than one strike; Miranda Smith; that I was in the coal mines of W. Va. fighting for the rights of the miners...the majority Negro..with many white allies. I've been on the pickett lines in Memphis, Tenn. in common struggle with Negro and white workers... Through it all, I was close to the Negro rank and file ...to the Negro leadership of all these unions. Tjey gave me guidance and deep thanks that, as an artist, I understood their struggles so well. It is clear~~n~~ that I understood, not only as an artist, but as a worker.

that ~~It~~ the fight for Negro freedom is a basic part of the struggle of the freedom and democratic liberties of all Americans...for peace...for the unity of all peoples of the world and there must be full understanding that the Negro Trade unionists have the responsibily of mobilizing Negro workers...of mobilizing the Negro People wherever they may be found....mobilizing them for full participation in the liberation struggle of their people. However/ difficult, however sharp, the differences may be, there must be constant struggle for the fullest unity. I am proud to be a part of this fight...of this effort to, in our time, carry on the traditions handed down to us by a Jefferson, by a Douglass, b a Hariet Tubman, by millions of the Negro people, millions of ~~xx~~ other americans who have died and sacrifiedd that our children should inherit the earth.

II

I gather from this background that you really had identification with working people all your life.

Yes, that's right... you might recall that in my work as an Artist, I chose the creation of the mass of my people ...I chose their folk songs as the base upon which to build an artistic life. We must never forget that these songs came out of the struggles of our people for liberation, at an earlier period. These were the songs sung by a Douglass, a Hariet Tubman, a Sojurner Truth, by my own father...songs of struggle...created in struggle...weapons of liberation. Wherever I went in the world, I sought this kind of music so wherever I went, I found myself closely bound with the working masses of every land. As I came step by step to understand what was going on in the world, I gave my talent to the fight for freedom of workers,~~xxx~~ poor farmers and honest intellectuals everywhere. [~~And I did this not only emotionally but theoritically. I did it because I saw the power the of the working masses...black, brown, white and yellow throughout the world. Whether they were conscious of that power at all times, or not, I saw and felt that power. And of course, I saw a great working class state build from its early days into one of the greatxxx unitsof nations....its destiny determined by the working masses themselves. I met many of those who have since shaped the future of the great Chinese people. I met many Africans sprung from the soil of my forefathers and within this people I was drawn to the worker..to the seamen... to the dockers...to those who were close to the great masses of the African people. So it is not strange that I would be deeply conscious of the need to fight for the full dignity of all laboring peoples.~~]

My struggle within the whole trade union movement is a long one. In the late 20's and early 30's in England, I was on the picket lines time after time. In the coal mines; on the water front; in the textile areas;..of Whales, Scotland, England, Ireland. I walked shoulder to shoulder with English workers all over the Isle... the same happened in many other countries of Western Europe. I met many of these workers on the soil of Republican Spain. We were part of an heroic struggle which had much to do with softening fascism.

[1949?]

1000 words

1

I ~~am proud~~ privileged to be here ~~tonight~~.

~~On this platform~~ are many of the outstanding fighters for ~~peace~~ and for the ~~democratic~~ rights of all ~~Americans~~. This is no longer a question of the 12 — the [illegible] ~~it is~~ a question of the basic constitutional liberties of all sections of the American people. One speaker has suggested that the Senator McCarthy will ~~[illegible]~~ help solve the question by his very absurdity. No ~~this~~ question of our rights will be solved only in struggle. These ~~brave~~ men are ready to be the first to sacrifice. We must not allow them to do this — we must save them by ~~the~~ organized collective strength ~~the cry of~~ attempts to frighten by labels hysteria. The Communist leaders ~~[illegible]~~ countless members of the rank & file here & in many lands have been the first to fight at all costs for our liberties — and

that is why I am proud to stand side by side with them in our common struggle.

(2.)

~~Tonight~~ a year ago America

~~collapsed like~~ it.

~~[illegible]~~ Part of the

~~progressive~~ Progressive America

~~plunged~~ ~~rapidly~~ ~~as a~~ into the

~~[illegible]~~ into this atmosphere of

terror and paralyzing

fear.

~~How could these~~

~~things~~ have been allowed

to happen — I submit ~~that~~

the basic cause is not

Re-action's ~~of~~ strength —

~~but~~ our weaknesses.

What do I mean by ~~that~~? In

the days when

the Progressive Party was

successfully [illegible]

place on the state ballots

a conservative estimate of

Progressive strength was

some seven millions — with

millions of others still recognizing

the Roosevelt legacy of a New Deal

America — ~~[illegible]~~ a world at peace

with [illegible] normal trade

& cultural ties.

Whatever the causes of results of ~~this~~

elections — Truman's demagogy

failures to take advantage of our position to dig deeper into the masses of our country – continued atmosphere of hysteria – the fact remains ~~that~~ 1,000,000 citizens did vote for Wallace + the third Party Program. where are those 1 million. Imagine if a million people fanatically devoted to our democratic faith – were active – militant – in ~~the~~ march – would the 12 – the 10 – be facing prison this night –

If not the million – where the 500,000 – where the 250,000 – where the 50,000 shouting at the top of their voices – we do not want war – we want peace – we want Federal Employment Practice Act giving Negro people and other minorities – right to labor and a decent existence – we want the smashing of the Mundt-Ferguson Bill and its

Crass violation of our Constitutional liberties = where are they? This is the Crux of the matter –

Our divisions – our fears – are responsible for this position – Our deep responsibility is ~~to~~ re-gather our strength – extend our forces – This is necessary not only for saving our Comrades & friends in this Deal fours but for security of the 12,000 of whom Atty. General McGrath speaks as kept in the list indeed for the security of the great majority of the American people.

Let us face the fact that we live at the core of Pro-Fascist Power – a Power which wants Poverty – Death – Destruction of Culture – un-Employment – Serfdom for much of the world all for the greedy ends of a few.

5

We are in the vanguard of the struggle against these forces. We are anti-Fascists we are a part of the most powerful group in the United States - the most powerful class - the millions of the people - the workers - the poor farmers - the oppressed groups of many nationalities of writers - artists - ~~scientists~~ who are servants of and fighters for the People.

We must see ~~that~~ the State Power is in the hands of the Representatives of the People - We must expose ~~this~~ bi-partisan administration (both Democratic & Republican for the sham it is - The Negro People are fast understanding the betrayal of their rights. ~~[illegible]~~ Truman says war plans - E.C.A. - before rights for Negroes - workers see their betrayal - and challenge of the very right to collectively bargain - their false leaders

Can not deceive them much longer. If we go into the shop - into the factories - into the fields with the Truth

Poor farmers of South-central West & Far West. suffer more hardships each & every day -

All of the distress comes back to question of an Economy built upon War - or upon Peace - The Potential for Change in America is enormous.

So this is no time to be faint of heart. Quite the opposite. We must know our Power & use it.

This is a struggle which extends far beyond our own boundaries - Our enemies are intent upon restoring Fascism in the world - so they support a neo-Fascist Western Germany - a Fascist Greece a Chiang Kai-Shek - they try to frighten us with Atlantic Pacts - Support of most Reactionary forces in South-East Area -

They talk about a 4th Point to re-enslave the whole African Continent - ~~and our~~ Latin-American our brothers & sisters in the West Indies.

But these attempts are meeting with almost rank failure all over the world.

So we must recognize our international strength - we must strengthen our ties with our friends & allies - the working masses of England - France - Scandinavia - Italy - the ~~[illegible]~~ brave peoples of the Peoples Democracies - with the Peoples of China & South-East Asia - with the mighty forces for liberation ~~[illegible]~~ Peace - among the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union.

We must join the World Forces of Peace in ~~[illegible]~~ struggle to outlaw atomic warfare - to help build a world where life can grow anew.

8.

The Colonial Peoples will not be fooled. The Peoples of Africa know full well that American Big Business - English Steel & Diamond Barons - Belgian Rubber Barons - can bring them only misery & Poverty - as they have these past centuries and generations - The great African leader - Gabrielle D'Arbussier is especially clear on this Point - These Peoples, striving toward their Freedom - are our allies in the fight for Peace & abundance.

So forward ~~to~~ Struggle let us keep our commitments to our fellows - let us in these next days see ~~that~~ how Trials are held - let us keep them and ourselves from the Fascist Jails

Let us guarantee their triumph by helping to build fast a mighty mass movement of the millions of Americans black & white who are awaiting our leadership — our complete devotion & unbending courage in this mighty struggle for well-being of all humanity."

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Speech in Britain

2.

of ~~Great~~ Britain — Scotland ^Ireland & Wales — [GREAT BRITAIN]

and the millions of colored peoples in Africa, the West Indies and the East.

After all it was ^here among you — ~~that~~ [illegible] I ~~came~~ ^began to realize this oneness — and I sense it even more deeply to-night, ~~[illegible]~~ tho I am far away.

History is was Begun ~~there~~ We are ~~Ever since I left you last — I have~~ ~~seeing~~ the world in change — This frightens many people — frightens those who refuse to understand the march of History.

For me History of man — is the History of the great masses ever struggling toward Freedom — toward a bountiful life for all — toward the liberating of all the magnificent potential of countless human beings

We have been subjected, for the most part — reading about to the history of small groups — of Knights and Princes — and the elite — and to-day of the so-called great 'financial' or industrial barons:

I as a Negro must listen to Anglo-Saxon-Germanic, Klan made myths of a Superior Race — Even the workers must be supposed to accept for time ~~everlasting~~ a place 'below' these 'geniuses' of the ~~ed~~[illegible] gentry,

No — the history of man is the history of the achievements of those who labor of the craftsman — of the peasant — of the factory worker = the few have robbed ~~helpless~~ him — they have terrorized and enslaved him — but it becomes increasingly clear

4.

~~that~~ the future & much of the Present belongs to,

as england whose ~~are going~~

& the future ~~belongs~~ to the People.

perhaps will ~~belong~~ continue to belong

My wife Eslanda Goode Robeson, and several

of her women colleagues - travelled recently from

Prague to Peking - to the Southernmost to China

& the shores of the Pacific - Just think

from China & the Pacific to the waters

of the Elbe in the People's territory -

where the People rule - & where the oppressors

are no more — atom or Hydrogen bombs

can offer no ~~threat~~ to these hundreds of millions

of People occupying such a gigantic

Part of the earth's mass - they will

never be contained = Containment has

already begun in reverse.

And so to-day, we in this Part of a world witnessing change- have grave responsibilities to our own & to future generations.

We live in a world where we are the bastion against the revival of a decadent- life destroying Fascism- against those who despise the People- who would Ghetto destroy, the world - rather than surrender their ill-gotten power. They have the arrogance to think ~~that~~ History ends with them. Well- they would do well to know that real History is only beginning - gone forever the History of man's degradation & shame-

6.

less poverty - ignorance - imposed upon
him by a heartless few - there were forces upthrew
the new ~~history~~ of abundance & joy and
co-operative & brotherly inter-change
of goods & services - of rich cultures
~~taken~~ giving & taking each from the other
millions of our forefathers: millions
of our contemporaries have dreamed to see
this dream come true. You here in Britain
have contributed mightily to this struggle -
~~The Levellers~~. the utopians. the Chartists
suffragettes in Spain - in many fields against fascism
And the contemporary ~~the~~ forces of labor & liberalism of their day ~~[illegible]~~
& forward-going mightily to better.
& thus might have waged conflict with powerful forces of evil
in the conflict not as in the ~~[illegible]~~ in the present
& abundance
struggle for ~~peace~~ - & freedom (Roosevelt)

The Fascists can consider coolly the end of man - we say - we want an opportunity to enjoy this earth a chance to build anew. We will not be cheated - we ~~will~~ have destroyed this Fascism - & we will see that it remains in the dust where it belongs - we must see that in governments in peace in your country in which - are allowed to stop this new world from — its fruits of, ~~the~~ complete human liberation.

The ~~essence~~ of the struggle is the fight for peace - we are winning it - let us heed Fact - stern & courageous.

8.

We live at a time of especial historic importance

I was singing "A Mighty Fortress is my God"
recently - hymn of Martin Luther - arranged
by Bach - There in Luther's time (1579)
after years & years of peasant revolts
against oppression of government & church -
the historic moment came for a leap into the future -
So in our country in 1863 - when my people
~~[illegible]~~ won the first step to liberation - Freedom
from ~~bondage~~ the slavery of bondage & chains -
to a new servitude in Field & Factory -
but the stage is set for another and
last leap into realms of unbelievable
~~happiness~~ - constructive work - achievement
and happiness for mankind ~~vast~~ ~~which~~ great allowing to take away
cultural forms no
A Part & very important - I think to - urgent of
Part of little advances in sciences & the arts - the enjoyment of great
cultural etc

To make us feel inferior & ignorant

Here important

The workers are supposed to be far away from these esoteric pleasures - only the elite can appreciate the great masters of Poetry & Song & picture meditation. No - the very language of Shakespeare, Milton Burns - Pushkin - is the language of the People - [illegible] greatly created for the Peoples Poets - The very music of Bach stems from the Lutheran hymn - hymn of Freedom - & liberation from oppression - the very creations of a Haydn - of a Schubert & a Tsaikovsky - of a Shostakovich - of a Khachaturian a Chopin - of a Bartok - are the [illegible] creations of the folk in song & dance.

And so the very science of Marxism - for example - is at base the

Science of the ages & the ~~work~~ efforts of Stalin to Science
survey of the People — ~~the~~ the analysis how they app
app. have conquered their Environment from
beginning of time — This knowledge is also
creation of the People — often their children
are robbed of their heritage — but no one
could stand in the Soviet Union of the '30s even
& then ~~stand in~~ Stalin's grave in 1949 —
and not literally weep with joy — ~~that~~
a People ~~denied~~ their birth-right for centuries
~~for~~ could so soon create their own scientists
then ~~our engineers~~ own artists — to prove
conclusively that science & culture stem from
& belong to the People. So it is in China — so it
western Africa & here
in the country of my birth
So let us go forward with sure
sense of our power — of our own worth

THE REMAINDER OF THIS FOLDER CONSISTS OF FRAGMENTS OF SPEECHES, NOTES, AND MISCELLANEOUS UNDATED MATERIALS.

Delegates to World Youth Conf
in East Berlin - Chas White

[1951?]

The German Democratic Republic has demonstrated the possibility of a united Germany which will live [redacted] at peace with the Soviet Union and with the nations of the **West**.

We have before our very eyes the proof that Germany can regain its sovereignty as a peaceful nation, rid of Nazis and shorn of the military potential to start another world war. That proof is the existence of the German Democratic Republic. The peace of the world demands that all Germany be unified on a democratic basis and that the U.S. sit down with the Soviet Union to work out a peace treaty guaranteeing such a Germany.

1945 VE
1952

It is seven years since the victory in Europe against the forces of Nazi barbarism. Yet we in the United States are still a long way from understanding fully the meaning of the anti-fascist war and the character of the enemy our soldiers died to subdue.

We are learning the lesson - but all too slowly - that fascism, which took root in Italy and Germany - was not simply a national peculiarity of the people of those lands, but was a symptom of the mortal sickness of a system - the system of monopoly control of the economic life and the political destinies of people all over the world -

~~One goes~~

I happened to be in Germany in 1945 ~~at~~ the end of the War - Singing to American Troops. Already one heard of the need to attack the Soviet Union and to make friends with remains of Hitler Germany, ~~I ha~~ our, concert company had to refuse to sing on ~~two~~ occasions until Pro-Hitler Fascists - guests of the top military - left the hall,

I stood at Dachau - where the ~~dust~~ remains of many victims still were visible = but the Hitler Storm ~~SS~~ Troopers were barking in the

Sun - Protected by American Soldiers.

The Policy later evolved, ~~to~~ was beginning then - a definite high U. States military Policy of making common cause with Hitler Fascism. ~~Proof is full evidence~~

In Eastern Germany we see now a different story. a re-~~building~~ of a new Germany - based upon the Peoples Power - with the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union and the Peoples Democracies a constant guide.

The essence of the Soviet Proposals for a United Germany - is the Provision that no organization may exist in Germany which acts contrary to the ideas of Democracy and the Preservation of Peace. we here in the U. States could use such a Provision

Friends -

I am happy to greet you on this important occassion. You are gathered in the cause of peace, the cause of lasting friendship among the world's peoples, the cause a richer life for the men, women and children of this generation and the next.

The vital nature of your meeting is clear. These objectives cannot be achieved unless the majority of the people of the United States learn and never forget the lessons of fascist Germany and the victorious anti-fascist war. We must learn also the lessons of

At present we are learning too slowly.

We are learning too slowly because the masters of the commercial press, radio and other channels of communication, have sought to silence the truth and distort the facts to their greedy advantage.

The truth about Hitler Germany, the anti-fascist war, and Germany today, are unpleasant to the atom-happy framers of U.S. foreign policy. Because the truth shows that U.S. big business actually supported Hitler in the '30's; that it joined the world struggle against fascist barbarism only when it had no alternative in face of the demands of world opinion; and that it continues to coddle in West Germany the same forces which brought the world to the brink of ruin more than a decade ago.

Only 7 years have passed since the end of the war in Europe. But in that seven years the mantle of leadership in every anti-human plot and scheme has passed from the chancellory of the 3rd Reich to the Pentagon and the White House in Washington.

The world recoiled at the horror of Belsen, Lidice and Oswiecim. But some Americans contemplate without a quiver holoconsts of even greater magnitude to be perpertrated against the colored peoples of the Far East. We read the reports of the indiscribable brutality of U.S. troops in Korea – the leveling of villages, raping of women, the casual murder of old men and children – and somehow we avoid the conclusion that we are permitting our children to be raised as a generation of storm-troopers.

But world humanity will not avoid this conclusion. They will hold us just as guilty as the whole German people were for the more than eight million men, women and children who were murdered in German concentration camps.

How do we get this way? What ails us? There are many answers, but a few need special emphasis today.

For one thing, we have permitted to grow in our midsts without serious challenge the germ which was one of the most hateful features of fascism — the virus of racism — so-called Anglo-

Saxon superiority. It is a sad commentary that on Dec. 15, 1950, a "law for the preservation of peace was passed in the German Democratic Republic, specifically prohibiting all incitement to race-hatred and chauvinism—while in Cicero, Ill., the leaders of the mob which sacked the home of a Negro veteran, were let loose ~~to~~ to attack again, and the defenders of the Negro's right to live where he chose were indicted.

If racism + anti-Semitism could be routed in the German Democratic Republic in the short space of seven years, how much longer shall we wait in the United States to destroy this mortal enemy of human dignity and decency.

The Negro people have already waited more than 300 years, And we have decided that that is more than enough. The time for freedom and equality is now. We are not to be told that the Congress or the President cannot *find the way* in the United States to guarantee us our constitutional rights to full equality. We are convinced that they *do not have the will*.

Just so, they do not *have the will* to negotiate seriously with the Soviet Union for a peaceful, unified, democratic Germany. This is the second major illness which afflicts our nation. We have in office a gang of corrupt liars and big business lackeys who use the slogan of anti-Communism to hide all manner of foul deeds.

Are prices too high? Blame it on the Communists. Is unemployment rising? Stalin must be to blame? Are Negroes oppressed? To fight their oppression would play into the hands of the Communists? Have the people of the world expressed their demand for peace through hundreds of millions of signatures on petitions for a Five Power Peace pact? It's all a Communist plot.

This anti-Communist phobia of U.S. leaders has a familiar ring. It is the big lie of Hitler and Goebbels.

Your meeting takes its place with the thousands of demonstrations which must be held all over this land to *force* the people's will upon the rulers of government. Never tire of bringing the truth to the people. If we are to defeat the plan to place us by the tens of thousands in the concentration camps already in being and being built in the United States, such leadership as you are providing in this meeting will be indispensable.

#

Its against this background that honest young Negro labor leaders supported by their allies - meet in Cincinnati - determined to develop a Program - and to find concrete ways to struggle for and win - advanced gains for all labor = decent Housing small business opportunities - credit facilities - Schooling for children end of Jim Crow -

ROBESON COLUMN
for the FIRST (DEC. 1950)
issue of FREEDOM

Copy

Condense this early Period

Then condense Harlem Period

Use most of last Pages -

16 - 26.

(1)

I came up among hundreds of relatives - aunts - uncles - cousins on both my fathers & mothers side - concentrated in Princeton, New Jersey - but living all over ~~New Jersey~~ the State - in Philadelphia and stretching down to Eastern North Carolina. Here they still live the many have passed & gone. So I grew up conscious of this immediate family of hundreds. My mother had died when I was young - so one week I was this aunt - another few days with this cousin -

fed and reared as an integral part of the whole one great family - ~~not~~ divided as there into many units.

~~And so the whole~~

Later as in Somerville New Jersey & ~~Westfield~~ - where I grew up - the ~~[illegible]~~ same thing happened except that now it was mainly the families of my fathers church - and then all the negro families in those, at ~~that~~ time - small towns.

My father was a minister. We lived in Westfield ~~on~~ the top floor of a small house

3.

my father cooked my meals —

But later he was busy ~~try~~

building a little church which

still ~~stands~~ - so I ate

at one ~~the~~ four colored ~~restaurants~~ -

I remember rushing from school

to get my favorite dish & my nickname —

a thousand on a plate - a [illegible] stew, or that delicious beef st. maybe later at home Mrs. Hallam would ~~take~~ me down for —

The whole town later claimed me —

~~still~~ a delicious ~~dish~~ of my p ~~wedding~~ ~~of~~ a wedding of ~~that~~ long yellow meal scalds of corn bread

but I was always aware of

subtle difference between my complete

belonging to the Negro community and

my qualified acceptance (however

admiring) by the white community.

~~To [illegible]~~ I played in the high school teams - baseball - foot-ball - basket-ball - Sang in the glee club - was a member of the debating team. I remember how the music director, singled out my booming bass voice - one day in rehearsal - and encouraged me from then on to ~~continue~~ work in my musical career.

From Somerville I won a scholarship to Rutgers at New Brunswick New Jersey - ~~[illegible]~~ You can see the campus from the train - as you roll into N. Brunswick on the way to Philadelphia.

Here at college - was on the surface a marvelous life - but actually - I still lived in my mind & heart at Somerville fifteen miles away - and I was home every week end - ~~Superintendent~~ of my fathers Sunday School - Seeing my "girl friend" and joining the boys & girls with whom I had grown up. Or I would go to the Parties at Princeton - or Phil~~ade~~delphia - or Newark - or the Oranges.

6.

life at college was a thing apart - a place where one proved that a Negro could master ~~the~~ educational requirements & prepare for a profession - where one was on trial as a foot-baller - a debater - but a world apart - where there was a clear line beyond which one did not pass.

These days in Jersey and the cities around, were close to my heart and the ~~my~~ later life took me far & wide - the names of Nelson - Adams - Ball - Wright Ross in Hartford - of Dollinan - Schenck - Beekman - Moore -

Paterson - Hoffman in Somerville -
of Pearkett - Davenport - Parrish -
Spanns - Fudge - Johnson (Strobel's
father) in Newark & Oranges -
bring back clear & heart-warming
memories of richly-fulfilled youthful days

By this time - I was also a
Part of Harlem - For every year -
I played foot-ball at the Polo
Grounds against Syracuse or
Washington & Jefferson - or the
All-Stars - & after the game
would stay over with my people
in Harlem - while rest of the team
would go ~~back~~ to a down-town hotel -
or back home -

8.

Soon I was playing on St. Christopher basket-ball teams
under Father Daniels — # ~~teams~~
which were known the length &
breadth of this land. What excitement
in the games at Manhattan Centre
now Rockland Palace — against
Brooklyn Carlton Y — the Jersey
Alpha — Spartans —
teams — of Trenton or perhaps
Hampton — From there teams
Came later Renaissance teams —
headed by "Fats" Jenkins — George
Fiall — Zappy Ricks — Managed.
by Bob Douglass of old Spartans.
~~[illegible]~~ # The names of these days meant
Harlem itself — Jimmie Raswell —

9. Krane - ~~Bale~~

[illegible] Hooper -

~~Atkins~~ Caperos - Lowry - Williams

atkins - Som I was one of the

Harlem family. We gathered

at the Y.W. for meals - went

to ~~school~~ on different universities

I at Columbia Law School) - studied

together at ~~Night~~ "getting ~~that~~

law ~~together~~" - in the summers - we

covered the town = I was chief

baritone S [illegible] - Harry Brogg the ace Pianist -

our ~~[illegible]~~ anthem ~~but~~ was Noble Sissle's "Good

night," my-Angeline" - always the last

stop was Stratton's Chinese Restau-

rant in 136th St.

10:

Then the night I met Harold
Browning of the "4 Harmony Kings"
then in Shuffle along. Harold
said "Paul, ~~we're~~ we're looking
for a bass singer - Hahn
(the bass) has got to go the Coast for
a couple of weeks. - Know anybody.
I said "Now Harold - I'm surprised
at you - I'm your Bass." ah
quit your kiddin - Paul - you're
a baritone." "listen Harold -
and I started humm-
well come by to-morrow. Sunday
at 4. well Sunday I was on the
63rd. St. Stage doing my stuff"

Perhaps begin w PP 11

and "bassin" on down.

From there into the "Plantation room with Florence Mills - into Provincetown Theatre - my first concerts & my later career.

???

all thru my youth

All through this - ~~of~~ in my own mind and in fact - I was a part of a large family - a family to which I was responsible and this family stretched out from Harlem to Washington - Baltimore - Richmond -, North Carolina, Chicago all across the nation - wherever the Negro people lived & struggled.

My songs were the songs of my People. For five years I would sing no others. Later when from my travels - I saw the likenesses between songs of different Peoples - I learned their languages & began to sing the folk-songs of ~~the~~ African the Welsh - the Scotch Hebridean - the Russian - Spanish Chinese - ~~and~~ the Yiddish - Hebrew and others. For I found the Peoples songs - songs created thru the ages - I ~~feel~~ so much more at home with ~~these~~ than with so called art songs of individual

13.

Composers. And to-day I choose those individually composed songs which are rooted in ~~the~~ and ~~redolent~~ deeply remindful of the folk ~~tradition~~. So that even in my artistic life I was aware of the Pull of the "Collective," of the family - now including peoples all over the world - to me very much alike - as alike as were & are their songs.

And my feeling must have reached my audiences. All of my critiques ~~testify~~ to a close rapport with my audiences

Perhaps begin here
with condensation of earlier
3 pages.

14.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

I certainly knew that I began to build a special kind of freedom..

with ~~which~~ I felt very close bonds.

Changes clear in my life

Later ~~many things~~ became clear as shadow of Hitler loomed - as I saw & met refugees from Hitler Germany - went to republican Spain - visited the Soviet Union - became a part of the struggles of colonial peoples in Africa - India China - W. Indies for their Freedom - returned again & again to the America of my birth.

In the England of 1932 at height of my career

Perhaps ???

An ~~artist~~ did not & could not live in some rarefied atmosphere far from the problems of People.

Certainly not the interpretative artist - ~~The very fact~~ like the singer or the actor. By the very nature of his "living" he served someone. If he sang in Negro churches he served the Negro people. If he or she sang in the big concert halls of the nation he served the "big folks" — if he sang in the commercial picture houses or in pictures. or the radio - he was a part of the "bread & circus" policy of those who owned these mediums - to "keep the people happy".

Then One day in London, I went out on picket lines to sing for workers in their struggle for better pay & working conditions —

I was fighting for my People —

(most of them were working People —) like these workers — like the Welsh miners & [illegible] [illegible] —

I tied all this together —

Saw the same British aristocracy oppressing white English - Welsh & Scottish workers & African & W. Indian seamen & whole of my People in their ~~[illegible]~~ Cause.

At height of my career in England I turned to the workers as the real allies of my People. I began to sing for them — to act for them — I gave up two years of my time then — way back in 1936 - 37 — to help build workers theatres in Great Britain — to help develop a working class culture — in the full meaning of that term.

In England two years ago in 1949 — I had the pleasure of singing with magnificent working class choirs — one headed by Mrs. George Thompson, wife of the a leading working class scholar — leading authority in Classic Greece

I saw ~~working class~~ book-stores — musicians — theatre actors — motion Picture units & unions — all devoted consciously to the Problems and welfare of the working masses — serving the workers — not those who for generations have denied workers their heritage.

?? I searched & searched — listened & listened and began to see ~~that~~ here was one of History's greatest swindles. From music — ~~whatever~~ wherever the composer — the base — ~~the form~~ foundation was always the peoples music. ~~In~~ Bach (a name a worker might run away from) Bach, used the simple

Lutheran Chorale (a Mighty Fortress is our God) – simple hymn Tunes as his Point of departure – he got a little bored of the organ + began to dress them up with some fancy runs up + down) but ~~the~~ simple chorale was always the most beautiful one –; or on the other hand the dances of the People were the source of ~~the~~ more catchy + rythmic sections of the Suites and later Symphonies.

And so on for every great composer – yet the People (the earliest leaders of sources of our Art) were excluded from any real Participation in the culture of the various communities.

So I began to concentrate on Peoples music and soon became in my artistic work, again a part of a collective — of a family — and naturally I became involved in their struggles for a better life — here in America & elsewhere — and the time came when I could clearly ~~[illegible]~~ say that for me "art was a social weapon" — to be used ~~by~~ to the "family" used by the great majority in their unceasing & arduous battles.

I remember Frederick Douglas explaining in his biography ~~that~~ songs about "Canaan" were about the North & Freedom —

21

We know that "Go Down Moses" was sung when "Harriet Tubman" was at [illegible] in this ~~to~~ region — to help So ~~[illegible]~~ music as a part of struggle was not new to my people.

To-day, ~~[illegible]~~, I feel a close part of the journey of the Negro people here in America among whom I was born — ~~Close to every [illegible] of white [illegible]~~ and I feel close also to my cousins in Africa & the W. Indies — Latin America and I feel a part of many peoples of all colors throughout this world, whom I know feel close to us — the American Negro people in our battle for full citizenship.

And in this America of ~~to day~~ 1951 as I approach another birth-day — I think of the closeness of the Negro People with ~~millions~~ tens of thousands of honest American white workers and ~~the~~ courageous liberals — all over this land — North & South - East & West.

For us of Harlem. this closeness this extension of the "family" was at Peekskill for all to see. There 25,000 People white & Colored - stood together in a real defense of our American liberties, ~~in~~ the right of assembly — of Free Speech — the right of Negro People to full citizenship; these People defied the Ku-Kluxers and would be lynchers and again I felt myself a Part of a tremendous ~~of~~

Collective Strength & Power.

As those children colored & white -
& their mothers & fathers - stood there
~~Cal~~ calm & even gay - waved me
good-bye & wished me well -
I knew, that day, for whom I was fighting & [illegible]
for People (not a mass of 25,000) -
but 25,000 - individuals) collectively
joined into a magnificent unity)
of all sections of our America - colored
white - Jewish People - of various immigrant
groups - for the most Part working
People - joined by outstanding intellectual
leaders - liberals and artists.
All bent on Preserving the decent - the
true America. Here was a loyalty I craved

24.

understand - and act upon -
This America wants a chance for
its children to grow up without
fear - in an America which
knows no poverty & slums + Jim Crow -
oppression within or without -
An America which recognizes a
world in change - a world of many
ways of life - An America which
refuses to sacrifice its precious youth
~~for~~ to the folly & greed of the powerful but few -
inheritors of the ~~gangster~~ - ~~big boss~~
robber-baron - imperialist - gangster, ~~tradition~~ of
American life -

Can America which will gladly & courageously assume its grave responsibility ~~to~~ impose the Peace upon our home bred would-be destroyers. The People of America ~~whose~~ ~~have~~ are the power - they can save their land if they will. But this means the saving of every precious life - of Willie McGee - of Trenton Six - of preserving the liberties & freedom of those who are most ready to sacrifice for the family - we must not let them be sacrificed - we need them to lead us & give us strength - so we must save the eleven leaders of the American working class - we must save Dr. DuBois William Patterson - if we do we Save ~~[illegible]~~

thousands - yes millions -
we remove the terror - hanging
over the heads & lives of all workers
of all intellectuals & liberals of the
whole Negro People.
We have the Power - the forces of
the Left & Progressive, liberalism have the
strength - if fully mobilized & used
to ~~[illegible]~~ move the broad majority of our
American People to the Peace & Friendship ~~which~~
they so obviously & clearly desire.
All of these deep beliefs explain
my statement in Paris - explain my
hopes and my daily labors. I am
not making great sacrifices which
need fanciful explanation. I am simply

27.

fulfilling my obligation –
as best I can & know –
my responsibility to the human
family to which I proudly belong.

["THE ROAD TO REAL EMANCIPATION: HERE IS MY STORY" FREEDOM, JAN, 1951]

1

We are on eve of Emancipation. ~~Time~~ with ~~its~~ connotation This day, of dawning freedom is close to me. My own - father - not my grandfather was a slave - He was born in 1843 in Eastern N. Carolina near Rocky Mount escaped in 1858 over Maryland line to Pennsylvania He worked on farm - earned money & went back twice to N.C. to carry money to the mother he loved so dearly. So he escaped 3 times by the underground railroad — Song for Drum lines Maybe he helped Harriet Tubman Came to lead fortunate ones to a Northern or Canadian "Canaan" - maybe he knew Frederick Douglass - who Castigated ~~Called~~ a slave land for the Counterfeit of Democracy it claimed to be -

That father reared me - almost alone. My mother died when I was barely six years old.

One thing I learned as a youth
sheltered
Penn - ragged - but loved by my
struggling aunts & uncles & cousins
Robinsonville
in New Jersey and in North Carolina
I learned that Emancipation - Freedom
meant Freedom for all of my People
for a
not ~~the~~ few wealthy & fortunate
negroes - but for all of us - and I knew
I had a right to look for ~~Eq~~ Freedom
Emancipation. means
of Emancipation — out of the hands
(out of the hands of) - and
former
of masters - & oppressors - me my
I've spent a life finding how to use my)
own hands - my own talents -
the Dignity
thus is a necessary part of
of any People

So today - this struggle for
full emancipation is for every little
beautiful one in
boy & girl - like the little ~~[illegible]~~ the upstate
column

3.

She has a right to emancipation, and yet denied her
almost 100 yrs after her fathers were free
supposed to be fully free —
Last week I travelled into Ohio
to talk about our newspaper Freedom —
& appeal to secure new [illegible] with
workers in the plants — to visit the churches
& to walk along the avenues — to
sit around a barber shop or a bar & exchange
opinions. Also sat with the business &
professional men & women — and hello
to many of my fraternity brothers —
altogether [illegible] — saw the youth
witnessed among progressive sections of our
America — the ~~unity~~ friendship of black & white
native & foreign born — [illegible] felt again
the closeness of the age-long struggle of
the Negro & Jewish people — Peoples with
same heroes — Moses — Joshua — David

4.

I was entertained in homes ~~that~~
brought me so close to my ~~[illegible]~~ dear
my youth – I was surrounded by
as affection & the love of a home full
of children – who, some called me
Paul – by growing boys – who
were yearning for emancipation –
by men, of the
a modern Cleveland – by up-grading
family who were looking for
in ~~the~~ plants they had worked in for years –
together
And holding the whole family ~~grown~~ almost believe ~~two~~
Grandmother
was a wonderful – mother &
in one – a woman who made me proud
that
~~I~~ of our people – And I was proud
to help to gain full
I was a part of a struggle
seeking
Freedom for children & a family
the making
as thus – so representative of the
of the American Negro People.
(Center's Hopkins in Toledo – Mrs. Hopkins – Fayette Slave
over/

He made me promise to Negro Press
lend a hand – not 2 hands and 'a prime Negro newspaper man (Billy Rowe [illegible]
to knock a [illegible] – [illegible]
[illegible]

brought me

my youth - I was surrounded by
as affection & the love of a home full
of children - who, some called me
Paul - by giving hope - who
were yearning for emancipation -
a modern Cleveland - by men, of the
family who were looking for up-grading
in ~~the~~ plants they had worked in for years -
And holding the whole family together ~~strong~~ [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~
was a wonderful - mother & Grandmother
in one - a woman who made me proud
of our people. And I was proud that
I was a part of a struggle to help gain full
Freedom for children & a family such
as this - so representative of the millions
of the American Negro People.
Centers Hopkins in Toledo - Mrs. Hopkins - Forgotten Leave over.

He made me proud
a prime Negro newspaper man
lend a hand - met 2 hard
to lead a People
struggle

In my mind —
I was taken back to Wales —
the
in England of 30s (thirties) So it was
with many of the miners families —
workers — inheritors of a proud & free
culture — oppressed in a modern
England but fighting on — This was
was background of my film — "Proud Valley"
& the 'Tunnel'

I remembered workers of
France who became heart of French
peasants & workers
Resistance — of Spain —
of Norway — Denmark, Sweden —
I remembered wonderful People of
the Soviet Union — (emancipated almost
same time as negroes were in the U. States
in 1860 — now in 1934 — they had
not only
rid themselves of their Czars Barons
but of their Rankins & Eastlands

of their Reynolds — & DuPonts — their land - their 40 acres & a mule belonged to them - They weren't cheated out of them as were we by a ~~bi~~ bi-Partisan Democratic & Republican betrayal — Their whole land belonged to them - the People. They did not have to contend with 2 Parties (one as corrupt as the other because they represent ... as we do today (They need one Party to represent the People who owned all in their name) a 2 sided bipartisanness —)

For let us be clear - that's the meaning of this Korean adventure which has cost us the precious lives of our youth — whom we Negro people need for our continuing future — We need them here in Alabama - in Georgia, every parts of the South. We need them to lead & build up the South which will one day belong to us

7.

McArthur & a section of Republican big business have investments in Asia in Korea itself — but Remember big business (Du Pont Morgan — have their chemical Plants in Western Germany — control wealth of England & France — thanks to a double-edged Marshall Plan, war in Asia — another

So one side wants Peace —— but in Europe. But we want war of any kind — especially with Peoples like these Russians — Chinese Peoples like Czechs — Peoples formerly oppressed like Moslems — who stand in the lead in the fight for Emancipation of all Colonial & Semi-Colonial Peoples — (And please don't say we want a Semi-colonial People) Peoples

That's why I feel about these Peoples as I do! They are taking care of out of the oppressions

of my people. We hear all kinds of
talk from our ~~diplomats~~ of
the American peoples responsibility
to the Free nations of West. To
England of the Tory ~~animals~~ - of
those who fled bled India - who held
Africa in chains - of Belgians
millions. who lose of lives of
~~Afro~~ our brothers & sisters in Congo -
of South Africa which rules
yearly
our peoples of millions - which [illegible]
treating them worse than of Birmingham
Alabama ever whispers.
of ~~the~~ nations which still bleed in
modern serfdom a West Indies + Puerto Rico - which
has been eager & ready ~~ready~~ for self rule
long - long ago (more coward)

9.

No, on this anniversary of our emancipation
we can surely not think of sacrificing
our youth & ourselves to preserve
these empires built on the blood &
bodies of our ancestors - & to what
end - To the worlds destruction —
maybe these men of Southern Bourbon mentality
say - "Better have no world than to have
9—
to live in Equality with N—
C - "all names called Negro people -
Chinese People Puerto Rican People
Korean People - No we say - "we want
to enjoy some of this earth we helped
to build

Well - if we want to enjoy this
Earth - we will have to fight for Peace.

10

There are many Peace groups —
Peaceful alternatives broadly —
Many Churchmen — Quakers —
World Peace Movement (Howard
Thomas Robinson —
Forces of Peace have War-makers
thousands —
If you join us
millions —
will have Peace —
We can struggle for our Emancipation
only thru Peace — allowing our colonial
brothers to build & grow strong —
Their strength is our strength — Let
~~that~~ be clear — Do we want a free Africa
Then how will P
a free W. Indies —
if they can intervene England & France
to effect regain strength by shedding
your blood —

11.

A strong modern China (formerly oppressed
by same people who oppressed & oppress
us) by same financial forces who
waxed fat on our fathers cotton-field
labor) — This China is a mighty
interested in our full emancipation —
So is Soviet Union — millions of whose
people are colored — yellow — brown —
black — a nation whose greatest poet
Pushkin was unmistakably a Negro —
& who is honored to-day as is not
even a Shakespeare in England — More nations
& others like them are surest guarantee of
an Emancipated Africa — (how Charles Armand
P. Robeson — ~~[illegible]~~
etc Kenvouds [illegible]

We help ourselves — by refusing
to hear any talk of war. No need to worry
who you'll fight or not fighting. Fight those who are
Fight for peace & jobs & right to vote & future for your children

are other thoughts - about who is &
who is not a good American.
Our emancipation causes us to remember that
my father & your father or grandfather or
great grandfather had to choose in
1860 between north of the U.S. States difference & south
of the United States between Jeff Davis
& Frederick Douglass - between Lee
& John Brown - Certainly my father
came to the North - the union -
& History records there were big-names
base treacherous heads who came Jeff Davis
& slavery but fortunately they were few -
[illegible] unfortunately a few of their kind many
are still running loose among us
harm to-day - but a people bent on
real emancipation & freedom as we are
will learn how to deal with them.
Perhaps - (Quote Frederick Douglass)
excerpts.

We are on the eve of Emancipation. This day with its connotation of ~~dawningxfreedom~~ of dawning freedom is close to me. My own father - not my grandfather - was a slave. He was born in 1843 in Eastern North Carolina, near Rocky Mount, and escaped in 1858 over the Maryland border to Pennsylvania. He worked on farms, earned enough money and went back twice to North Carolina to carry money to the mother he loved so dearly. So he escaped three times by the underground railroad.

Maybe he sang Go Down Moses as Harriet Tubman came to lead fortunate ones to a northern or Canadian "Canaan". Maybe he knew Frederick Douglass - who castigated a slave land for the caricature of democracy it claimed to be.

That father reared me - almost alone. My mother died when I was barely six years old. One thing I learned as a youth - poor, ragged, but loved and helped by my struggling aunts, uncles and cousins in New Jersey and in Robinsonville, North Carolina. I learned that Emancipation - Freedom - meant freedom for all my people - not just for a few wealthy and fortunate Negroes, but for all of ~~xxx~~ us. And I knew I had a right to look for Freedom and Emancipation. Emancipation means out of the hands of - out of the hands of former masters and oppressors. And I've spent my life finding how to use my own hands - my own talents - this is a necessary part of the dignity of any people.

So today this struggle for full emancipation is for every little boy and girl - like the beautiful little girl in the opposite column . She has a right to emancipation, as yet denied, almost 100 years after her forefathers were supposed to be "henceforth and forever free."

Last week I traveled into Ohio to talk about our newspaper FREEDOM and to sit at close quarters with workers in the plants, to visit the churches and to walk along the avenues, to sit amound in barber shpo ahd bar and exchange opinions. I also sat with the business and professional men and women and said hello to many of my fraternity brothers. I saw the youth and witnessed among progressive sections of our America the friendship of black and white, native and foreign-born; felt again the closeness of the age-long struggle of the Negro and Jewish people, peoples with the same heroes - Moses, Joshua, David.

I was entertained in homes that brought me so close to my youth - I was surrounded by the affection and the love of a housefull of children who soon called me Paul - growing boys who were yearning for Emancipation in moderb Cleveland, men who were looking for up-grading in the plants they had worked in for years. And holding the whole family hard to believe, together was a wonderful mother and grandmother~~ix~~ in one, a woman who made one proud of our people. And I was proud that I was a part of a struggle to help gain full Freedom for such children and such a family as these - so representative of the millions of the American Negro people.

In Toledo I had a chance to lend a hand in building a people's struggle for the freedom of Curtis Hopkins, a Negro who was being threatened with extradition to Mississippi by Mr. Truman's Justice Department~~xxxxxxxxx~~ under a fugitive slave law - after the State of Ohio had repeatedly refused to return him to his Mississippi exploiters! Together with Mrs. Hopkins I met with a committee of citizens dedicated to the task of freeing her husband. I vividly remember two brave Negro ministers and a fine newspaperman who made me feel proud of the Negro press.

In my mind I was taken back to Wales, in the England of the '30's. So it was there with many of the miners' families, inheritors of a proud and rich culture, oppressed in a modern England, but fighting on. This Wales was the background of my film, "Proud Valley" or the "Tunnel".

I remembered workers of France who became the heart of the French Resistance, peasants and workers of Spain, of Norway, Denmark, Sweeden. I remembered the wonderful people of the Soviet Union - emancipated about the same time we Negroes were in the United States, in 1863. Now in 1934 they had rid themselves not only of their Jeff Davises, but of their Rankins and Lanhams, of their Reynolds and DuPonts. Their land - their 40 acres and a mule - belonged to them. They weren't cheated out of them as we were by a bi-partisan Democratic and Republican betrayal - their whole land belonged to them - the people. They didn't have to contend with two parties (one as corrupt as the other because they represent a two-sided big business) as we do today. They needed but one party to represent the people who owned all in their name. ~~Farxxat~~

For let us be clear - that's the meaning of this Korean adventure which has cost the precious lives of our youth - the youth whom we Negro people need for our constructive future. We need them here in Alabama, in Georgia. We need them to lead and build in the rich parts of the South which will one day belong to (us?) the common people.

McArthur and a section of Republican big business have investments in Asia and Korea itself, but Democratic big business (DuPoint, Morgan) have those chemical plants in Western Germany, and control the wealth of England and France, thanks to a double-edged Marshall Plan. So one side wants war in Asia - another in Europe.

But we want PEACE, not war of any kind, especially with peoples like the Russians, Chinese, Czechs - peoples formerly oppressed like ourselves, who now standxin the lead in the fight for emancipation of all colonial and semi-colonial peoples. That's why I fell about these peoples~~N thxxxxx~~ as I do. They are taking care of a lot of the oppressors of my people. We hear all kinds of talk from our diplomats of the American peoples responsibility to the free nations of the West. To England of the Tory aristocrats - of those who bled and bleed India, who hold Africa in chais. To Belgiumn millionaires who live off the bodies of our brothers and sisters in the Congo. To South Africa which robs our people of billions yearly while treating them worse than Birmingham, Alabama, Ku Kluxers. To nations which still keep in modern serfdom a West Indies and Puerto Rico which have been ready and eager for self-rule long, long ago.

No, on this anniversary of emancipation we can surely not think of sacrificing our youth and ourseelves to preserve these empires built on the blood and bodies of our ancestors - and to what end - to the world's destruction! Maybe these men of Southern Bourbon mentality say, "Better have no world at all than to to have to live in equality with n_____s, g_'_s, c____s, and all the names flung at the Negro people, the Chinese People, the Puerto Rican people and the Korean people. But we say, "We want to enjoy some of this earth we helped to build.

Well, if we want to enjoy this earth, we will have to fight for peace. We can struggle for emancipation only through peace, allowing our colonial brothers to build and grow strong. Their strength is our strength: let that be clear. Do we want a free Africa, a free West Indies. Then how can we help an imperialist England or France to regain strength by shedding our blood in a war against colored peoples?

A strong, modern China (formerly oppressed by the same people who oppressed and continue to oppress us) by the same financial robbers who waxed fat on our fathers cotton-field labor) - this China is and must be interested in our full emancipation., So, too, a Soviet Union, millions of whose peoples are colored (yellow, brown and black), a nation whose great poet Pushkin w as unmistakeably Negro and who is honored today as is not even a Shakespeare in England - these nations and others like them are the surest guarantee of an emancipated Africa.

We help ourselves by refusing to hear any talk of war. There's no need to worry who you'll fight or not fight. Fight no one! Fight for peach, for jobs, good wages and shorter hours, for the right to vote in the South , for the future of your children.

One other thought - a bout who is and who is not a good American. Our emancipation causes us to remember that my father and your father, ~~oxxgxxxxdfxthxxxx~~ grandfather or greatgrandfather had to make a choice in 1860 between the North of the United States and the South of the United States, between Jeff Davis and Frederick Douglass, between Robert E. Lee and John Brown. Certainly my father chose the North, the Union. History records there were big-house, handkerchief-heads who chose Jeff Davis and slavery, but fortunately they were few. Unfortunately a few of their kind are still running loose doing us much harm today, but a people bent on real emancipation and freedom as we are will learn how to deal with them

27
14
108
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378

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["NEGRO HISTORY.—HISTORY OF THE WHOLE NEGRO PEOPLE" *FREEDOM*, FEB, 1951]

(1)

Is the History of the Negro People in ~~America~~ the United States to be measured merely the History of the achievements of ~~a Banneker~~ ~~a Carver – a DuBois~~ – a number of ~~outstanding~~ individuals – as important as ~~these~~ are these ~~successes~~ – I submit that our History is exactly what the words say – the History of the whole Negro People.

This History is not individual but collective in its essence – it's a History of the group. Our forefathers were herded into the slave ships – the sufferers – herded into their plantation barracks and thru out the 250 or so years of slavery we were herded ~~into the~~ + oppressed as one solid mass of

humanity — we rebelled as one
with our allies
group and we fought ~~with our~~
~~allies~~ our way to Freedom
as a compact ~~of~~ great family unit
P. 3
no people feels more than we
~~that~~ what one Negro does affects
the white people. When I was
playing foot-ball — I had always
to remember whatever the provocation
that I represented a whole
people — I had to play clean
and thus I did — of course
once in a while the ambulance
rolled up to take off one of the
rough boys who had called me
all the names in the book

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

3

And slugged me every which
way – but nobody ever saw ~~me~~ hit
him – Of course he was game –
but he somehow managed to fall
right into my knee – or my swinging
although it wasn't my fault
fist – and I always helped pick
him up – so tenderly –

Leading my classes – I had to stay
up late to prove that negroes could
also measure up in their studies –
but every negro boy & girl knows
& accepts ~~these~~ obligations &
responsibility –
all know that we
we have a group ~~to~~
– and, by the same token, until
the great majority of the negro people
have equal opportunity for advancement – negro history cannot rest

~~as one solid mass of humanity -
We rebelled as one group - and
with our true allies we fought
our way to Freedom as a compact
great family unit~~

And by the same measurement To-day
until the great majority of the
Negro People have equal opportunities
for advancement - until we all
every one of our little boys & girls all over this
land - have full Equality & Dignity social
in every phase of our life -
Negro History cannot rest - with
the recital of Personal victories,
however fine.

4

With the recital of personal virtues of my fact, I found humane ~~fine~~ ~~that~~ this was apt to work in Reverse. The rulers of this land of treating ~~the~~ ~~to~~ millions of my people in room serfdom & ~~to~~ Terror poverty ~~and~~; exposing us oppression and inhumanity — always point to the permitted achievements of a few of us as justification ~~excuse this~~ (for myself) I got tired of serving as an excuse for ~~these~~ cruelties to my people — I felt ~~that~~ & they no longer possessed simple Human dignity. So I stopped to join in the mass peoples struggle of the Negro & other oppressed groups in this nation.

~~But to-day~~ To-day I'll have ~~the~~

to leave the dubious honor

of being used as Excuses for the

daily – Insults & Indignities. ~~The~~ ~~Bewares~~

~~Daily crushing~~ ~~opportunity~~ of being used as

of the Negro People – ~~for~~ as Fronts

for the Failure to give my People

Basic Rights of First Class citizenship

– This Honor I must leave to the Walter

White! The Lester Granger – the Adam

Powells – imagine Powell – rushing

the Negro People (who told him to talk

presumably) into a war where

is certainly ~~not~~ a War to all the rest

of America – the government included –

and declaring ~~that~~ we will not "squawk"

even ~~fight~~ in a whisper ~~[illegible]~~ for the against

~~the attempt~~ to start a war 6 ever Chairman
of ~~[illegible]~~ war which, like brass hats
MacArthur said of them
Can't embark 1 upon good & suffering

Reasons ; ~~main~~ Remembering The Power of this world

the People, Americans & others in the war 20 the

who want Peace & the

Prince & the white are so terribly

anxious to prove their patriotism

why don't they rush over to ~~Korea~~ Korea

Peace of

and ~~take~~ ~~Lt. Gilbert~~ ~~war~~ fighters.

Lt Gilbert & his other Co-

Just ~~as~~ at the time that all our Americans - from

every group, there is a clarion call

to the administration to get out of

Korea To seat the New & Real

China in the United Nations —

to find ways for ~~peace~~ of Trade

in a world of the Peaceful Co-existence of many

ways of life

7.

these Super Patriots — looking
for a soft job or Ambassador &
otherwise — at the expense of
the Negro group — such as
where even Weiss & ~~[illegible]~~ dip
Lippmans
~~[illegible]~~ ah
~~far to [illegible]~~

Now this kind of leadership
This kind of wisdom which ~~running~~
goes to the ~~Heart~~ of History of the
Negro People. we seemed understand
~~We fought~~ our way out
And we have known & we see Here
in the Civil War. We fought
hard in the early days of Reconstruction
We caught a glimpse of a South
re-built by close union of Negro
& white workers ~~B~~ Labor appeared
much of the South glimpsed has long need

8.

Recount
Read Fast's Freedom Road
Remember the magnificent account
of Re-construction by W. E. B.
Du Bois, whose honor ~~this~~
issue. Remember his glorious
~~Document~~ to the United Nations —
one of his last acts as representative
of the N. A. A. C. P. which he
~~founded~~ helped ~~to~~ found.
The history was there: people together
The Negro leaders Douglass Tubman
mass [illegible] time
At ~~that~~ time ~~[illegible] the~~ knew
together with the
people of that time, knew then
& then colleagues, Douglass, Tubman
The Negro history. Their leaders
& leaders
Their history ~~that~~ For while
Tubman They knew called
Lazy plantation owners (~~Quote Peter~~ |
than came away — | while modern
the Negro slaves & white
workers produced the wealth
the primary wealth of this land.

But the ~~mass~~ bulk of the Negro People - the Negro worker, the struggling Negro - aspiring but Frustrated Negro Youth realize that at this moment ~~[illegible]~~ ~~History~~ we must look at History anew. Against the back-ground of a terror-ridden Martinsville - Harlem or - Birmingham - he sees a changing world emerge: - a free China - an India struggling to break its remaining chains - a restless militant West Indies & a smouldering Africa - Latin-America - He is beginning to understand ~~that~~ the full freeing of these lands will mean a free South for Negro & Poor white labor - a free Peoples America.

And to-day he swings his Shoulders
back with a new dignity.
He senses a source of tremendous new Power
in the world - the Power of Friends
of Brothers - and True allies.
(8) ~~To 7.~~

10.

It is in the stream of ~~these~~ great liberation movements that the struggle for Negro liberation belongs whether we all ~~quite~~ fully realize it or not. For in order to get started on the long road to true Freedom the Negro People must learn from the experience of these similar Peoples!

~~It~~ The Negro People must draw ~~the~~ obvious conclusions and act accordingly. They need no go-betweens - no individual beggars of favors - at the expense of the collective - The Negro People will have to build their own mass organizations built upon themselves the toiling - laboring rank & file of men - women & youth.

(In the long run – the 95% or more of the laboring & poor farming especially sections of our people North & South are the Power. They are the Power in the churches – in the fraternal organizations – in the important clubs – in any of the organs of Negro life. They support the doctors – the lawyers – the scientists – the artists – Take this base away and nothing remains.)

Waiting eagerly to play their historic role are magnificently equipped Negro Trade Union leaders powerful figures in the advanced and militant Trade Union movement – from coast to coast.

12.

These sincere courageous men & women stand ready to accept a tremendous responsibility. The responsibility of dedicated leadership - together with ~~great~~ important ~~sacrifices of~~ militant fighters of ~~[illegible]~~ ~~the~~ ~~workers of the~~ probably with ~~[illegible]~~ the negro minority, — or ~~[illegible]~~ large sections of negro intellectuals who must know or if not must learn & never forget ~~that~~ we negroes will all go up or stay down together.

The ~~stay~~

~~[illegible]~~

These working people

in labor struggles

~~#~~ 13

working
Negro People –

Best ~~We~~
them

have learned by
These workers ~~know~~ them

better
of common labor struggles (has

given them the experience) to recognize

~~that~~ the true allies of the Negro

People are the oppressed

& hard-driven fellow white

workers in Steel – Coal – Iron

Maritime
Packing – Tobacco – Fur & leather

Distribution Trades, ~~Sugar~~ – Cotton

~~Fact~~ – They Garment ~~Seek~~ ~~look to~~ unity with

Foreign Born people workers

Poor white Southerners workers

because all are victims of Same ~~propaganda~~

ruling-class fanaticism of ~~...~~ ~~...~~ ~~...~~

Anglo & Saxon Superiority ~~...~~

~~fanaticism~~ ~~...~~ ~~...~~

~~this fact~~; The Past & Present

Government

History of America [illegible] Steel [illegible] pamphlet

& basic understanding & unity

(over)

credit to [illegible] from here

Reactionaries
Memphis
Arkansas

pp. 19

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

Insert

16 ~~24~~

interested in Freedom's Struggle as
do the Negro People, ..

(16) Here — The Practical implementation
of a Program — without the
aim — is written on immediate
grasp. The Principal thing is for
the advanced forces to understand
~~that~~ the Negro People — with the
~~their~~ numerous Potential + Power
of progress & a changing world
are on our Side — they have to be.
The Negro Press, tied hand + foot as it
is — has to reflect the powerful drive
among the Negro People for Peace +
Civil Rts; and Full Equality —
No smooth Phrases in the United Nations
or elsewhere can disguise this!
It is a Part of living Reality!

~~24~~

(17) So the ~~Bo~~ advanced Trade Unions the advanced progressive Organizations should not be afraid of this Negro working class Power — should not Patronize it — but should recognize it for what it is — a Powerful Force in the whole Freedom Fight in this land — for the ~~fr~~ liberation of all oppressed America — for ~~they~~ we have travelled through & participated in everybody's struggles to know the suffering and degradation of millions & millions of white foreign born & native workers South & East, North & West

Perhaps all

V 26

So far from restraining the thousands of advanced Negro workers in the various working class organizations of the left & centre I say we always urge them, support them as they mass their strength in the various Negro communities to give true leadership and an indomitable ~~[illegible]~~ base to the struggle for Negro liberation and for a truly democratic America

for Peace —

19 ~~25~~

The Negro People need all the
unified strength they can muster—
all the help they can find.

organization
These new forms carried by
launched
launched at one of the type
from progressive
allies ~~of~~ the advanced side sections

Gave any where near the aid
that is fully possible
they ~~can~~ render ((They can
assist
~~and~~ the Negro People to unite
with their full power
in the fight for Peace + for the
white ~~[illegible]~~
Power + Prosperity of the working Class
for friendship with all ~~nations~~
+ struggling nations
Peoples governments + for close
ties with the advanced Sections
of working masses white + Colored around
all over the world!

9 3 20

Our Paper Freedom, certainly
receiving invaluable aid from the
~~[illegible]~~ Bros —
among ~~[illegible]~~ as
experience & knowledge leaders ~~People~~
of the Trade unionists & progressive ~~Negro~~
must root ~~[illegible]~~ itself in the
especially the
People of this Land —
must ~~be~~ address itself
Negro People — must become
eagerly awaiting
to ~~the~~ our masses of ~~us~~ —
a ~~fearless~~ fighter for our full
anyone
~~rights~~ — full dignity — must become ~~[illegible]~~
yet exist in
such as Ours has
a voice of this Time,
the Negro press ~~of~~
~~the our~~ ~~Negro~~ the Great
If we do this — (I know
eye
Du Bois
Dutch will be pleased. ~~that~~
wonder to cast his
be made the decision
there will be [illegible] tasks
lot with us present historic tasks,
in a magnificent way on

over

The fight for Peace - for liberation
of Negro People - for Power & Equality
of the whole American People
for Friendship with Peoples governments,
~~and other struggling~~ nations -
~~struggling toward Freedom~~
for close ties with the advanced section
of the working peoples white and
colored colonial. all over the world.

~~Dr. DuBois~~

Column

PP. 14 ??

124 pages ??

"RECOLLECTION OF A SPEECH", FREEDOM, March 1951

1.

I have just returned from a
most instructive and deeply moving journey
around the East & middle West. All the
cities brought back memories of concerts
in the past to thousands - in the Philadelphia Academy
of Music - with the orchestra - in Symphony
Hall, Boston - in Orchestra Hall Chicago -
Masonic, Detroit = the Beginnings of "Othello"
at Brattle Hall, Cambridge, outside of Boston.

Most precious of recollections
was Cadillac Square - Detroit - when C.I.O
took over Ford - and the Picket lines for Packing
steel in Chicago & elsewhere - ~~and~~ ~~[illegible]~~
F.E. & U.E. in
time I was visiting - and conversing with
workers - with People fighting a ~~com~~ new
struggle for Peace & Bread ~~and~~ decent
homes - decent Schools - ~~upgrading~~ opportunities
in shops for [illegible] women - especially colored women

upgrading and decent jobs for everybody colored & white.

Everywhere there was deep concern & troubled by _anxiety_ - ~~troubled~~ - about our country's Policies - about the open attacks upon honest forces of labor - deep sorrow & anger about attacks on the Negro people of this Nation - Subsequent events have testified that the working masses are doing something about it - elections in Ford _Local_ where progressive candidates have scored great victories - the tremendous mobilization in support of the Peace Mar. 16th in Washington - the determination that Willie McGee & the Trenton Six must live! - The core of this activity has been the broad masses of the people from below pushing upward & forcing hesitant leader seem to move ahead.

3.

And Harlem answered magnificently for the Martinsville 7 - and ~~for~~ for that great Champion - Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

~~The~~ a decisive change has come - as far as I could judge. the fight is on to bring thousands & thousands of the People into militant struggle for our Rights - Civil - Political & Social - and most of all for our very lives. ~~The~~ a most important part of all discussions was the question of the part the Negro People must play to-day in advancing the cause of their own liberation and instead in to save helping ~~[illegible]~~ all of America - from the few Robber Barons who are again arrogantly in the saddle - the few who are doing all they can to keep up a war economy & move if possible into war - (~~[illegible] U.S.A.~~

4

Big Business ~~[illegible]~~ for
& bank ~~[illegible]~~ power in Washington – like Wilson's & Johnson's
To day ~~they~~ men Cackle and slap literally –
their thighs in contempt as they throw
labor out of their offices – confident
that at last they have won the battle
with organized labor. But the rank &
file of labor from all over the country are
moving into action – forcing their leaders for the ~~to~~ talk the
first time in a long while, ~~are~~ ~~to bury~~ ~~to act by~~ & to act ~~[illegible]~~ ~~in interest~~ of the ~~workers~~.
& ~~being forced~~ after they ~~to talk~~ in the ~~[illegible]~~ workers interest.
Peoples language =
~~& so~~ so.

And ~~they~~ ~~in~~ better contempt
the attacks upon the Negro People
also become clearer in the light of the happenings
in Washington – the Big Boys tell them, ~~they~~ they must not dare
fight for their rights to organize in the
South – to fight for better jobs in the
North – to get out of the ghettos – to
~~get~~ move toward, free national liberation – and the Big Boys ~~[illegible]~~ to beat
~~[illegible]~~ fight fiercely for continued threats of war
a war economy's
the Negro People ~~[illegible]~~ into submission. ~~also~~

5

So attacks on labor & the Negro People — the Jewish People, upon upon the workers of the foreign born groups of land & land. And tremendously important — and now clear for all to see ^is the real reason the war-makers — first attacked civil liberties of labor & working class leaders (the like Foster - Winston - Dennis - Davis - Hall of the Twelve — then the courageous lawyers — ~~thppp~~ cultural leaders ~~tel~~ like of the Hollywood 10 ~~T~~[illegible] fast & Marzani — and ~~upp~~ tied closely to these — Paterson — Dr. Du Bois — the McGhee — Trenton Six — yes Martinsville 7 — the all ^the vast attempt to frighten the whole American people into an acceptance of a future built upon destruction — upon the crushing of all colonial strivings for freedom and ^for the assurance of profits stemming from our destruction [illegible] the constant the ~~lives~~ ^the richest blood of the ^youth

6.

These discussions took place in Labor Halls - in Churches - in homes - in auditoriums - ; ~~[illegible]~~ - I always say & I mean it - that I try to do my job like any other rank & filer. I'm a member of ~~P~~ Fur & Leather - of Marine Cooks & Stewards of ~~P~~ N.M.U. of I.L.W.U. on Coast. of [illegible] real honest section of it led by group like Gen Lowrey Packing - F.E. & all Lowrey - / I'm feel a part of Steel - Long shore & U.E. honest sections of - more important than ~~the~~ I recognize that the fight to ~~notify~~ the organization of Domestic workers - (How long - how long brethren must my People weep & moan" Too long brethren - Too long) — and I look forward & I hope soon to greeting my brothers & sisters, colored & white in the cane - cropping union in Tobacco - mine & mill - various parts of the South. ~~[illegible]~~

So I know, I have long experienced the warmth & fellowship of millions of workers. ~~And~~ But ~~But~~ this trip made me more than ever deeply proud & happy that I decided way back to give of my talents - energy - to the working masses get Boston ~~m-Youth women-Young~~ Stewart red 7.

They threw their arms around me
literally and in spirit - they said
"Paul - you look fine" - "Take care of
yourself" - they gave me the best
of their experiences & knowledge to bring
back to the Paper "Freedom" & to our common struggles - they
said Paul "sing us a song" - "Take care
of your voice. "We ought to have some
concerts soon - they can't stop you
from singing - you belong to us." And
they ~~did~~ certainly saw to that in Detroit Boston & Phila. & the other night ~~[illegible]~~ in Chicago ~~Chicago~~.
That evening I shall never forget -
a packed South Side Chicago Church
Rev. Evans Church, a concert - beautifully
arranged by Trade Unionists - unions - from
all over Chicago - Negro & white - ~~[illegible]~~
spear-header by Trades South Side Union Council -
with its emphasis on struggle of Negro People
for full Freedom & liberation

The church full of workers & their families
including the children — a magnificent
demonstration of American democracy —
of working class unity — of Negro working class leader
Proud
liberation in action —
of the Negro people — ~~and~~ helped
& supported by their white working
class brothers & sisters; — challenging
the few Negro big-shots like Townsend
& White & Dawson; — challenging
them in the heart of the Negro community —
And, there too were the allies of Negro labor within
the ranks of the Negro people —
of the militant ministry —
Rev Evans — capable of inspiring
close to & serving the people —
& wisdom leadership — esp of my fighting —
in a stirring plea for peace ~~by Rev Evans~~ —
God bless him — my minister father

9,

would have embraced & thanked him — as he would have Bishop Alleyne in Phila. as he puts his arm almost to-day — me as he did in day of my struggle.

for his courage & faith ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

Then the little girl who ran up to the front (at the concert) and wanted to just give me a hug - because somehow her parents had made her understand that I was sacrificing & fighting for her and children of every ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ of every clime — of every clime — ~~[illegible]~~ every nation of every sea (courageous) just like herself = I could keep back the tears ~~from my eyes~~ eyes —

that's my answer to the Acheson to the Walter — the war monger — to the Schuyler — White — to walk in — I want their children — in full equality full Freedom — to belong to this earth I want them —

Mighty youth — more men & more courage — Baptists like Rev. & Rosa of Detroit — William son of Phila — ~~[illegible]~~ — Cumberland. — ~~[illegible]~~ — Young Jack Rae — Yates — ~~[illegible]~~ — Muss — & other youth

~~[illegible]~~ Rev. Robeson's Rev. Yates and militant Mrs. Stewart - sister of ~~[illegible]~~ Rev. Robeson Mrs Trotter, ~~[illegible]~~ wonderful youth ~~[illegible]~~ of whom here are leaders of our people can be proud

Our fathers & mothers have borne
the burden in the heat of the day —
they have created the wealth in
the stock-yards for ~~the~~ before
the raging steel furnace — in the
tobacco
fields of cotton — sugar ~~[illegible]~~ ~~suffering~~ & low-paid
domestic
in ~~the~~ tightened-lip in
service — ~~but their people & they~~
But
our People have fought on & on & they will
never give up until the fruits of bitter
their toil belong to ~~th~~ those
who labor.

My mind went to the Black
Belt of the South — the real
measured By what
heart of the problem — ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ there
this
the Negroes in ~~that~~ great land famine
of parish

11.

We can ~~buy our~~ ~~two home~~ & spirit more
around in our ~~Harlems~~ - South Sides ~~magnolias~~ avenues? South Streets
ambient Streets - centralized
~~ghettoed~~ - accepting the crumbs
~~as~~ they fall - being now - led by
a few top celebrators - who boast
phoney go-betweens between the Poor
negro & the millionaire whites -
but the ~~Black~~ Belt will decide
the age-old issue of whether or not the negro
has rights that the white ~~Man~~ Brother is bound
to respect - (TO (2) in Zenith -)

12

~~Then~~ I, ~~looking at~~ remembered the beautiful cities
Charleston. Charlotte - Winston Salem
Birmingham. Memphis. Mobile -
New Orleans -. I looked around at
my People. living by sufferance in
this part of the South, like the So. African
Aborigines. or ~~Jamaican~~. Trinidadians -
Yet ~~they~~ were large majority of the population! had created most of the wealth
no argument about ~~that~~ - and the Poor white
workers - natural allies of the Negro masses reminded me of the ~~former~~ of Industrialists ~~[illegible]~~
Poor workers of ~~Egypt~~ Wales - [illegible] too were the
~~[illegible]~~ of Marseilles ~~France~~ - creators of wealth
of their various Lands [illegible] ~~talk~~ about Personal advancement alone
real happiness of their How cursed me - forced them
What miseries - peaceful People
all. How cursed a few monopolies [illegible]
take most of the "gravy" at
millennium society + dreadful day to day
insecurity

(13)

~~Where~~ could one talk about personal achievement alone). I remembered the Chinese students — Indian students — Africans all being trained in London, Paris — to go back & help their suffering ~~[illegible]~~ disinherited brothers & sisters, mothers & fathers.

~~5th Ave~~ [illegible]

I found answer in sustaining fight for all Negro people, especially Black Belt

~~that~~ major core in

For

as long as no boy or girl can

is denied opportunity in education —

Georgia — So. Carolina —

Miss. — so long as no one can be deprived

of vote — as long as the

as the masses great

land does not belong to the people

of that area — many Negro people —

& with land — the wealth that flows

therefrom — in agriculture & industry —

So long as they do not have full

opportunity to develop & cultivate

their cultural heritage & their lives —

So long are the white Negro people not

free. Don't say it's impossible — nothing ago

China was "impossible" — African freedom — Indian freedom — Ghana freedom

as well impossible the battle comes.

These are some of our tasks - To fulfill them means courage - vision - full co-operation - and work - work & more work. No one shirking - ~~every~~ one making important sacrifices. After ~~this~~

From pp. 13. (Here)

~~I know that I for me~~ ~~seeing~~ & experiencing ~~[illegible]~~ the collective trip - ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Power of my People & their true & honest allies - ~~I know that [illegible]~~. I know that ~~I~~ I ~~know that we~~ we all should ~~all~~ & must feel "Powerful strong" - mountain-moving strengths that we should & must feel some of the strengths of my legendary John Henry - So let us get into the fight - let us continue steadfast in the fight - let us journey on ~~to a~~ Mt. Zion right here on ~~this~~ American Earth.

["SET HIM FREE TO LABOR ON: A TRIBUTE TO W.E.B. DUBOIS", *FREEDOM*,
MARCH 1951]

Dr. Du Bois

Finished

To ~~Dr~~ Du Bois 1.

All of us who have been so honored are tremendously proud to be associated and working with ~~this~~ a great son of the Negro people, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

Truly he is a human being, full-~~rounded~~ flowered ~~high~~ of the highest intellectual training ~~in various~~ fields ~~of our social structure~~ in most diverse fields - and with it all ~~so simple~~ so direct - so devoted to purest simplicity. His is a whole life - of complete dedication to the advancement of his own people + injured, ~~[illegible]~~ the oppressed, and of all ~~[illegible]~~

First - let us not forget ~~that~~ he is one of the great masters of our language - the language of Shakespeare of Milton - on the one hand on another 2

and of the strange beauty of

the folk speech - ~~of~~ the People's

speech - of the Negro People -

~~He~~ is a great Poet - one of whom

all Americans are proud.

In these days of stress and

struggle - I often pick up one of his

many volumes - most frequently - the

Souls of Black Folk - How I love

to give myself up to ~~and~~ those rich cadences - to

receive sustenance and strength

from ~~the~~ those lines so deeply embedded

in the folk style of our People - yet

enriched & heightened by the artistic

gift of this deep feeling Prophet.

For Dr. Du Bois gives us ~~of~~ proof that

3.

that the great art of the Negro - has ~~[illegible]~~ afro-american People

come from the inner life of the People

themselves (as is true of the art of any

group) - the ~~roots~~ of which ~~stretches~~ back to ~~the~~

African land ~~from~~ whence they came

Names

DVOŘAK

He like so many other great artists

TCHAI-KOVSKY

turned to ~~the~~ People ~~as~~ the deepest fount -

~~Dvořák~~ ~~Tchaikovsky~~

Bach - Schubert - Moussorgsky - BAR-TOK

put in: like Haydn, Bach, Pushkin - the Russian

~~Bartok~~

Mayakovsky (great Poet of the Russian (Mayakovsky)

MOUSSORG SKY

~~[illegible]~~

Rev [illegible]:- very ~~close~~ participation

and by his struggles

in the Peoples political & economic

~~as~~ in ~~his own being~~ - he ~~stress~~ underlines

this most important fact. that Culture ~~that~~ one aspect

~~[illegible]~~ of the People;

comes from & belongs to the People ~~[illegible]~~

~~His~~ obligation is the ~~grand struggle~~ to bring

the Culture back to the People (over)

For Freedom - the ~~masses~~ People must fight as they fight for Bread + Security.

~~(#~~ (4)

Yes here is a man
~~He is a too great~~ ~~Soul~~ [illegible] —
whose spirit
~~He~~ has ~~[illegible]~~ grown deep
like the Rivers" ~~of Langston Hughes Poem~~

He has labored & ~~learned~~ & seen
& visited many lands — He has
Toiled
~~[illegible]~~ herein his own vineyard
bitter
He has suffered ~~[illegible]~~ Persecution
but he has fought on. How dare a
Walter White or a Grainger or a Wilkins
the
~~to~~ tamper with ~~his~~ name of Du Bois —
How infantile they seem — before
~~[illegible]~~ nay — a
Dr
~~Prof~~ Du Bois has a sense ~~the~~ & thinking it is, that
of History and ~~[illegible]~~ at this
profound
knowledge
most decisive moment in
~~phase of~~ the History of ~~the~~ ~~Negro People~~ colored America
Du Bois is in the ranks of the Negro
People — ~~stand~~ here is a part of the Peoples

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

#9.

But more of that another Time.

~~We~~ In this Negro History Review —

what a magnificent ~~fact~~ diplomat that

~~this~~ great intellect of our people —

~~one~~ this authority on world

~~International~~ ~~life &~~ History & life of

the entire globe — this life-long

~~ex~~Pert on the History of the colored

Peoples especially the Black

People — ~~this~~ great Poet

~~artist~~ — ~~that~~ he William E. Burghardt

Du Bois — has come full-flowering

into ~~the~~ ranks of the working

Classes of the world — the working

Classes & their allies pressing

on toward World Socialism

Peace Movement in the world - that he is a Friend of the Soviet People - of the Chinese People - ~~of the People~~ of the new Eastern European Peoples Republics - that he is a Part of Progressive America ~~that~~ he hates & opposes the shame of the ruling class of this country together with their would be - big - shot Negro Stooges. who dance to any tune they're told

6.

Dr. Du Bois ~~turns his back upon~~ brings with him the best + most honest of his ~~those~~ former associates and joins with the working class leaders — of the Negro People — ~~those~~ ~~the [illegible]~~ closest to the masses — inspiring common leadership to a fierce and uncompromising struggle (both within and without the Negro group)? To-day the essence of that struggle is the fight for Peace — the fight for Rights of hundreds of millions of colonial & semi-colonial colored peoples — together with their working class allies in many lands — to choose their own way to freedom — their own way of life. The American Negro's liberation lies in this stream — a most powerful untamable stream — over!

Puny men in important offices in our land dare attack & even indict Dr. Du Bois. The great masses will give them answer & set him free to labor on.

Dr. Du Bois by his full participation

& dedication to the Peoples Struggle

gives new meaning to the History

of the Negro ~~People~~ in his long

End!

+ courageous fight for

full liberation

Here's My Story - Freedom
Oct '51

We Negro People are very Mature in our Political understanding; We may not act at once upon all we sense and Know - but we Know.

Our forefathers and mothers before us sensed and correctly evaluated the tremendous crisis facing this land in the Pre-Emancipation years.

Finally this Nation was torn apart. It had to decide, and it did = in fratracidal combat. The answer was crystal clear - as it resounded across the land - "This Nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the Proposition that all men are created equal" - cannot live half slave and half free.

2.

Unfortunately, the enemies of the American People still range the country - free, wide & handsome = ~~The~~ Rankins, Lanhams, du Ponts Reynolds, Morgans - are still with us -- apostles of Jim Crow and wage slavery - advocates of a return of our folks and poor white folks as well, to modern agricultural and industrial serfdom.

But walk in the streets of any American city among the rank & file of our People. Talk to the Negro People - our People, representing the hundreds - the thousands the millions of us -

1.

We Negro People are very Mature in our Political understanding. Unfortunately we ~~and~~ may not act at once upon all we feel & know — but we know.

Our forefathers and mothers before us sensed and correctly evaluated the tremendous crisis facing this land in the early years from 1820 on.

In fact, a mighty dilemma faced the young States of North America at their very founding. Was Slavery to endure? For many far seeing United States citizens — Freedom even then was indivisible. At that time — In the hearts — on the Tongues of men

were noble ideas – ideas of liberty
pursuit of Happiness,
Brotherhood – Equality – Inalienable
Rights, Rights ~~that~~ cannot be ~~taken~~
away. And nobler and braver deeds
were making of ~~these~~ ideas ~~[illegible]~~ an ~~democratic~~
actuality. How found a Republic
then – upon the ~~slavery~~ of a great
~~People~~ – ~~of~~ an African people of profound and
ancient culture!! Both Economy
and Morality ~~Said~~ it Nay
The debate ~~simmered~~, raged
and ~~finally~~ burst forth Finally This Nation
was ~~torn~~ apart. But it had
to decide and in fratricidal combat.

The answer was crystal clear - as it resounded across the land : "This nation cannot live half slave and half free" To 3ⓐ

3 ⓐ

~~This nation cannot live have~~
~~slave + half free.~~

Our Negro forbears played
a magnificent Part in ~~these~~ history
struggles as well they might.
State. ~~Read~~ the annals of the
time = Their freedom ~~&~~ +
liberation at stake – they ~~spra~~ leaped
into action – names you don't know
too well. Names that you do. like
Douglass – Tubman – Garnet

Sojourner Truth =
All – everything ~~became~~ a
Part – ~~became~~ weapons – in their
fight for Freedom

Religion (in words of Douglass and Tubman) became one of the main links in Freedom's chain. Religious songs like "Go Down Moses, let my People go" - like "Going to Canaan's Land" - Prayers & Sermons of deepest eloquence and meaning - all were mobilizers for struggle and for the underground journeys into the Promised Land of the North and Canada.

Later in Powerful and decisive numbers - these descendants of othellos. like warriors - joined-the Union (not the Confederate) army. Together with their brave & sacrificing white allies, they fought courageously (my own father among them) for the freedom of Black men, women and youth. And they saved this Republic for the time being.

Unfortunately, the Enemies of the American People still range the Land. The Rankins - Lanhams - Du Ponts - Reynolds Morgans are still with us = apostles of Jim Crow and wage slavery - advocates of a return of our folks and poor white folks as well to modern agricultural & industrial slavery.

As at one time they murdered Lovejoy,
John Brown - dragged Garrison and
Phillips in the Boston dust = So to-day they
try to terrorize the honest allies of
the Negro People in their Present day
fight for full liberation = and
on the other hand, these dreamers of a whole world-fashioned upon the out-worn social Patterns of the South attempt to terrorize
the Negro People themselves as ~~they~~
the Negro People Prepare to Spring
forward once more in final demands
for full citizenship.
Walk in the streets of any
city among the rank and file of
our People. Talk to the Negro People.
the thousands & millions of us =

3 · (7)

Brother, We're bitter - We haven't been fooled.

We know we ~~don't have~~ do not enjoy our basic basic ~~opportunities~~ - freedoms - as in ~~fact~~ (do) no other Americans. We sense & see the real enemies of our land for what ~~they~~ are, sitting as they do in high - lofty & Powerful places. (place second page) 7A

~~Its against this background~~ 2 pages

~~that~~ honest Young Negro Labor leaders, supported by ~~the~~ their allies, meet in Cincinnati = develop program and determined to find concrete ways to struggle for and win - advanced gains for all Labor = decent Housing - small Business opportunities - credit facilities - schooling for my children - end of Jim crow

They try to shut us up in our cries for liberty - They try to turn us aside with the ~~false~~ promises of our civil rights -

They try to defeat our leaders from the Path of duty & Sacrifice =

To be interpolated app. 7.

But we know ~~that~~ history is at

7 A) the cross. roads = We ~~see~~ People like ourselves pressing forward & gaining Freedom in the lives of millions:- Truman, McCarthy McCarran Budenz - can Wallace - argue & ~~distort~~ among themselves = but the Chinese People have their freedom & they're going to keep it - The Indian People, the Indian masses watch and weigh their chances = The Peoples of Africa are gathering at this moment

7 B

in far away, yet spiritually
near, South-Africa = ~~demanding~~
an end of Malan imposed Separation
(~~apart haid~~) = meaning simply — a vast
nationalized Jim Crow: no people
can sympathize more with these ~~Black~~
African & ~~Colored~~ brown Indian and mixed
Colored Populations of South Africa
than we Americans of African descent
united as we are in Talmadge Georgia
and Rankin Mississippi = with Dewey Peekskill
& Stevens Cicero — right up there
with them:
And close ~~to these Shores~~ —
~~our~~ gallant cousins of the West Indies
(over)

Suffering all manner of hardship -
Press onward to Federation and
self determination - and one
can well prophesy - ~~that~~ soon
they will proudly represent ~~their~~
lands in the congress of nations
And lend a helping hand to us
as we, struggle + strike ~~back~~ in ~~the~~ Georgia
& Alabama.

Return this Ms
to Paul

["HERE'S MY STORY : SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH", FREEDOM, OCT 1951]

Freedom (October 1

Re Roosevelt Ward

Mobilization for full Negro liberation
in the unions and in the Negro communities =
Establishment of unbreakable unity in the
fight for Peace and Freedom.

We in America must break through
the Wall of Communist Terror. The world
looks to us, especially the emerging
struggling hundreds of millions of the
colonial Peoples. All over the world
tens of millions have signed the Call
for a 5 Power Pact of Peace - They look
to us here at the very citadel (heart) of the
attack upon the sacred rights of
mankind - at this decisive historic
moment - to recapture our democratic
heritage & re-join the human race.

These thoughts flow from a moving experience I had the other day as I listened to Roosevelt Ward talk about his experiences in a Louisiana Prison. He's there, as are so many others brave fighters, because of ~~the~~ (most bare-~~faced~~) kind of frame-up. (crassest)

But you ought to hear his fine courageous voice = ~~they~~ won't scare or deter him. In no time - Ward became ~~one~~ beloved in the place - The men recognized at once ~~that~~ here was one of ~~the~~ real leaders of his people - one who has deep faith in every human being.

He gave aid and hope to these
men who were for the most part
victims of a vicious Jim Crow and
(half)
Semi- slave economy and way
of life. He unmask the ~~Powers~~ the
negro hating Powers ~~that be~~ - want to
stifle the powerful voice and
example of Roosevelt Ward! Yes
he is a leader of all American youth
of world youth - of the youth ~~that~~
these greedy & inhuman militarists
~~greedy~~ & Profiteers would have die and
suffer mutilation in the furtherance of their dreams
of empire - ~~Most~~ importantly he is one of
the most deeply loved and respected

of our Negro youth - who must bear the burden in the days just ahead.

If any People needs its youth it certainly is the Negro People in these United States. The South of his birth can well be proud of Roosevelt Ward - He comes from our great traditions - We wouldn't be even Partly free - if others like him ~~(as we have seen)~~ had not caught a vision (as does he) of + final Freedom for the oppressed of our country

Among many, I remember especially
2 journeys to the South.
Both to conferences of Southern
Negro Youth - one at Tuskegee
one at Columbia, S. Carolina.
Never have I been so proud of
my heritage - ~~of~~ never so sure of
~~the~~ our future here in these U. States
as when I stood among these young
men & women, never was I so proud
as then, to be ~~an~~ Artist ~~of and~~
for my People - to be able to sing
and inspire these proud descendants
of our African forbears, -
standing as they were with head
and shoulders high in the deepest South.

In one voice, ~~they~~ demanded
Land for their struggling fathers
and mothers = Breathing space
and Free air - ~~the~~ the full fruits of ~~their~~
back-breaking toil - full opportunity
full Freedom." They were willing
and determined to struggle for
an America re-born = for ~~[illegible]~~
Re-dedication to the Bill of
Rights and to the full imple-
mentation of the Emancipating
Constitutional Amendments.

9.

But tides are rolling & fast - growing
We Negroes here are a Part - a basic
& an undetachable Part ~~[illegible]~~
These waters have been gathering their
momentum & their Power - the surges
swell - ~~they~~ are not so even
now - they ~~seem~~ to be gathering
for a mighty leap as in ~~those~~
earlier days.
Thats what scares the Powers
~~that~~ be in the ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~
arrogant & ruling circles of this
& other lands - Thats the cause
of the Terror -

Roosevelt Ward was among ~~them~~. ~~He~~ has emerged as one of the young giants of our American struggle - modest but assured - Trained and tried in ~~the~~ line of highest duty - the fight for Freedom

We need him to give us the help & guidance of militant youth - unafraid of any challenge - one of the builders, like the young Labor leaders gathering at Cincinnati - of a way of life in which his people, the Negro people - will share fully of this American earth and teach (over)

there-on in concrete realization
of the fullest Human Dignity

["HERE'S MY STORY: DU BOIS'S FREEDOM SPURS PEACE FIGHT,
FREEDOM, DEC, 1951]

1.

(For Freedom
"Here's My Story"
Dec 1951

I was in the Capitol City, Washington
D.C. the week-end after the victorious
& glorious conclusion of the case of
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and his colleagues.
~~It~~ It was indeed wonderful to
feel the underlying joy and happiness
~~which Revealed~~ in hearts of ~~all~~ every ~~[illegible]~~
[illegible] - There was knowing smiles -
hand-shakes - congratulations &
For this was one of the historic
Points in the Negro Peoples Struggle.
~~The~~ attempt to stop Dr. Du Bois from
Speaking for Peace was ~~[illegible]~~
at the same time, aimed to silence

him in his defense of the rights of his People to voice their grievances to call for vast improvements and changes in their condition of 2nd class citizenship.

The Cafeteria workers - Local 471, were especially happy They had worked hard - giving of their time, energy and hard earned money - And thus victory [illegible] heightened their appreciation of the 13th anniversary of a courageous hard-fighting union - standing its ground against all attacks.

In the gathering at Dr. Jernigan's Mt. Carmel Baptist Church - It was inspiring to hear the warm-hearted Mother Rosa Lewis - spiritual founder of the Union - to welcome Mrs Geneva Brown, ~~and~~ to greet again Mrs Mary Church Terrell - one of the noblest of our contemporary Sojourner Truths - to recall the thrilling history of this group, as one listened rapt - to its leaders Oliver Palmer and Edward Fisher = [illegible] I was deeply privileged to accept a donation to Freedom from - ????

~~It~~ & finally receive a life membership from the hands of ~~Miss~~ Lee James - who first asked me to come down & help in those decisive days in 1948

to

4.

Time and again one returned to the inspiring figure of Dr. Du Bois — to some evaluation [illegible] of what this victory around him means and can mean. Here was a most illuminating expression of the Peoples Power — of the Peoples Will for Peace.

How could this Administration adversely adjudge the eminent Doctor his colleagues and Chairman in the same breath ~~that~~ the State Department wanted Peace. Hundreds of millions were tense = darkening = there ~~[illegible]~~ was the threat of a wide condemnation of staggering proportions.

the halls of the United Nations assembly - would have rung with the denunciation from representatives from every corner of the globe. This is the reality of the universal character of the fight for Peace.

For the Negro People especially here was massive evidence of our closeness to the Peoples of the world - the tremendous influence of world opinion in affecting our rights here in the United States. For our struggle to-day is in the world arena - not confined within the domestic limits of these 48 States. Asia Africa - the West Indies - the Middle East - Latin-America, the friendly millions of the Soviet Union & the new Peoples Democracies were ~~alerted~~

6.

To all this was brought ~~But his influence would have had~~
~~full weight without the surging~~
the overwhelming
Support given to Dr. DuBois from
millions of the American People.
As he crossed the Continent, People of
all Sections of various communities
Sprang to his defense — Independent
Progressive Trade unions — C.I.O. + AF of L
locals — scholars — liberals. Churchmen
women. Youth = and the Negro People
Stood there — firm as the Rock =
organizational Strength of millions among the Negro People
Stood ready to testify as to his sterling
Character & uncompromising ~~St~~ struggle in Generalities
The thunderous Voices of the Negro Trade unionist found
their echoes in that Court Room

7

Dr. Du Bois represents in his being =
Concrete ~~Proof~~ of the possibilities of reaching
out into the great stream of American
life = Here was a True Broadening and a
deepening of the = Let us hold these
organizational ties = linked in this
noble and successful endeavor =
Let us advance further the organizational
forms created — the broadening process
made possible — Let us bring this same
unity to bear behind the American Peace
Crusade for millions of signatures to the
5 Power Pact Petition — behind the struggles of
of Labor — behind the just demands of
the Negro People for full equality — behind
the basic fight to erase the modern
Alien & Sedition laws — the Smith · Connally act
the McCarran act · From the books

8.

Let this drive run over into every section of our life: especially into the working masses - Colored & white - in Steel - Coal - Maritime - Longshore - Electrical - Packing into the millions of the militant Negro People: a great People - of great Fighting Traditions - Let us channel all these forces into the final Victory of the restoration of the real Democratic forces of our American life - the ~~setting~~ of this great Nation, conceived in liberty, on ~~the~~ destined Path of granting justice & equality to all: of striving ever honestly for genuine world co-operation & ~~Peace~~ - of Profound Respect for the aspirations of all Peoples - everywhere.

We, together with Dr. Du Bois & his colleagues are deeply thankful to the wonderful Counsel = lawyers who upheld magnificently the best traditions of their Profession

~~The~~ We wish everything good to all the five – and to their families We thank them for their courage – sacrifice and real heroism

We are all elated ~~happy~~ ~~that~~ Dr. Du Bois – can return to his labors = can ~~again~~ continue to give us of his matchless Poetry & Prose ~~Can~~ ~~in~~ to inspire and guide and counsel us = he can certainly ~~have~~ joyously in the knowledge ~~that~~ he is sincerely & deeply loved by the vast millions of this earth.

Fr Freedom

1. ["HERE'S MY STORY: STAND FIRM, SON", FREEDOM, APR. 1952]

In my brother's church a few days ago
a beautiful lady came up to me - and said
"You don't know me. I'm your cousin -
from North Carolina = I remember you as
a baby - when your mother came down
to visit us - Do you remember?" - Do I
remember? yes - rather hazily - but
Aunt Margaret: Uncle Zeke - tens & tens
of my relatives - living on the very soil where
my father had been a slave = As a matter
of fact = during the years of emigration from
the South = hundreds of my relatives
had come North (with tens of thousands
of others of ~~[illegible]~~ my people) - and many

followed my father & uncle Ben & uncle
John - & cousin Carraway - & cousin
Chance - to Princeton, N. Jersey -
american
Seat of the one of oldest of our universities -
its student body predominantly of Southern
aristocracy; So the South was transplanted
to the North = to the center of the State of
New Jersey - ~~100~~ ~~15~~ 50 miles or so from N. York City.
And within the beautiful ~~relations~~
my early youth was spent -
bosoms
hugged to the ~~hearts~~ of my hard-working -
relatives. Mother died when I was 6 -
but just across the street were my cousins
the Carraways - with many children
Sam - Mattie - Cordia = and I remember
field greens
the corn-~~[illegible]~~ - ~~beans~~ - yams - peanuts

3

& other goodies Sent up in bags
from down in No. Carolina = mostly
all the warmth & love of a large
family - & a kind of technical orphan security =
my father had to travel a lot - to Westfield
to build a little church = technically I
was often alone = but in fact - never
So = I was really part of a collective
bound by ~~blood~~ family ties - & common struggle.
Herein these early years - came my deep
sense of belonging to my people - to the
bed-rock of my people = farmers - domestic
servants = hack drivers - teachers - preachers.
here I was proud of my aunts - uncles & cousins
I loved them admired them - They were

strong - and kind - descendants of our African forebears - ~~[illegible]~~ wonderful brown representatives of the black people of the world = And father = what dignity - what restraint - but how concerned for his children - especially for me the youngest - the baby = ~~How~~ simply he gave of his life to me & others - to the whole community. How brave he was = how uncomplaining.

I remember later in Westfield - he told me to do something - I didn't do it - and he said "Come here" - I ran away = He ran after me = I darted across the road = He [illegible] followed ~~it~~ stumbled & fell = I was horrified I turned back - helped "Pop" to his feet

He had knocked out one of his most needed teeth = I shall never forget my feeling - It has remained ever present - as I write I experience my terror - shame - ingratitude - selfishness all over again. For I loved my P & P. like no one in all the world - I adored him - looked up to him = would have given my life for him in a flash = there I had hurt him = had disobeyed him. never in all his life (this was 1908 (I was 10) he died in 1919) = did he ever have to admonish me again. This effect became a source of tremendous discipline which has lasted until this day. I often stop & think, what would P & P & ask the stars. the winds - ~~the~~

Often ~~would~~ stretch out my arms ~~[illegible]~~
as I used to - to put it around
Pop's shoulder & ask - "How I'm
Doin Pop." my Pop's influence
is still present in the struggles
I know lie ahead
that face me to-day. Stand
would say "Stand firm son -
your principles =
by your beliefs - as long as I have
You bet I will - Pop - And I say to
~~is~~ a breath in my body.

Alphie - Fred, Ralph Ham
Trachardi -
~~Stan~~ -
~~[illegible]~~ all
~~[illegible]~~ of chairmen
yes members will
stand shoulder
to shoulder
until Victory
is won -
our time

National Guardian
Issue of May 1, 1952

The Negro Vote in 1952

by Paul Robeson

At no time in our history have the people of the United States been faced with such an attack on their liberties as is true today. This attack springs directly from the Big Business interests who control both old parties and have subverted the machinery of government to accomplish the selfish aims of the wealthy few.

On every hand we witness bi-partisan thievery and corruption, the violation of the Bill of Rights, the increased oppression of the Negro people, the frantic preparations for a war which nobody in the world wants but the United States munitions makers, the Pentagon brass and a handful of lackeys whom they buy off with the people's money.

A motley array of politicians bids for public favor on the basis of who can outdo the other in prosecuting this suicidal program. Not one of them - neither Eisenhower, Taft, Stassen, Warren, not Kefauver, Harriman, ~~Taft~~ Kerr or Truman - opposes the Smith Act, the McCarran law, the concentration camps now being built, the murders of Harry Moore and numberless other Negro victims of Ku Klux bestiality. Each of them champions - not one of them opposes - the drive toward atomic war with the Soviet Union and the peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia.

The one hope for the peace-loving, democratic-minded voter in 1952 is offered by the Pregressive Party. In Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass the men and women of labor, the Negro people, and all fighters for peace, have two champions who put principle before profit, welfafe before war. A vote for them will be a vote for a future of peace and friendship among the peoples of the world. The candidacy of Mrs. Bass, first Negro woman to run for the vice presidency, is a welcome warrant of the Progressive Party's recognition of the crucial part which the Negro people of the United States play in the world-wide struggle for peace.

I shall count it a privilege, as the days go by, to call upon my people and all peace-loving Americans to work and vote for Vincent Hallinan for president and Mrs. Charlotta Bass for vice president of the United States.

#########################

["HERE'S MY STORY: AN OPEN LETTER TO JACKIE ROBINSON", FREEDOM, Apr. 1953] 1.

FREEDOM COLUMN
APRIL 1953

Dear Jackie = I caught a recent issue of "Our World" magazine. See Some folks think you're too out-spoken. Certainly not many of our folks Jackie. They think like you ~~that~~ the Yankees = making many a "buck" ~~back~~ of ~~Harlem~~, might have had a few of our ball-players just like Brooklyn. In fact I know you've seen where a couple of real brave fellows - the Tugerson brothers = think ~~they~~ its about time we continued our breaking into the Southern leagues = Arkansas-Mississippi.

included.

You may remember, Jackie — that I was in this fight long ago — Records will show my standing by Judge Landis and at his invitation addressing the major league owners — I knew from my experience as a pro-football-baller that the fans would not only take us — but like us. That's now been proven many times over.

Maybe these protests around you Jackie — explain a lot of things about people trying to shut up those of us who speak out in many other fields.

You read in the paper every day about "doings" in Africa. These things are very important to us Jackie. A free Africa = a continent of 200 million of folks like us and related to us = can do a lot to change things here.

In South Africa = black folks are challenging Malan, a kind of super-Ku-Kluxer = ~~these~~ Africans are refusing to obey Jim-Crow laws - they want some Freedom like we do - and ~~they're~~ willing to suffer and sacrifice for it.

Malan & a lot of [illegible] American investors & lock would like to shut them up_

4,

Well I'm very Proud - ~~that~~ ~~there~~ African brothers and sisters of ours Play my records as ~~they~~ march in their Parades. I'm Chairman of the Council ~~on~~ African Affairs = Supervised by Dr. Alphaeus Hunton an expert in Africa (son of a great Y.M.C.A. Leader - ---- Hunton) Co-Chairman of the Board of the Council ~~is~~ is - the great Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, one of the greatest Americans who ever lived, we raise funds for Africans = ~~to~~ bring information to American about the conditions in Africa = ~~to be~~ compared with ~~comparable~~ - but worse than conditions in Mississippi + Alabama

5

We bring the truth about Kenya

for example = about a man like

Kenyatta, leader of the Kikuyu -

a proud African people of centuries

of culture. I know Kenyatta.

He's a highly educated man - has

many more degrees than we have, Jackie.

He's getting 7 to 10 yrs in jail =

because he wants his people

to be free. Recalls to mind Ben Davis

Henry Winston = James Jackson = Harry Moore of Miami ~~many~~

Pettis Perry = Martinsville 7

Claude Jones.

Americans of African descent.

~~up to [illegible]~~

a kind of ~~house~~ arrest.

~~Capt Wappel - Capt Spot a Pakso -~~

~~Pert -~~ ~~Why all these things~~, Jackie, what goes here,

Well I'll tell you. The same kind of ~~people~~ people who don't want you to point up injustices to your ~~people~~ folks; The same ~~of~~ people = who think you ought to stay in your place! - the same people - who want to shut you up - want to shut up any one of us who speaks out for our full equality = for all of our rights. That's the ~~[illegible]~~ heart of what I said at Paris for example.

As a matter of fact – the night before
I got to Paris = 2 thousand
representatives of colored Colonial Peoples
from all over the world (most of
them Students in English universities =
~~from~~ Students from Nigeria – Gold
Coast – South Africa, Kenya (all
over Africa – from Java – Indonesia
India – ~~the West Indies~~ = Jamaica
Trinidad Barbados (from all the
West Indies = from Philippines –
Japan = Burma = these future
leaders of their countries = asked
me and Dr. Dadu (Present leader of
the Indian Population in South Africa)
and a very brave and good man!)

greet &
to ~~Say to~~ the Congress of Peace in Paris
in their names. To say to this Congress
representing about 800 million of the
worlds 2000 million, - ~~that~~ they
and their countries wanted Peace
not War with anybody and certainly
not with the Soviet Union and China
because these countries ~~represented to~~
~~truth of~~
~~them~~ ~~the future of they be~~
KB
had come out of conditions similar to
their own. But the S union & China were
now free of the so-called "Free-nation"
Imperialist Powers = and represented
~~showed~~ had proved that
countries who ~~could had for~~ other colonial
countries ~~to~~ could get free - ~~that~~
Colored Peoples were as good as any other;
and so these countries were friends not enemies

E,

32

~~It~~ It's clear that China is a ~~colored~~ country of colored peoples. And there are ~~multi~~ many millions of colored people in the Soviet Union - practically all of East Russia beyond the Urals = and great sections of the Crimea and the Caucasus = And you know ?? the great Russian Poet, Pushkin, was descended from a pure African.

omit. 5 lines

All these students made it clear that they felt that the ~~countries~~ nations who wanted war - wanted it in order to head off ~~the~~ the struggles of colonial peoples as in Indo-China, Malaya, Africa ~~etc~~ for freedom. For example - if you could start a war in Africa - the authorities could clamp down completely under war measures (As had enough ~~[illegible]~~. /

10.

There students felt that Peace
was absolutely needed in order for
their peoples to progress. And certainly
they said, they saw no need to die for foreign
firms who practically had come in
and taken their land - Rubber - Cocoa
Gold - Diamonds & Copper and
so on = And I had to agree that it
seemed to me ~~that~~ the same
held good in these United States.
There was & is no need to ~~talk of~~ war
against any nation. We colored Afro-
Americans need Peace to ~~set F.E.P.C~~
continue the struggle for
our full rights. And there is
need for any of our American youth to be

11"

used as ~~Cannon~~ + Burnt fodder - any-where in the world. So I was and am for ~~Q~~ Q. an immediate cease - from Korea and for Peace. And it seemed + still seems unthinkable to me that colored + working folk anywhere would continue to wish to die for those who own most of the stocks + bonds under guise of false Patriotism. (I was born + raised in America - on the East Coast as you in the West = I'm a product of American ~~institutions~~ as you. My father was a slave + my folks worked cotton + tobacco + steel down in Eastern Carolina N.C. I'll always have the right to speak out yes shout at the top of my voice

Want this in toned

for full Freedom for my People here - in the West Indies - in Africa - for ~~any~~ others ~~who~~ our real allies - actual & potential, millions of poor white workers who will never be free until we are free.

And Jackie = the success of a few of us is no final answer - It helps - but ~~we won't~~ this alone can't free all ~~be free~~ of us. Your child, my grandchildren won't be free, until our millions, and those mostly down South - ~~are~~ have full opportunity and full human dignity.

We fight in many ways. From my experience, I think

13

its got to be a militant fight =
one's got to square off with
the enemy once in a while.
Thanks for the recognition
~~that~~ I am a great ex-athlete.
In the record books = the
All-American ~~team~~ of 1918 — and the
~~team~~ nationally Picked team of 1917 = have
only ten players = my name is omitted.
And also thanks for the expression
of your opinion that I'm certainly
a great singer and actor.
A lot of People in the world think
So and would like to hear me.
But I cant get a PassPort.

14.

And here in my own America millions of Americans ~~the~~ a ~~little fight~~ would like to hear me. But I can't get auditoriums to ~~sing~~ act in – and I'm picketed by the Legion and others.

I have some records on market – but have difficulty ~~getting~~ shops to take them –

Maybe you can help in some of those Union Jacks and get others to help.

~~These folk~~ People who "beef" at those of us who speak out Jacks – are afraid of us = well let them be afraid.

~~Ill~~ I'm continuing to speak
of Jackie. And I know you will.
And our folks and many others
like them ~~Jackie~~ all over the world
will make it and soon.

Believe me Jackie

Paul Robeson.

["HERE'S MY STORY: HO CHI MINH IS THE TOUSSAINT-LOUVERTURE OF INDOCHINA" FREEDOM. MARCH 1954]

To be issued as
Press release

ROBESON COLUMN

As I write these lines, the eyes of the world are on a country inhabited by 23 million brown-skinned people--a population one and a half times the number of Negroes in the U.S. In size that country is equal to the combined areas of Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama. It's a fertile land, rich in minerals; but all the wealth is taken away by the foreign rulers, and the people are poor.

I'm talking about Vietnam, and it seems to me that we Negroes ought to understand better than any other Americans what's going on over there. Only recently, during Negro History Week, we recalled the heroic exploits of Toussaint L'Ouverture who led the people of Haiti in a victorious rebellion against the French Empire.

Well, at the same time that the French were fighting to keep their hold on the black slaves of Haiti, they were sending an army around to the other side of the world to impose colonial slavery ~~in~~ on the ~~[illegible]~~ people of Indochina. And ever since then the Indochinese have been struggling to be free from French domination.

"My children, France comes to make us slaves. God gave us liberty; France has no right to take it away. Burn the cities, destroy the harvests, tear up the roads with cannon, poison the wells, show the white man the hell he comes to make!"

Those fiery words, addressed to his people by Toussaint ~~[illegible]~~ L'Ouverture when Napoleon sent General Le Clerc with an army of 30,000 men to re-enslave Haiti, are echoed today by Ho Chi Minh who is the Toussaint of Vietnam. Yes, a French general named Le Clerc was also sent against Ho Chi Minh, but like the blacks of Haiti, the plantation workers of Indochina have proved unconquerable.

In 1946 France was forced to recognize the Republic of Vietnam, headed by Ho Chi Minh; but like the double-crossing Napoleon in the time of Toussaint, the French colonial masters returned with greater force to re-enslave the people who had liberated themselves. The common people of France have come to hate this hopeless struggle; they call it "the dirty war"; and their rulers have not dared to draft Frenchmen for military service there.

"Who are the Vietminh?" said a French officer to a reporter from the Associated Press. "Where are they? Who knows? They are everywhere." And the reporter wrote:

"Ho Chi Minh's barefoot hordes infiltrate French-held territory at will in the guise of peasants, arms concealed under brown tunics. They have allies who hide them and feed them--allies who are not Communists but just people who hate the French, hate the foreigner and want him to go."

Now, when France wants to call it quits, Eisenhower, Nixon and Dulles are insisting that Vietnam must be re-conquered and held in colonial chains. "The Vietnamese lack the ability to govern themselves," says Vice-president Nixon.

Vast quantities of U.S. bombers, tanks and guns have been sent against Ho Chi Minh and his freedom-fighters; and now we are told that soon it may be "advisable" to send American GI's into Indochina in order that the tin, rubber and tungsten of southeast Asia be kept by the "free world"--meaning White Imperialism.

The whole world cries out for peace; but Dulles insists that the war must go on and threatens Asians again with atomic and hydrogen bombs.

That's the picture, and I ask: Shall Negro sharecroppers from Mississippi be sent to shoot down brown-skinned peasants in Vietnam--to serve the interests of those who oppose Negro liberation at home and colonial freedom abroad?

What are our Negro leaders saying about this? They are shamefully silent.

Walter White knows the true issues involved, for only recently *The Crisis,* official organ of the NAACP, published an article filled with factual proof that the Vietnamese are fighting against colonial oppression. Mr. White knows that the charge of "Red agression" in Indochina is a phoney, and that the sympathies of our people belong with the side resisting imperialism--*but why doesn't he say so?*

Three years ago Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, said that "For over 100 years the French have been in Indochina, dominating them politically, strangling them economically, and humiliating them in the land of their fathers...And now it looks as though they can win, and as they are about to win their liberty, we rush up and say...'What on earth are you all getting ready to ~~x~~ do?...We are the free people of the world, we are your friends, we will send you leaders...

"And they look at us in amazement and they say, 'Brother, where have you been? Why if we'd known you was a-comin' we'd have baked a/ ~~xkxx~~ cake.'"

Today more than ever is the time for plain speaking.

Peace can be won if we demand it. The imperialists can be halted in their tracks. And as we think about the modern-day

Toussaint L'Ouverture leading his people to freedom, let us remember well the warning words of the Negro spokesman, Charles Baylor, who wrote in the Richmond Planet a half-century ago:

"The American Negro cannot become the ally of Imperialism without enslaving his own race."

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SOVIET ART

By Paul Robeson

In many lands the Arts, and especially music, have been cut off from the general life of the nation. They have become the source of enjoyment for a comparatively few so-called elite who feel that culture should be somewhat unapproachable, except to their own understanding, and at times, completely non-understanding selves.

One of the greatest problems of our times is the making of the great creations of the mind and spirit available to all. We in America have some understanding of this cultural sharing in the finest days of the new Deal. But those forces that even today refuse to make the slightest sacrifice for the advancement of good life—that do not really want an enlightened and sensitive citizenry—those same forces made impossible at that time, the continuance of this important social contribution.

A Revelation

What a revelation when I first went to the Soviet Union to see that all forms of culture, the pictorial and plastic arts, the art of theatre, poetry, music etc—belonged in the highest sense to the people. They crowded the galleries; the theatres realistic and poetic; the opera houses, the concert halls. Here art was closely wedded to life.

In music all the master works were performed by worthy interpreters before eager and enthusiastic audiences. **Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, Debussy, Prokorieff, Gerswhin**—all were daily bread and wine. But also there burst forth a wonderful source of folk material from the many truly free nationalities of the Soviet Federated Republics. This material found new uses—Opera, Ballet, Folk Choruses, Folk Orchestras, folk Dramas. One sensed a folk art from serving as a constant source for more complex forms. Our Negro folk songs sprang directly out of our lives—our working lives.

So it was not surprising to find composers gathering their new and old melodies—a Shostokavitch using them as symphonic material as did Moussorgysky and Drorak, others setting them to lyrics of fine poetry; true creations of and for the people expressing their joy in the new life in a new society, in a new conception of human liberty; of human aspirations, of human possibilities of achievement.

These songs were sung in the factories in the mines, at youth day celebrations, at festivals, and especially by soldiers choruses of the Red Army, trained by a great director Alexandroff.

Songs go to Battle

No need to tell of the great part played by these songs in today's epic struggle. We have heard the photograph records of the Red Army; we have seen many Soviet films, have listened to the singing of those soldiers marching to victorious battle singing that has already become legendary. For through them we clearly understand why the Soviet Armies stood ready for the final blow at the heart of the Nazi; readiness and joy of sacrifice for a new world in birth; why their firm faith in the present and the future which characterises this brave people who can with our deep and lasting gratitude accept the honour of having saved our civilisation.

We must know this ally well. We in America, together with our Russian and other friends, have a great responsibility to our future generations. We must understand, and yes treasure each other. One of the quickest ways of this understanding, friendship, and mutual affection is through music, and most of all, through the medium of folk songs, like the common expression of a people that is so immediate in communications to all others.

Draft of article for La Vie Ouvriere

The United States today is no longer the proud land of the Bill of Rights and the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments of the Constitution which gave Negroes freedom and guaranteed their equal civil rights. Today it is the nation of the Smith Act, which has suspended the Bill of Rights and made a mockery of free speech, press and assemblage. Today it is the America of legal lynchings, increasing mob violence, barbarous burnings and endless humiliation of 15 million Negro citizens.

The warning that our nation is being pushed down the road that leads to fascism has been provided by three dramatic cases. The conviction of the eleven leaders of the Communist Party opens the door for the abrogation of all political liberties in this land. The electrocution Feb. 5 of seven innocent Negroes at Martinsville, Virginia, and of the Mississippi Negro worker Willie McGee on May 8, are signals of the growing terror against the Negro people. But they are only the most glaring examples. Hundreds of other cases which do not receive the spotlight of world attention are cropping up all over the country. I could fill the pages of your great paper with a recitation of the horrible crimes that are daily visited upon my people. But it should suffice to mention merely a few instances which have occurred within the past few months.

In Fairfield, Alabama 39 homes of 400 Negro working families were permitted to burn to the ground while white firemen stood idly by for the better part of an hour.

In Columbus, Georgia Negro soldiers in the uniform of the U.S. Army were set upon by white policemen, beaten with clubs and pistols, and the entire Negro community terorized in a brutal raid.

In Norfolk, Virginia a Negro minister was taken from his home by two white ruffians, doused with gasoline and pushed into a burning building to burn alive.

In Perry, Georgia two Negro soldiers were arrested by the county sheriff, manacled and shot to death on their way to prison.

In Trenton, New Jersey an all-white jury has just rendered a verdict that two of the six innocent victims of a frameup murder charge must spend their lives in prison for a crime which no honest man believes they committed.

And on the political front the picture is just as dismal. In addition to the pending jailing of the Communist leaders, hundreds of other fighters for peace are already in the prisons or in their shadow. The ten Hollywood screen writers have already served their terms in jail for defiance of the infamous House Committee on Un-American Activities. The outstanding novelist Howard Fast has served a term in prison. The entire city of Pittsburgh, major steel center of the nation, has been terrorized by a campaign of jailings, frameups and vilification which has placed the security of every progressive thinking resident in danger.

One might think that these evidences of American big business disregard for simple constitutional liberties and human dignity were reflections of its growing strength. Quite the contrary, they are signs of its increasing desperation. For the men of the trusts in the United States and the Truman bipertisan administration which they control are fearful of the people's will for peace. They know that the American people, despite the betrayals of their misleaders in the labor movement, want peace just as much as the common people all over the world. They know that there is a great desire for friendship with the peoples of

Asia, Africa, Europe and the other Americas. They know that especially the Negro people are fed up with the senseless killing of colored Koreans and Chinese in a police action which has never had the formal approval of the American public.

And so they cast the Constitution aside and beat the drums of "Anglo-Saxon superiority" in order to behead the popular movement for peace, friendship and security, in order to drown in blood the Negro people's strivings for complete liberation. For if these movements should succeed they would certainly curtail the ill-gotten plunder of the trusts which are now registering the biggest profit returns in the history of American industry. They would substitute an economy of bread, schools, hospitals and social services for one of guns, battleships and H-bombs. They would place the affairs of the nation in the hands of the democratic majority rather than the wealthy few who now dictate American foreign and domestic policy.

But the American trusts are not conducting their campaign of terror and repression without a serious challenge. My people, the Negro people, have never forgotten the admonition of one of our great leaders in the fight against slavery, Frederick Douglass, who said: "Where there is no struggle there is no progress." And the struggle goes on and is heightened, first of all in the South where the repression is greatest. Thus Negro school children in two Southern states, Virginia and South Carolina, are suing in the courts to abolish the segregated school system which has existed for 70-odd years. The fight for the right to vote proceeds in the Southern states where poll taxes, "white paimaries" and registration trickery have traditionally rendered the majority of the people, Negro and white, voteless. And in some instances Negro sharecroppers have exercised their constitutional right of resorting to arms in defense of their honor, their lives and their homes.

One of the great challenges which faces the American labor movement is to support this resistance of the Negro people as a means of guaranteeing the united struggle of white and Negro workers for real democracy and for peace. This unity of Negro and white must become the core of the American resistance to war and to the encroachments of fascism.

I have confidence in the American people. I know that we will not fail in our historic responsibility to ourselves and to the people of the world. The seat of aggressive imperialistic power has shifted in a few years from the chancellery of Hitler to the White House and Pentagon Building in the United States. We are determined that our rulers shall not take us all the way down the path to fascism. We are determined to restore the America of the Bill of Rights, the America with which the great Lafayette associated himself, the America whose history has benefitted to richly from the impulse of the French Revolution and its version of liberty, ~~fx~~ equality, fraternity.

1

Just a few lines in reference
irresponsible
to a couple of fantastic, absurd
items in our Picture magazines.
Some other journals

I happen to be working
on a book which will
answer many of the questions
asked me from time to time.
For the moment these few
Paragraphs will suffice. M

M

My views by now should
be well-known. (To script PP ②

The most important source of
same ~~[illegible]~~ are following::
The monthly newspaper
'Freedom' - 139 W. 125th St -
I write a column and the
paper is a militant, courageous
and under the Editorship of
Mr. Louis Burnham, long

a fighter for the Rights of the
Negro People of this land
and of all Peoples.

In ~~those~~ these Columns is
reflected my Passionate
belief in the greatness of my
People and the absolute
necessity of unremitting
struggle for full, ~~not~~
~~second class~~ citizenship =
in the tradition of Frederick
Douglass, Harriet Tubman
and our ~~great~~ magnificent citizenship
contemporary leader, Dr. W. E.
and against 2nd class
B. Du Bois. Please Subscribe.
one dollar per year.

Secondly, I am Chairman
of the Council on African Affairs -
working closely with Dr.
Du Bois as Vice Chairman -
Dr. Alphaeus ~~Hunton~~ outstanding authority
as Executive Director. on African
and many other outstanding especially South
citizens. African

3

A bulletin is issued
reflecting our deep concern
interest and recognition of the
material ~~[illegible]~~ needs of the
African People in their fight
for full Emancipation from
White Supremacist Rule.

(And end to Colonial oppression
Freedom & autonomy for all these Peoples

The Council's address is also
139 W. 125th St. New York City.
Please Subscribe. (- - - liberation
Our work ~~[illegible]~~ encompasses the struggles of all [illegible]
colonial Peoples - in the West Indies. Asia. Latin America

frequently articles
from my Pen appear in many
of the leading Negro Newspapers.
Watch for them. Just recently
in connection with the School
Segregation Cases = there was
a long article - in the Baltimore
Afro-American.

In many other
leading Journals - like The
Daily Worker. New Masses and

4

mainstream appear items
and columns — reflecting
They have long Have
my (support and identification
themselves
with the struggles of all
laboring peoples — of every group —
common
of the Jewish ~~people~~ — Italian
Puerto Rican — Mexican —
~~Hungarian~~ — and all Americans —
unions to for decent wages decent homes full
in their fight against the McCarthys
and the McCarrans — for full equality for Negro citizens
States in this land of ours & theirs.
And very decisive in these struggles
have been, as are the
~~are the~~ unceasing labors —
sacrifices & devotion of many
working class leaders — such
as my dear friends (1) Benjamin Davis
(3) Claudia Jones — (4) Henry Winston
our Party's [illegible] To-day
James Jackson — (2) Eugene Dennis
Robert Thompson — Elizabeth
Gurley Flynn — Their civil rights
& liberties measure the liberties
of all Americans. This is glaringly

evident in these days of arrogant McCarthyism.

In the Pages of many journals = domestic and international is reflected my deep desire for Peace not war = for abundance not Poverty - in the world. I have travelled in many lands, seen & known many peoples. They are like the ~~best~~ most of us.

They want their children to live without fear in friendship = with cultural exchange mutually profitable trade - and enduring peace.

This is particularly true of the new lands of Socialism the Union of Soviet Republics the new China and the new Peoples Democracies.

We can and must live in ~~and mutual Respect~~
Peace with these peoples
We must [illegible] Respect them
as they Respect us, Personally
I have for them the deepest Respect and affection
Finally = Born & Raised
in this land - my roots go
deep. 'My father, my mother
etc

To End

PP. 9 in large script

Der Bird

(1) Mr. Terrel

2) (Gave up Career) [illegible]

albany
(3.) Penna = Rockville

(4.) Choosing friends
Dulles & our friends
West Germ
Franco (our friends

Begin here (1)

~~FRA[illegible]CES [illegible] ROBESON~~
~~[illegible] W. 136 Street~~
~~New York 30, New York~~

At the Jefferson School dinner the other night — I heard Viola Brown of Winston-Salem, North Carolina tell of the South & its struggles. She pleaded with us to remember ~~that~~ down there is the core of the our struggles for liberation

Down there. ~~[illegible]~~

~~The [illegible]~~ are ~~the~~

Daily - very bloody battles

for survival - for a crust

of bread - for decent wage -

for a protecting roof -

for our children's future,

for simple human dignity.

The basic unity

of the working masses

of this land & the Negro

People must be forged there

FRANCES C. [redacted]SON
155 W[redacted]
New [redacted] York

We have the same
oppression - we must
stretch out our hands
and clasp them in
never-ending common
struggle until victory
be the Peoples.
And not only must
this be done here is there
States we have helped

to build - by we must
reach out across all
our borders - to ~~the~~
laboring folk of all the
world = struggling like
themselves in the so-called
Free West = but controlling
their own destinies &
building a new life and
& new human beings in ~~the~~
new & old Peoples Democracies
~~so~~ of the East in Europe & Asia.

FRA[redacted]SON
155 W. 136 [redacted]eet
[redacted] York

(5)

And our ~~help and~~
Strength and aid
must reach our brothers in Puerto Rico, in Latin America, W. Indies, Asia
& Sisters ~~[illegible]~~ Africa - in
in Korea - where our ~~[illegible]~~
military now goes beyond
the Atom Bomb and uses
Bacteria to spread disease
Such as Cholera, upon
the Colored Peoples of the earth
what a warning!

6-

I was deeply moved by the
challenging words of ~~this~~
woman ~~Harriet~~ Tubman.—
mindful of my links ~~links~~ with
the State of North Carolina—
with the courageous
struggles of the Tobacco
workers — negro & white—
recalling the heroic life
of Miranda Smith.
I read the following
little story of my youth
& of To-day.

[Foreword to Favorite Songs of Red Army and Navy, 1941]

In many land the arts, and especially music, have been cut off from the general life of the nation. They have become the source of enjoyment for a comparatively few so-called elite-who feel that culture shouldbe somewhat unapproachable except to their own understanding - and at times completely non-understanding - selves.

One of the great problems of our time is the making of the great creations of mind and spirit available to all. We in America had some idea of this cultural sharing in the finest days of the New Deal.

But those forces that even today refuse to make the slightest sacrifice for the advancement of the good life- that do not really want an enlightened and sensitive citizenry- these same forces made impossible at that time th the continuance of this important socail contribution.

What a revelation when I first went to the Soviet Union, to see that all forms of culture - the pictorial and plastic arts, the art of the theater, poetry, music belonged in the highest sense to the people. They crowded the galleries, the theaters, realistic and poetic, the opera houses, the concert halls. Here art was closely wedded to l life.

In music all the mastrpieces were performed by worthy interpreters before eager and enthusiastic audiences. Bach. Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, Debussy, Moussorgsky, Tchikovsky, Prokofieff, Shoshtakovitch, Gershwin- all were daily bread and wine.

But also (in a land famed for the beauty of its folk melodies) there burst forth anew wonderful sources of folk material (always the foundationa of any great music) from the many truly free nationalities of the Soviet Federated Republics. This material found new uses- opera ("Quite Flows the Don"), ballet, folk chorueses, folk orchestras (balalaika) folk drama (Gypsy and Uzbek Theaters). One sensed a folk art-form serving as a constant source for more complex (not necessarily superior) forms.

Our Americcan Negro folk songs sprang directly out of our lives - our working lives- e.g. John Henry ballads and countles others so superbly sung by Leadbetter. Songs of protest, songs of faith in a better world, songs slow and rhythmic, tender and agy.

So it was not surprising to find ~~these~~ composers gatheringthese new and old melodies - a Shostakovich using them as symphonic material, as did Moussorgsky and Dvorak, others setting them to lyrics of fine poets- true creations of and for the people- expressing their joy in the new life, in the new society, in the new conception of human liberty. of human aspiration, of human possibilities of achievment.

these songs were sung in the facotires, in the mines, at Youth Day Celebrations, and especially by the soldier choruses of the Red Army, trained by a great director, Alexandroff.

No need to tell of the great part played by these songs in today's epic struggle. We have hard the phongraph record of the Red Army- we have seen many Soviet films- have ~~xixtex~~ listened to the singing of these brave soldiers marrching to victorious battle- singing that has ~~xxx~~ already become legendary.

For through them we clearly understnad why today the Soviet armies stand ready for the final blow at Nazi-scourge Europe- why the heroism-why the readiness and joy of sacrifice for a new world in birth-why the firm faith in the present and future, which characterizes these brave people, who can with our deep and lasting gratitude accept the honor of having in great part saved our civilization.

Here in this collection are many of these songs- old and contemporary, familiar and new. Here is a rich source of direct contact with the Soviet spirit. We must know this ally well. We in America together with our Russian and other friend, have a great responsibility to our future generations. We must understand and, yes, treasure eachother.

One of the quickest ways to this understanding, friendship and mutual affection is through music (the Russians have published and perform much of ours), and most of all through the ~~medium~~ idiom of the folk song, like the common expression of a people that is so immediate in its communication to all others. I am privileged to have the opportunity of writing this brief forard, for I have long deeply admired and loved the Soviet people as I do my own.

I sincerely hope that htese songs will help inspire a deep understanding of and an admiration ~~for~~ and affection for a people who, I know, have the progress of all humanity so deeply at heart.

File / draft – given to Stikes – 4/28/48

Statement of Paul Robeson

I have said in the past and I say again that we cannot export democracy abroad while denying it to American citizens at home.

That is what is happening in Logan County, West Virginia. Here we have police terrorizing Negro citizens who want to express their opposition to Jim-Crow and second class citizenship through support of the New Party of Henry Wallace.

The spectacle of so-called law enforcement officials using their office to intimidate, bribe, and terrorize Negro citizens into sabotaging the petition drive to get the names of Henry Wallawe and Glen Taylor on the ballot, expose the insincerity of Truman's pious civil rights declarations. I urge the citizens of West Virginia labor and all progressive forces in that state to fight back against this un-American and fascist-like attempt to throttle democratic government through suppression of the rights of citizens to place the name of Henry Wallace on the ballot.

Paul Robeson — SL.

~~The heroic fight which Negro citizens in conjunction with labor and progressive forces are putting up in Wx Logan County, West Va., against the terror now being visited upon them, is a reflection of the domestic [illegible] of the Truman Administration~~

I have said in the past, and I say again that we cannot expect ~~the Truman Administration can carry out~~ while abroad ~~its infamous~~ ~~[illegible]~~ war policy ~~by first softening up~~ design is only at the expense of denying democracy to at home to American citizens the American peopbe ~~, [illegible] can be [illegible] by utilizing [illegible] techniques of building a police [illegible]~~

That is what is happening in Log~~w~~an County, West Va. Here ~~we have~~ police Their deputies terrorizing Negro citizens, who ~~[illegible]~~ want to express ~~themselves on this vital issue~~ to [illegible] and record [illegible] strongly through support of the New Party of Henry Wallace.

The ~~[illegible]~~ spectacle of so-called law enforcement officials using ~~[illegible]~~ their office to intimidate, bribe and terrorize Negro citizens into sabotaging the petition drive to get the name of Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor on the ballot ~~[illegible]~~, exposes ~~[illegible]~~ the insincerity of Truman's pious civil rights declarations. I urge the citizens of West Virginia labor and all progressive forces in that state to fight back against this un-American and fascist-like attempt to throttle democratic government through suppression of the right of citizens to place the name of Henry Wallace on the ballot."

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Freedom
"Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!"
53 WEST 125 STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. · ENright 9-3980

January 3,1952

For TASS

Statement issued by Paul Robeson on the Stalin Peace Prizes:

"The growing millions of peace fighters greet the winners of the Stalin awards, the new heroes of today's historic struggle. Here is added proof of the profound desire of the great Soviet people for peace and friendship.

" In America the various peace campaigns gather momentum. We take courage and hope from you who are in the vanguard of this noble cause: The preservation of humanity, the building of a new world where all can live in full equality and dignity."

Paul Robeson

The growing millions of peace fighters greet the new heroes of today's history struggle → the winners of the Stalin awards the new heroes of today's history. Here is added proof of the profound desire of the great Soviet people for peace + friendship. In America the various peace campaigns gather momentum. We take courage + hope from you who are in the vanguard of this noble cause, the preservation of humanity, the building

f a new world where all
can live in full equality
& dignity,

Thurs. June 22, 1950

STATEMENT OF PAUL ROBESON

Jim Imbrie Testimonial Dinner

I wish it were possible for me to be with you on this occasion and to express in person my admiration of Jim Imbrie and for his steadfast fight in the cause to which we are all devoted. America needs more men like Jim Imbrie with his stubborn determination to fight for the right as he sees it, and his tenacious will to defend the peace and preserve the civil rights of all the people. All honor to Jim and long may he carry on the battle for peace and human freedom.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
ALL PAPERS
AUGUST 6, 1952

53 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

STATEMENT OF PAUL ROBESON ON THE FIGHT FOR FEPC IN THE 1952 NATIONAL ELECTIONS

In the wake of the bold betrayal of the interests of 15 million Negro Americans at the Democratic and Republican national conventions in Chicago, a deep-seated mood of anger is stirring the ranks of every Negro community in the nation.

The political leadership of both old parties is trying desperately to sell the Negro people, including more than a million recently enfranchised Negro voters in the South, platforms that endorse states' rights and fail to spell out support for an enforceable FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, or an end to the evil of segregation in the armed forces and in every other aspect of American life.

The Negro people are determined to have an end to Jim Crow and all its attendant evils now. They are in no frame of mind to accept the weasle-worded concessions to Dixiecratism which make up the Democratic and Republican

The Negro people are determined to have an end to Jim Crow and all its attendant evils now. They are in no frame of mind to accept the weasle-worded concessions to Dixiecratism which make up the Democratic and Republican platforms - especially when they are combined with candidates - Stevenson, Eisenhower, Nixon and Sparkman - all of whom, by deed and word, have proven their stalwart opposition to federal action in the field of civil rights.

The politicians will try ever more desperately to sell, but Negroes are not ready to buy.

This is the attitude that was expressed in a mass meeting of 3,500 Negroes called by Rep. Adam Powell, Jr. in Harlem this past Sunday. Mr. Powell urged Negro voters to "sit on their hands" until such time as they are able to exact from the Democratic candidates a "personal platform" more acceptable than the party standard adopted in Chicago. He also announced that he will hold conferences with Stevenson and Sparkman to exact such pledges as will merit the support of the Negro people.

Whatever the results of Mr. Powell's conferences, there should be no mistaking the nature of the popular demand among Negroes. That demand is, not only for promises, but for performance now.

Ever since 1948 we have had our quota of unfulfilled promises. The need of the hour is for scores of meetings such as the recent one in Harlem, to be held in all centers of Negro population - Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Des Moines, Denver, Seattle , San Francisco and Los Angeles,

(more)

Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, Columbia and Richmond - meetings which will place before both parties the unmistakable demand for action now for FEPC.

What is to deter President Truman from issuing now an executive order for an FEPC with teeth, as Franklin D. Roosevelt did in 1941. Nothing but his lack of will to do so.

If the major party candidates are really in favor of equality in employment, why wait until 1953 for action? They should be called upon to press for a special session of the 82nd Congress, to meet before November for the single purpose of passing FEPC legislation. This would be an earnest of their intent.

If the President would, he could, with the stroke of a pen, wipe out segregation in the nation's capital. No new mandate from the people is needed for Democrats or Republicans to blot out this shameful condition.

In 1946 I led a delegation of Negro and white Americans which interviewed the President on behalf of civil rights legislation, only to be told by Mr. Truman that it was not expedient at that time to force anti-lynching legislation through the Congress.

Since that time it has become expedient for Democratic and Republican

In 1946 I led a delegation of Negro and white Americans which interviewed the President on behalf of civil rights legislation, only to be told by Mr. Truman that it was not expedient at that time to force anti-lynching legislation through the Congress.

Since that time it has become expedient for Democratic and Republican politicians to *speak* for civil rights laws, but not to *act* for them.

None of the candidates for the highest offices in this land take a forthright position for civil rights, and back it up with action, except the nominees of the Progressive Party - Vincent Hallinan, for president and the courageous, great Negro woman, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, for vice president.

While applauding Mr. Powell's initiative in calling for a rejection of the pledges to date of the two old parties, we must not "sit on our hands." We must demand now, not merely more elaborate promises, but prompt and effective action.

What's needed is an unprecedented unity based on an awareness that the political rulers of the nation have presented Negroes and all decent Americans with a challenge reminiscent of the compromise of 1876 which defeated Reconstruction. They have chosen an alliance with the Dixiecrat South and said to Negroes and the nation: "Your rights be damned. We are interested in war and conquest, not peace and equality."

They cannot maintain this position in face of the united action of millions of Negroes supported by millions more working people. In the conventions soon to be held, 4 million Baptists, one-half million Elks, and millions of others in various Negro organizations the banner of non-partisan

(more)

unity should be raised to meet the challenge of the political rulers. We should strive to face the Administration and its Republican opponents with the united demand of six to ten million Negroes and their trustworthy allies for full and equal citizenship now in every aspect of our national life.

Whoever is elected President, Negroes want FEPC, voting rights and an end to "white supremacist" terror now. There's no reason, if we have the strength and vision to press for these goals unitedly and now, why we should have to wait until after election to get them.

May 6, 1953

Peoples Artists
299 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Dear Friends:

Enclosed is the statement by Mr. Robeson for the forthcoming "Lift Every Voice".

With every best wish.

Fraternally,

Bertram Alves
For Mr. Paul Robeson

Enc.

"LIFT EVERY VOICE"

"Lift every voice and sing
Let earth and Heaven ring

The other day in Auburn, New York, there was the dedication of the home of Harriet Tubman, the Moses of her people. Harriet Tubman, together with Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth, was a member of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. In this church my beloved slave-born father labored long and faithfully - and today my elder brother carries on, in the mother church of New York.

When Harriet Tubman went South in the dark days to lead the slaves and perhaps my father by way of the Underground Railway - to Freedom - thousands of human beings - the "salt of the earth" - lifted their voices in song. And so it has been wherever those of human kind have surged toward the light of liberation - men and women of every culture, color and clime.

They have sung and sing songs created by the generations-old genius of the folk. And there can be no greater genius. Beautiful songs - yes - sometimes of quiet meditation - sometimes of momentary thunder - sometimes of terrifying beauty for the faint of heart. Songs bursting through the bar-lines, calling for love, for brotherhood, sisterhood, for equality, for freedom.

It is a great privilege to greet this magnificent richly rewarding Song Book - to greet those responsible, the Peoples Artists. This is no mere phrase, Peoples Artists - it has the deepest of overtones to hundreds of millions on every continent throughout the world.

Certainly no group of artists have more devotedly dedicated themselves to the sacred task of helping to collect, preserve and live the great songs not only of the American folk but of all folk.

These singers of the people - tried, tested and triumphant and ever contributing to our struggle for Peace and a better life - offer here a beautiful gift to all the world. They have our deepest thanks.

53 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
October 12, 1953

Mr. Desmond Buckle
57 Charlwood Street
London, S.W. 1, England

Dear Mr. Buckle:

Today we are sending air-mail registered, the tape recording by Paul Robeson.

Enclosed is script of the recording. The tape must be run on machine at 7½ feet per second.

Success.

Sincerely,

John Gray

Enc.

[Oct 12, 1953]

PAUL ROBESON'S SPEECH FOR ENGLAND

The struggle for human freedom has been long and toilsome in every land. From its beginnings, America has ever had its honest advocates of, and fighters for, a free, all-inclusive America. Opposed have been those who advocated a land for the few - a land of the privileged on the one hand, and on the other, a land of the burdened and the oppressed. Jefferson vs. Hamilton, slaveholders vs. the abolitionists, and today the false dreamers and the proponents of an American Century versus those who struggle for a world at peace - for the dignity of all, for a truly democratic America; for the according of full citizenship to everyone - to black and white, to those of all religions, all backgrounds; to the brave descendants of the Jewish people, to all the peoples come from Europe, Asia and Africa, South America and the West Indies - to all men who have built this America of ours.

Some 75 years ago America's great poet Walt Whitman said:

> "I perceive all the corruption. I observe shallow men are put in the greatest offices, even in the Presidency. And yet with all that ... I know that underneath all this putridity, that has arisen at the top, lie pure waters a thousands fathoms deep. They make the real ocean, whatever the scum may be on its surface."

Know that today there are tens of thousands who are active and articulate - other tens of thousands are on the way to add their growing understanding and strength to the struggle for peace - to the living together of peoples of many different cultures and ways of life. The tide is turning. The McCarthys and McCarrans use desperate, yes, vicious, but futile means to stem the course of history. The strength of millions like yourselves - in England, Wales, Scotland, Europe, East and West, hundreds of millions in the great Soviet Republics, the Peoples' Democracies, in mighty China, in Africa and the Indies, East and West, indeed, among the nations of the earth - this unified strength is a powerful force for the preservation of the peace and of our civilization.

We shall not fail you here - at the source of the struggle. It is not easy, but not one inch shall we budge, not one step backward shall we take, whatever the cost.

One day, and soon, the enemy will be broken, will be broken because the other America, the true America, will push them aside, and declare America's stand on the side of progress and the future good of humanity.

All my best to my good friends, my deepest thanks, affection and love. I know you will continue the struggle for the freedom of my people in Africa, in the West Indies, in America, the struggle for the complete freedom of the working masses of your own and other lands, for the day when their own name and under their own leadership will shape their destinies, and will usher in the epoch when humanity's future is forever assured, and our children and children yet unborn will inherit a wonder-laden, bountiful earth.

ESTABLISHED 1892

MEMBERS A. B. C

AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN · WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN · PHILADELPHIA AFRO-AMERICAN · NEW JERSEY AFRO-AMERICAN · RICHMOND AFRO-AMERICAN · NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN

EXECUTIVE OFFICES · 628 N. EUTAW STREET
BALTIMORE 1, MD

December 14, 1953

Mr. Paul Robeson
53 West 125th St.
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

As is our annual custom, we are once again seeking your aid in forecasting some of the momentous events to take place during the year 1954.

First, we want to know what you think will be the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the five school segregation cases now in its hands for consideration and action. Do you think that decision will be favorable or unfavorable to the cause of interracial progress?

If you think the court's decision will outlaw segregation in the public schools of the nation, will that decree call for an immediate end to the practice or will it permit a gradual transition over a period of one or more years?

Having observed almost a year of Republican administration of the affairs of the national government, do you predict a continuation of the administration's fight to eliminate racial segregation wherever it is found or do you forecast a retreat?

Do you predict passage of any civil rights bills during the coming session of Congress?

Looking in retrospect at 1953, whom would you nominate as the outstanding American? What do you consider our most significant achievement during the year? In which field would you say we made the most progress?

Please jot down your replies to these questions and any other brief observations that you may have and forward them to us at your earliest convenience. We would appreciate receiving them in our office not later than December 19. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Josephus Simpson

Josephus Simpson
Assistant Managing Editor

1.) Challenge
greets to Rest of
[illegible]
Colonial peoples Challenge of Negro
[illegible] of [illegible]

deal with Senate

Secretary of
[illegible] Civil Rts

Program of Truman

~~Anti Lynch~~

Voting Rts

Smith

F.E.P.C.

Right to work

all [illegible]

Full 1st class
Citizenship

Peace with Soviet
[illegible] & China
& Peoples Democracies

December 19, 1953

Mr. Josephus Simpson, Assistant
Managing Editor
Afro-American Newspapers
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

Dear Mr. Simpson:

In response to your request for my comments on a number of questions of public interest, I am very happy to send the following response. First, however, may I take this opportunity to express my sincere congratulations to you and the Afro-American newspapers for the high journalistic standards you have set and for the consistent endeavors of your papers in the interests of our people.

What follows is my statement concerning the important questions you posed.

The placing of the issue of segregation in education before the Supreme Court represents a magnificent stride forward in the long battle of colored Americans for full equality. It seems to me difficult to speculate as to how the Court will decide. Certainly, if the Court acts in accordance with the demands of democracy and the needs of the whole Southern people - colored and white - it will strike down segregation unconditionally and immediately.

Who will say that the Southern people, who maintained unsegregated school systems during the Reconstruction period, will not support them in 1954? In the final analysis the people - not the nine justices - are the court of last resort. And the participation of all democratic sections of the population in the current campaign represents a great gain for interracial progress and is ample warrant that whatever the judges decide in the current litigation, segregated education is tottering.

However, the still-powerful sections of the Dixiecrats are girding themselves for final struggle. The Byrnes' and Talmadges, in fact the Council of Southern Governors, seem to me to be heading toward a major battle on the whole front of our right to first class citizenship, somewhat in the tradition of Henry Clay and his stubborn defense of the theory of "states' rights." The fight will still go on, especially in the South, where the bulk of our people live.

Whether civil rights bills will be passed in the coming session of Congress will depend not on the oft-heralded "good intentions" of Eisenhower, or the election-year promises of Congressmen, but on the degree to which the colored people, labor, the poor farm population, and all lovers of democracy make an earnest, united and irresistable demand.

We must not forget that the whole civil rights program - for voting rights in the South, for the right of our people to work and to full opportunities for advancement through adequate federal fair employment practices legislation, for the right to full protection of our very lives in states like Florida, the scene of the Moore lynch-murders - this program was scuttled by the Eisenhower administration in the President's successful bid for Southern support. So our demands must not be narrowed, but broadened to include the whole of the Negro people in all-inclusive immediate demands for full citizenship.

And all of our demands will be most effective when they merge with the battle against the book-burning, thought control, "loyalty" purges, "spy" scares and character defamation which the Democrats started and the Republicans are carrying on to ominous lengths.

Let us remember that at one time in our national life the victims of hysteria were Jefferson and his colleagues, friends of the new revolutionary French republic of 1789. At another, the sufferers were Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, William Lloyd Garrieson, John Brown, fighters for our freedom. They happened to be abolitionists. Closer in time is 1920; the persecuted were the Socialists - men like Eugene Debs and Altgeld.

Proud inheritors of these magnificent traditions are men and women like Benjamin Davis of Georgia, James Jackson, Henry Winston, Claudia Jones, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Eugene Dennis, Pettis Perry and their colleagues. Our history - and especially the history of our people - teaches us that all liberties must be protected or there are none.

So today there is the overriding necessity to preserve our democratic heritage from the wholesale attacks of McCarthyism. McCarthyism is an American brand of fascism. If this administration, which is largely a political vehicle for the giant corporations and entrenched greed, embraces McCarthy fully, as it seems prone to do, then the outlook for colored people, labor, the foreign born and other minorities, will be gloomy indeed.

I would nominate two outstanding Americans of 1953. One stands among the greatest women this nation has ever produced, Dr. Mary Church Terrell. During the past year she has crowned her life-long labors with successful campaigns to eliminate segregation in various sections of the national capital's life and aided immeasurably in raising the whole fight for full integration in schools and other spheres to new levels. And she courageously gave leadership to an interracial delegation of women to the governor and the parole board of Georgia to petition for the release of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram. May she enjoy many more years of such exemplary leadership.

Standing by her side I would nominate our most profound scholar, our great poet, our great fighter for the liberation of all dark peoples over decades of labor and full devotion, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

For our people, and for all Americans, the most significant achievements in 1953 were two-fold: first, the ending of the bloodshed in Korea, and, secondly, the further awakening of the colonial peoples, particularly our brothers in Africa, and now in the Sest Indies and Latin America. The Korean truce, however unstable at the moment, provides the avenue toward great power negotiations for a settlement of outstanding differences among the nations. The war to "save Western civilization" which some would unleash would be an unspeakable horror aimed at wiping out the independence struggles in Africa, Asia and on our continent, and bringing the world under the boot of U. S. racists. In such a war we would be stripped of the right to fight for even the questionable goal of equality in death.

We, as Americans, must face reality. The world has suffered profound change and faces continuing change. We must live, now and in the future, on this earth, as we have in the past, with many different ways of life, with many different religions, cultures and social systems. In our time we must find peace and that peace must be with our recent friends and allies, the courageous and self-sacrificing peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with might China, with the new Peoples Democracies of East and West. They represent 800 million, mostly darker peoples, of the 2,000 millions of the world's population. This is the reality.

Finally, only peace on earth will provide the conditions in which colored Americans can move forward to full equality in a world of friendly peoples.

Sincerely yours,

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES
139 West 125th St.
New York City
May 3, 1954

STATEMENT BY PAUL ROBESON

Various newspaper columnists, radio commentators, and magazines are now spreading the fantastic slander that Paul Robeson is "changing his views." Well, liars will continue to lie, and it's a sad but true fact that nowadays American manufacturers lead the world in the production and distribution of every variety of falsehood -- including, as we have just seen in Washington, "doctored" photographs.

But let me say this for the record:

The very essence of my life and work is loyalty to my convictions. I am, as I have been for many years, firmly and fully devoted to the struggle for peace and democracy throughout the world, for Negro liberation and colonial freedom, for friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, New China, and the Peoples' Democracies of Europe. The interests of the working peoples of every land are my guiding principle, and I know of no force that can make me change.

As for those who are telling the public that I have changed my mind, I might ask: How stupid can you get? Is the struggle for peace less meaningful today when Dulles threatens momentarily to throw the H-bomb, and bring retaliation in kind upon our own heads? Is it thinkable that Paul Robeson, recipient of the International Stalin Peace Prize, would ever cease for a moment in his efforts in the sacred cause of peace?

Am I, one of the three men awarded the title of "Champion of African Freedom" in 1950, expected to ignore in 1954 the continuing massacre of my brothers in Kenya? And here in America, is Jim Crow dead and buried? Has Congress passed the Anti-Lynching Law and the F.E.P.C.? Have my peoples' demands for economic, political and social equality been granted? If not, why should Paul Robeson, who has dedicated his life to the struggle for these goals, change his mind about them now?

The fact is, every day brings new proof that the great cause of peace and liberation, in which I am inseparably united with the vast majority of mankind, is invincible. The doom of imperialism has been sounded in all of Asia, and soon Africa and the other colonial lands now straining against their chains, will rise in mighty freedom.

And here at home, it's beginning to look as if those who want to "go it alone" into a new world war cannot count upon having the American people go with them -- and everybody else has already said No.

Change my mind? Gentlemen of the press, you'd better change yours, because what I believe in is happening!

######

6/25/54

Because he dedicates his time and energy and material resources to the most important work of outlawing war, winning peace, and preserving life on our planet – we salute Mandel Terman. Please convey to him our warmest handshakes.

Eslanda and Paul Robeson

6/25/54

WARM GREETINGS TO ONE WHOSE [illegible] SERVICES TO THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM HAVE STRENGTHENED OUR EFFORTS TO BUILD AN EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT FOR NEGRO LIBERATION – [redacted] BURNAM

There will be no collection speech at the dinner. Contributions can be made in the form of greetings inscribed in a Scroll book to be presented to Mandel Terman during the program on June 26. Contributions to be used in the struggle for peace and friendship.

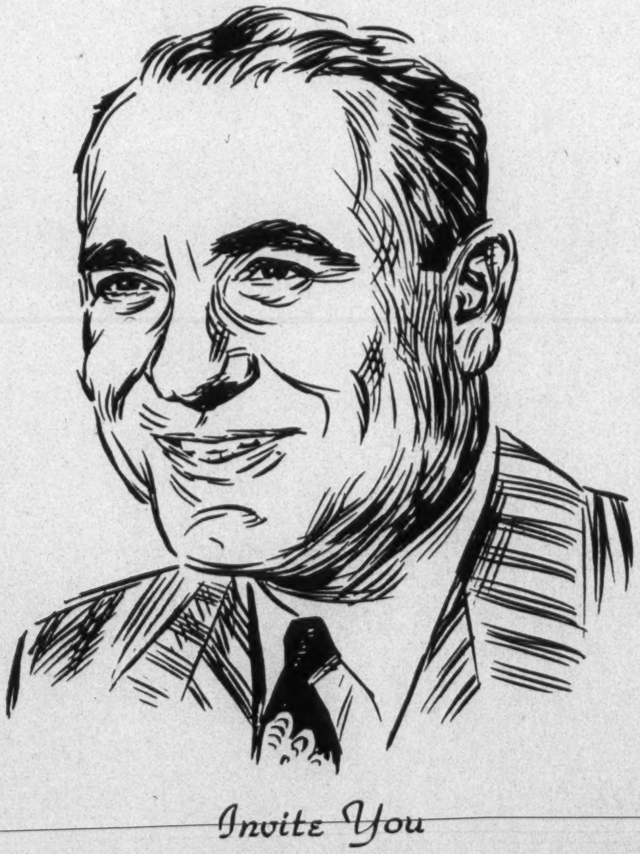
Rates for greetings are as follows:

One line greeting	$ 1.00 or more
¼ page	5.00
½ page	10.00
Full page	15.00

Please mail enclosed reservation card at once and indicate thereon size of contribution you wish to make.

Friends of

Mandel A. Terman



Invite You

THE STORY OF MANDEL A. TERMAN IS THE STORY OF THE MAN WE WOULD ALL LIKE TO BE A MAN OF HEART AND STRENGTH AND WARM FELLOWSHIP.

HE DOES NOT WARP OR BEND UNDER FEAR OF OPPOSITION HE DOES NOT YIELD TO THE PRESSURES OF THE DAY OR WASTE HIS LIFE IN TRIVIAL PURSUITS.

IF HE WALKS FIRMLY ON THE ROAD TO PEACE, IT IS NOT BECAUSE THE ROAD IS EASY, BUT BECAUSE HIS LOVE FOR HUMANITY IS GREAT.

WE HONOR MANDEL TERMAN BECAUSE HE IS THE TYPE OF MAN WHO DEDICATES HIS TIME AND ENERGY AND MATERIAL RESOURCES TO THE MOST IMPORTANT WORK OF ALL: — THE OUTLAWING OF WAR, THE WINNING OF PEACE, AND THE PRESERVATION OF LIFE ON OUR PLANET.

To A Dinner Tribute

in honor of

Mandel A. Terman

In appreciation of tireless activity for
world peace and international friendship

Saturday Evening
June 26, 1954
Dinner at 6:30 p. m.

Walsh Hall 1014 Noble Street
at Milwaukee and Cortez

$2.50 per plate	*Auspices:*
R.S.V.P.	*Friends of Mandel A. Terman*

7/27/54
91
9
1.00

PAUL ROBESON

America loses one of her great daughters — a worthy sister of Frederick Douglass, Harriett Tubman, and Sojourner Truth — in her unceasing militant struggle for the full citizenship of her people, Mary Church Terrell leaves us a rich heritage, and a noble example. An example to be followed by us all, until full + final victory.

Personally, I have lost a very dear friend who gave me deep inspiration and ~~continued~~ courage. Paul Robeson

From: 139 West 125th St., Suite 6 FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
New York 27, N. Y.
July 28, 1954

PAUL ROBESON EXTOLS MARY CHURCH TERRELL

Paul Robeson, unable to attend the funeral of Mrs. Mary Church Terrell because of a concert engagement at the International Peace Arch on the American-Canadian border, today expressed his deep regret at the loss of "one of America's great daughters".

His full statement follows:

> America loses one of her great daughters, (a worthy sister of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth). In her unceasing militant struggle for the full citizenship of her people, Mary Church Terrell leaves us a rich heritage and a noble example -- an example to be followed by us all until full and final victory.
>
> Personally, I have lost a very dear friend who gave me deep inspiration and continued courage.
>
> ... PAUL ROBESON

TELEGRAM TO MRS. MARCA TONIO 8/10/54

MRS. VITO MARCANTONIO
231 East 116 St.
New York City

YOU HAVE MY DEEP SYMPATHY MILLIONS OF AMERICANS REGARDED MARC AS THEIR PEERLESS CHAMPION IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY HIS PASSING IS A GREAT LOSS TO US ALL AND TO ME A GREAT PERSONAL LOSS HE WAS A WARM AND TRUE FRIEND MAY YOUR SORROW BE TEMPERED BY THE KNOWLEDGE IT IS SHARED BY COUNTLESS FRIENDS

PAUL ROBESON

THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL
1484 FIRST AVENUE • NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK • RHinelander 4-6450

Miriam S. Marcantonio, Honorary Chairman
Arthur Schutzer, Secretary

November 8, 1954

Dear Friend:

The Vito Marcantonio Memorial will be held

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7th at 8 P.M.
at
MANHATTAN CENTER
34th Street and 8th Avenue

This occasion marking the fifty-second anniversary of Marc's birth, will be a tribute to his principles, his courage and his work which will live on as long as hearts beat and minds think.

I know that you will want to participate in this tribute which will include addresses by several of Marc's Congressional colleagues, constituents, friends and co-workers.

Your early reply will be appreciated.

I look forward to seeing you on December 7th.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Schutzer

Arthur Schutzer
Secretary

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From: Freedom Associates, Inc.
139 W. 125th St., New York 27
August 12, 1954

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PAUL ROBESON ISSUES TRIBUTE TO VITO MARCANTONIO

Characterizing the late Vito Marcantonio as "the Thaddeus Stevens of the first half of the 20th century," Paul Robeson in a tribute today called upon the American people to build "a living monument to him who lived so well."

"We have lost a tried and true friend," Robeson said, "the foremost spokesman for the rights of man the Congress of the United States has produced in the 20th century. For me a special sadness comes when I think that I will no longer share Marc's warm and principled friendship."

After commenting on Marcantonio's great contributions to the fight for equal rights for the Negro people, Robeson declared: "Marc was never a quitter. He would expect us to fight on; to build ever stronger the people's unity; to rout the war-makers and exploiters; to send to Congress tens and scores of men and women who will serve the people in the style and spirit of Vito Marcantonio; to win the peace, happiness and equality for all the world's peoples to which he dedicated his life. As we do, we will be building a living monument to him who lived so well."

The statement in full follows:

In the untimely death of Vito Marcantonio progressive humanity suffers a shocking and grievous loss. He was the people's tribune, standing often alone in defense of their rights and interests in the halls of a Congress over-run by the spokesmen of big business and corrupt old-party machines.

When all other Representatives howled and legislated for war he advocated and cast the people's vote for peace.

When Congress saddled the labor movement with the Taft-Hartley law and other oppressive measures, he voted for the working majority of Americans and against the special interests of monopoly.

When the constitutional liberties of the people were taken away by the McCarran Act, the Mc Carran-Walter immigration law and the Smith Act, he defended their rights in the courts.

In his district - the 18th Congressional District of New York - Marc was revered and loved as a friend, a brother, a true leader, by the scores of thousands of Puerto Rican, Italian, Negro, Irish, Jewish, and Slavic families - the families of the poor - whose cause he aggressively championed and whose problems he tirelessly helped to solve.

Perhaps no group of Americans is called upon to honor his name and his memory more than the Negro people, not only in East Harlem, but in all parts of this vast land.

Marcantonio was the Thaddeus Stevens of the first half of the 20th century. Consult the Congressional Record for the seven terms he served the people so fearlessly and brilliantly. No session of Congress during these 14 years was spared the responsibility of considering the Marcantonio bills against the poll tax, to penalize the crime of lynching, to legislate fair employment practices. No voice was raised more eloquently or frequently than his on behalf of our sorely oppressed people.

Examine his voting record. He was the only Congressman in the past two decades who possessed a perfect record of votes on questions directly and indirectly affecting the special interests of Negroes.

And with it all he was the finest Congressional parliamentarian of our time. When New York first elected a Negro Congressman it was to Marc that he turned to "learn the ropes" of procedure in the House. Adam Powell must remember those early days. And scores of other Negroes, the "race relations" advisors and consultants in various government agencies - Washington's " Black Cabinet" - must recall that it was to Marc's office that they found their way to work out strategy and tactics for Negro advance in NYA, WPA, housing, the armed forces, in all phases of American life.

He was one white friend who never shirked a fight on our behalf, who never tolerated an insult to the Negro people. When the great scholar and statesman, W. E. B. DuBois, stood trial as an alleged "foreign agent" because he leads the millions who fight for peace, Marcantonio was his counsel and won him vindication. When the Negro-hating Henderson Lanham, representative from Georgia, called the peerless defender of civil rights, William Patterson (now confined to Danbury federal prison on another trumped-up charge) a "black s-o-b" in a Congressional hearing, Marcantonio took Pat's case in the contempt proceedings which followed - and won him vindication.

Certain political jackals and vultures have already begun to distort, in an attempt to destroy, the real meaning of his life. To them he was an "enigma". How could he be so right on domestic economic and social issues, they piously ask, and yet so "wrong" on international affairs.

The answer is simple - for those who are not afraid to admit it in these hysterical times. Marc's policy on foreign affairs was as true and as right as his program on domestic questions. The one flowed naturally and inexorably from the other.

He hated fascism because it robbed the people of their liberties and livelihood, made the "master race" theory a cornerstone of government policy, and sought to subject all mankind to the tyranny of a Hitler and the German bankers and industrialists he represented. Thus he worked for the total mobilization of this nation against fascist aggression and for strongest unity of the allies, including the Soviet Union, which was necessary to win victory in World War II.

But at the war's end his keen political insight saw the unmistakeable signs - the people's victory was being appropriated by big business and the military. Negroes were thrown out of their newly-won positions in industry, executive FEPC was scuttled, "legal lynching" became the order of the day, Taft-Hartley put chains on the labor movement, freedom of thought and assembly were penalized, McCarthyism ran rampant, taxes, prices and profits soared without government hindrance. And behind the breastworks of this domestic repression the administrations of both Truman and Eisenhower proceeded to circle the world with U. S. bases and troops, oppose colonial liberation movements everywhere, brandish the A-and H-bombs, and dry up the "reservoir of good will" which the U. S. had built up during the "Good Neighbor" era of Roosevelt.

The best interests of the people of the 18th Congressional District, and of the working people and Negro people of this country, demanded that Marc act and vote for peace and against war. He did, and for this the American people will honor him.

We have lost a tried and true friend, the foremost spokesman for the rights of man the Congress of the United States has produced in the 20th century. For me, a special sadness comes when I think that I will no longer share Marc's warm and principled friendship.

Italian-American, carpenter's son, he never deserted the working people from whom he sprang. As he rose to service in the political arena, their fortunes rose with him. He was the clearest embodiment in Congress of the common interests which obtain between the Negro people and the working people of this land.

Marc was never a quitter. He would expect us to fight on, to build ever stronger the people's unity; to rout the war-makers and exploiters; to send to Congress tens and scores of men and women who will serve the people in the style and spirit of Vito Marcantonio; to win the peace, happiness and equality for all the world's people to which he dedicated his life. As we do, we will be building a living monument to him who lived so well.

****

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

139 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.
November 30, 1954

To "SING":

Congratulations to you - and I do wish it were possible to be with you in person.

Deeply cherished is my long association with the Labor and Peace groups in Great Britain, and it's good to know the youth are carrying on, and especially in the field of People's music. They, the People, created the early forms and continue to be the real source of creation. It's good that music returns to them - aiding them in their struggle for a better life.

Today, to insure that better life, we must all fight for Peace. Peace to see that the youth and all human-kind survives. We need no war pacts - no re-armament of a Nazi Western Germany - we Need a peacefully reunified Democratic Germany. We need no stock-piling of atomic weapons at various strategic points. We need abolition of these dreadful weapons and the use of atomic energy for provision of abundance and new levels of life.

Yes, to sing our songs gaily and tenderly we need a peaceful world, living in friendship and with exchange of our various rich heritages. "Four Rivers" sings of such a world.

All my best to you and to my friends - the people of England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland.

Be sure that "Sing" goes to my brothers and sisters in Africa and the isles of the Caribbean. Let them ever know that they have friends who stand on their side as they too seek Freedom and a more abundant life.

Sincerely,

11/16/45
Drawing and
J.9.

SING

Editor: Eric Winter
Music Editor: John Hasted

8 Ulysses Road,
London, N.W.6.

2nd November 1954.

Paul Robeson,
C/o Provisional Committee
to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
139 West 125th Street,
Suite 6, NEW YORK 27.

Dear Paul Robseon,

Greetings from the Editorial Board of SING.

We are proposing to publish the song "The Four Rivers" in our next issue and we wonder if you will be good enough to send us a short message of greetings to go with it. Also, if you have a good line drawing portrait of yourself, we should like to use it on the cover.

(We are at present unable to use photographs and since we must have a drawing, we would prefer one chosen by you to a mediocre specimen copies from a photograph.)

We are sending you copies of SING, by ordinary mail, so that you will be able to see what sort of a magazine it is. It is published on behalf of the London Youth Choir and is intended for the labour and peace movement in this country, with a particular accent on young people.

I had the great pleasure of meeting you when you were over here in 1949 and I hope the day is not far away when your personal liberties will be restored and you can visit us again.

Best wishes from all members of our editorial board.

Yours sincerely,

Ursula McLean
PP ERIC WINTER

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Dennis McCann

pp Eric Winters

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

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7 PM
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Paul Robeson, Esq.,
C/o Provisional Committee to Restore
Paul Robeson's Passport,
139 West 125th Street,
Suite 6,
NEW YORK 27,
New York.
United States of America.

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address:

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER
MAY BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

← To open cut here

To "Sing"

Congratulations to you - and I do wish it were possible to be with you in person.

Deeply cherished is my long association with the Labor and Peace groups in Great Britain, and its good to know the youth are carrying on; and especially in the field of Peoples music. They the People created the early forms and continue to be the real source of creation. Its good that music returns to them - aiding them in their struggle for a better life

To day to insure ~~that~~ better

life, we must all fight for Peace. Peace to see that the Youth and all human-kind Survives. We need no war Pacts - no re-armament of a Nazi Western Germany - we need a peacefully re-unified Democratic Germany - We need no Stock-Piling of atomic weapons at various Strategic Points, [illegible] We need abolition of these dreadful weapons and the use of atomic energy for Provision of abundance and new levels of life.

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3.

Friendship and with exchange of our various rich heritages. "Four Rivers" sings of such a world.

All my best to you and to ~~the~~ my friends — the People of England — Wales, Scotland, Ireland — ~~and~~ ~~to my many brothers and~~

Be sure that ~~the magazine~~ "Sing" goes to my brothers and sisters in Africa — and the isles of the Caribbean — let them ever know ~~that~~ they have friends who stand on their side — as they too seek Freedom and a more abundant life.

Sincerely
Paul Robeson

1 A	2 B-P	(3) h j C g	(4) d-T	5 E	6 F-V
Adelante	Bueno- a as os	gracias	día	el	favor
Ahora	Revoluta	Como	Tarde	estoy	nueve
Americano	Republica	Casa	Tía	está	frío
Agua	Padre	Calor	dónde	este	
Aquí	bien	Cuánto	tengo	esta	
	Por	Cuando	Tiempo		
	Permítame				
	bebiendo				

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

To my brothers and sisters, to the peoples of that great land from which my ancestors came, to the peoples of Africa - I send my heartfelt greetings.

Only my words, my voice can come to you. I cannot. I cannot accept your many kind invitations to come to Africa as I long to do. Nor can I go to Asia or Europe or even across our border to Canada. I am, so to speak, exiled in the United States by my government.

It is important for you to know why this is so. The government attorneys have been brutally frank in explaining. My passport is denied, they declared, "in view of appellant's (that is, my own) frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically - in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa ..." The diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler traveling under protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable."

and so Because ~~I~~ many of us here in the United States champion the freedom of ~~my~~ our people in Africa and in the United States, because ~~I will~~ we will not compromise one millionth of an inch on this issue, ~~I am~~ we are regarded as ~~a~~ "political meddlers" in the eyes of those in power in America - in the eyes of that powerful section of America whose program of world domination and war is meeting with the determined resistance of hundreds of millions of peoples throughout the world.

fighters like the one before Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois who [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] because we

That profit-greedy section of America - the big trusts and banks which look to Africa to replace what they have lost in Asia, stands today behind the regimes of Britain, France, South Africa, Belgium, and the other alien oppressors of the African people, ~~Backing~~ up these oppressors, spurring them on to greater and greater exploitation of Africa and its people, and supplying them with guns with which to crush African resistance. In Asia this section of America not only does these things, but itself leads the horrible and barbaric slaughter of the Korean people - as well as attacks against the people of Malaya & Indo-China. They may only wait greedily - for the opportunity to loose their vicious attacks upon great sections of the African people.

--- more

But there is another section of America, embracing all those who labor and are oppressed - the 15,000,000 black Americans and many millions of white allies. Despite the most tyrannical suppression of democratic rights in our country's history, and though standing in the shadow of American concentration camps, this section of America, the true America, continues in battle against the doctrine and practice of white supremacy, against imperialist domination, and against the government's war program.

I speak to you not simply as an individual, but as ~~the spokesman~~ one of that democratic, progressive section of America which is the ally of the African and all other peoples' strivings for democratic rights and national self-determination.

As in America, so in Britain, France, Italy and other imperialist countries, there are progressive forces on the side of the people of Africa even though there voices sometimes may not be audible. But it is especially important to remember your other allies, strong allies, in areas of the world where peoples have only recently won their freedom & created new peoples ~~Democ~~- races. I mean, the peoples of China, of India, of other sections of the Far and Middle East, and the peoples of parts of Central and Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union. They are all allies of African freedom, partners of yours in the common struggle for a democratic world of security and peace.

Among all these peoples with such varied beliefs and ways of life there is today one common aim - to save their national freedom, to save their personal liberties, to save their very lives and the lives of their children, by joining together to save world peace.

This is the theme and purpose of the great Congress of the Peoples for Peace which will assemble in Vienna on December ~~8th~~ 12th. It is my earnest hope that my fellow Africans as well as my fellowAmericans will be well represented at that Congress for Peace.

~~I sometimes hear some of my people say: "Let the white nations~~ fight ~~among themselves and kill each other. It is all right. Maybe we~~

---- more

~~we will all get our own freedom [illegible]". I am grieved when I hear that sort of talk. [illegible] reflects such a blindness to the realities of the world [illegible]~~ We need only to ~~look~~ look at the wars now in progress, in Korea, in Malaya, in Viet Nam, or at the near-wars threatening in Northeast and South Africa, to realize that the darker peoples of the world having a primary stake in halting military aggression ~~not through imp[illegible]ar but~~ through unity of all peoples of all colors in their action for peace, ~~lies~~ lies) the true path to the achievement of self-determination by colonial and subject peoples.

The great leader of French Africa below the Sahara, Gabriel D'Arboussier, has pointed out clearly the unity of the struggle for self-determination and the fight for peace. He states:

> "Numerous facts in our own countries of Black Africa prove that war preparations are already militating against the people's greatest aspiration--the right to self-determination. We see how liberty is being stifled and our rights suppressed. In the economic sphere, we see the seizure of our raw materials, which tends to enhance the poverty of our working population. Lastly, our countries are being made to supply troops, notably for the war in Viet-Nam. Hence we can see a direct connection between the situation at home and the French government's policy of preparing war.
>
> "And so each time a colonial or dependent people protests against the plunder of its raw material resources, and demands that its country be industrialized, it is fighting for peace. Each nation that protests against the recruiting of troops or demands the returnof such troops to their native land, it is fighting for peace...."

Mr. D'Arboussier cites the vivid expression of the African people toward a third world war as voiced in the Assembly of the French Union by a Catholic representative from Dahomey, when he declared, addressing the French government:

> "In the last two world wars when you needed us we replied 'Ready.' Today, when we ask you to grant our obviously just demands you reply 'Wait'. I warn you that in the event of another war, if you ask us to take part in it, our reply will be 'Wait'."

This ~~Their~~ hour is critical. The forces of reaction are desperate. They will, if they can, force the people of the world to endure a blood

---- more

bath which few of us may be able to survive. The peoples of the world, the people of Africa, too, must answer "No"! They will do so at the coming Congress of the Peoples for Peace. I say to you, stand up now while there is time and join with your allies in this expression for peace.

In the eloquent but simple words of the Appeal which has been issued for the convocation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace I affirm:

> "Your will for Peace must be expressed.
> The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together, on the basis of the aims arrived at in common, persons of every opinion and groups or organizations of every kind, who desire disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life, and the relaxation of international tension.
>
> The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together all those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.
>
> Peace can be saved!
>
> Peace must be saved!

Robeson Statement on Mrs. Bass

Mrs. Charlotta Bass' many years of dedicated service in the battle for equality, labor's rights and world peace constitute a record which deserves the support of all Americans who are offended — as they should be — by the white supremacy record of Sparkman and the transparent hypocrisy and reaction of Nixon.

The Progressive Party has done well in choosing her as its vice-presidential standard bearer. I shall count it a privilege to vote for her on Nov. 4 —

FIRST FREEDOM FORUM—

HEAR:

William Marshall

STAR OF LYDIA BAILEY

and

Ruby Dee

STAR OF THE JACKIE ROBINSON STORY

DISCUSS:

"WHAT DO You THINK OF THE SHOWING OF PORGY AND BESS IN EUROPE?"

WITH

LLOYD L. BROWN

DISTINGUISHED
NOVELIST AND CRITIC

Thursday evening - October 16, 1952
7:30 - 10:00 P.M.
United Mutual Auditorium 310 Lenox Avenue

Auspices: Freedom Newspaper Forum Series

CONTRIBUTION: 60¢

TELEGRAM

Mrs. Lydia Minor
% Joseph North
St. Nicholas Arena
66th Street & Broadway
NewYork, N. Y.

BOB MINOR'S FIGHTING SPIRIT WILL LONG PERVADE THE STRUGGLES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY AND PEACE. I MET HIM FIRST IN SPAIN IN THE EARLY STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCIST TYRANNY. HE HELD BACK NONE OF HIS GREAT GIFTS AS ARTIST, WRITER, ORATOR AND ORGANIZER IN THE DEFENSE OF [redacted] THE RIGHTS AND DIGNITY OF MY PEOPLE AND OF ALL WORKERS. TO YOU AND ALL HIS HOST OF FRIENDS MUST COME THE COMFORT THAT HE WILL EVER HAVE A HIGH AND HONORED PLACE AMONG US AS WE MOVE ON TO ACHIEVE THE GOALS FOR WHICH HE GAVE HIS RICH AND INSPIRING LIFE.

PAUL ROBESON

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Mrs Lydia Minor
c/o ~~Joseph North~~

St. Nicholas Arena
66 Street & Bway

①– Bob Minor's fighting spirit will long pervade the struggles of The American people for democracy, equality and peace. I met him first in Spain ~~and have~~ in the early struggle against fascist tyranny.

~~His [illegible]~~ He held back none of his great gifts as artist, writer, ~~spe~~ orator and organizer in the defense of the human rights of my people and of labor. To ~~you~~ and all his host of friends must come the comfort that he will ever have a high and honored place among us as we move on to achieve the goals for which he gave his inspiring life

Paul Robeson

The passing of Fighting Bob Minor leaves a

The people of the United States will long feel the gap left by the passing of Fighting

The fighting spirit of Bob Minor will long pervade our midsts as ~~the~~ progressive America moves on to a future of

(Negro)
Not only the Colored People of our land, but all peoples everywhere have suffered deep and grievous loss in the passing of Mary McLeod Bethune. She belongs in the tradition of the great women warriors of our people. Harriett Tubman - Sojourner Truth and many many others. Her spirit and inspiration remain ever with us.

(over)

My immediate family

~~looses all~~ feels as tho'

dear
one very close to us has

gone ~~away~~ to her final

rest. Her friendship - affection

and encouragement are

cherished memories.

Sincerely

Paul and Eslanda

Robeson and family"

May 27, 1955

Dr. Frank Weymouth, Honorary Chairman
Dr. Holland Roberts Anniversary Celebration Committee
321 Divisadero Street
San Francisco, 17, California

Dear Dr. Weymouth:

We are these days to see that growing numbers of our fellow Americans are breaking loose from the grip of fear and confusion and are beginning to assert their will for peaceful relations abroad and democratic rights at home. Together with us, the people of all other lands rejoice to see these hopeful signs of a change here in the citadel of the Cold War. Through all these bleak years, a war-weary world has anxiously looked for expressions of that "other America", the America of democratic tradition, which surely existed, however submerged, beneath the regimented and reactionary appearance of our public life.

In honoring Dr. Holland Roberts, the alumni and teachers of the California Labor Schoolare paying tribute to one of the finest representatives of the true America of the common people. Indeed, Dr. Roberts is one of the foremost leaders of that indomitable group of progressive Americans who have never been intimidated by the reactionaries or confused by their propaganda.

If today others are becoming less fearfull, it is in large measure because men like Dr. Roberts have been unafraid; and if today others are beginning to speak out, it is because Dr. Roberts and his fellows have never been silenced.

It has been my pleasure to know this splendid American and to share with all of you a deep appreciation of the contributions he has made to our country and its people. A gifted educator, he has brought the strength of knowledge to working-men and women; a man of culture, he has stood firm against those evil forces which burn books, destroy art and stifle song. Devoted to democratic principles, he has challenged the witch-hunters and thought-controllers; he stands with the Abolitionists of our day in the struggle for equal rights for the Negro people and all other minorities.

Above all, to his honor and glory, Dr. Roberts is a man of peace, a fighter for peace. His has been one of the clearest voices in our land speaking out against the Big Lie, bringing to Americans the truth about the Soviet Union and its inspiring socialist achievements, promoting the cause of international friendship and peaceful coexistence. Millions more - yes, the vast majority of our fellow citizens -- shall one day recognize the realities of our changing world which Dr. Roberts has seen with clear eyes and understanding heart. Sharing his vision, living in a world of peace, our nation shall honor him and his co-workers long after the McCarthys and Knowlands are happily forgotten.

To Dr. Roberts, I wish to say: HAPPY BIRTHDAY, DEAR FRIEND! I regret that I cannot be present at your anniversary celebration, but as you know, I shall soon revisit your city and I am looking forward to meeting you again and the pleasure of extending to you in person my heartfelt congratulations.

With all good wishes,

Paul Robeson

139 West 125th Street
New York, 27, N. Y.

(Draft--to reach Calif. prior to June 4)

date

Dr. Frank Weymouth
Honorary Chairman,
Dr. Holland Roberts Anniversary
Celebration Committee,
321 Divisadero St.
San Francisco 17, Calif.

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With all good wishes,

Paul Robeson

this is an anniversary year...

It marks the 60th anniversary of Holland Roberts, director of the California Labor School. It is also the 10th year since he left his professorship at Stanford University to join the faculty of what he calls, "The School with the Future." To honor him for his outstanding work, a committee has been set up of alumni and friends of the School with Dr. Frank Weymouth, Professor Emeritus of Stanford University as honorary chairman, to celebrate the occasion.

The Anniversary Celebration Committee invites you to join in the special program planned.

"Every intellectual called before an investigating committee should refuse to testify . . . it is shameful for a blameless citizen to submit to such an inquisition . . . This kind of inquisition violates the spirit of the Constitution."

—DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN.

Clip the coupon below and send it to Dr. Lincoln Fairley, Secretary-Treasurer, California Labor School, 321 Divisadero Street, San Francisco 17, California.

AS MY BIRTHDAY GREETING TO HOLLAND ROBERTS ON HIS 60TH BIRTHDAY AND 10TH ANNIVERSARY WITH THE LABOR SCHOOL:

Please increase my sustainer to . . . $.....................

I am enclosing a new sustainer for $.....................

I am enclosing my donation for . . . $.....................

Credit my contribution to the Harold and Eleanor Sawyer Lecture Fund.................

"They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety..."—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

california labor school • 321 Divisadero St. • UN 3-3023

WELCOME

FRIENDSHIP

california labor school

321 Divisadero Street

and still they come...

The California Labor School offers education for life. It gives no credits or degrees. Yet the students come . . .

They have come uninterruptedly in the hundreds for thirteen years. The School cannot keep up with the growing demands upon it. Reluctantly, it must turn away requests for important classes . . .

why do they come?

Let the 1955 students tell you themselves:

1 "Where else is there a school which teaches truth in a period of lies? The Labor School needs the support of everyone who believes that life has a future other than war."

Student, Political Economy

2 "It is part of my life. It is the only place where the working people can get true, complete answers to our questions, to help us make the kind of life we want for the future."

Student, U.S. History

3 "Before I came to the School, I rarely picked up a worthwhile book. Now every spare moment I have a hunger to read more."

Student, U.S. History

4 "The School is the center of my friendships and my learning. I leave the classes each time with an eagerness to return and learn."

Student, Art and Society

5 "I came to the School because it is a bridge to the future."

Student, Science of Society

WHAT HAS THE SCHOOL OFFERED?

knowledge for struggle...

During all its years the School has centered its attention on the problems of the people . . . full employment, social security, improved working conditions, equal rights for Negroes, Mexicans, Asians and all minorities, full equality for women, improved working conditions, health protection, and always and centrally, peace. Every class whether it be political economy, science of society, history, philosophy, art, music, is aimed at the deepening of knowledge for all these vital struggles.

classes—lectures—guest artists—

Besides single term courses in a variety of subjects, full year courses have been offered since 1954 in Political Economy, Science of Society, U.S. History. Folk Music Conferences have featured Pete Seeger, Jenny Wells, and Ernie Lieberman. For Negro History week this year, Dr. Philip Foner, leading American historian and world authority on Frederick Douglass, was guest speaker.

art exhibitions...

This year exhibits included the work of Victor Arnautoff, prints by a group of Los Angeles artists, a Graphic Arts show, the work of Soviet school children, a late exhibit from Africa.

workshops—art—theatre—music—

Regular features of the School are the Labor Chorus with Leo E. Christiansen, director, and the Graphic Arts Workshop with Irving Fromer, chairman. Working with the School is the Labor Theatre.

* * *

GUEST LECTURERS and ARTISTS (partial list) Paul Robeson, Albert Maltz, Charlotta Bass, Lombardo Toledano, G. DiVittorio, William Gropper, Leadbelly, Senator Elbert Thomas, Beulah Richardson, Pablo O'Higgins, Vincent Hallinan, Richard Gladstein, Earl Robinson, John Howard Lawson, Lloyd L. Brown, Herbert Aptheker, Anton Refregier, Howard Selsam, W. E. B. DuBois, Frank Lloyd Wright.

what does the school need now to move ahead?

Fresh winds are blowing across our country. Voices are speaking for peaceful co-existence, for peace. The McCarthyites are being exposed. What must the School have to make a greater contribution to our country and our future?

LARGER QUARTERS . . more classrooms . . more library space . . more trained teachers to meet the demands for more classes here and in neighboring communities.

AT LEAST one more full time staff member NOW. The present staff cannot meet the growing demands upon it.

$10,000 to help the School raise itself by its bootstraps, guarantee its steady growth, expand its program.

REGULAR SUSTAINERS $1, $2, $5, $10 paid on a regular basis. Just 365-$1-a-month sustainers would add one additional staff member.

Every student and friend is needed as a sustainer.

Dr. Holland Roberts

Anniversary Celebration Committee

CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL ALUMNI & CO-WORKERS

321 Divisadero St.

San Francisco 17, California UNderhill 3-3023

Honorary Chairman
DR. FRANK WEYMOUTH

Lloyd

Dear Friend,

On June 4th, the alumni and teachers of the California Labor School will honor Dr. Holland Roberts on the occasion of his 60th birthday and 10th anniversary as director of education.

Assembled at the program will be hundreds of students and associates who have been inspired by the teachings and integrity of this teacher and educator who left his position as associate professor at Stanford University to join what he calls "the School of the future."

The program will include a presentation of the tributes and greetings from men and women who have known Dr. Holland Roberts as author, teacher and principal, as State President of the American Federation of Teachers (Calif.), Co-director of the Stanford Language Arts Investigation, as President of the National Council of Teachers of English, through his work with the John Dewey Society, Progressive Education Association, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, President of American Russian Institute, delegate to the Warsaw Peace Congress, and as director of the California Labor School.

It is in this present capacity of director and teacher that we honor his positive contributions to education for peace and democracy and for a fuller cultural life for all people. His outspoken defense of academic freedom in the face of the School's citation for alleged subversive activities under the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 is consistent with his rejection of any compliance with thought control.

We write to you as one who opposes the strangulating inroads made upon freedom of education and ask that you send a message to this courageous educator which will be presented to him as part of the June 4th Anniversary program.

Sincerely yours,

F. W. Weymouth

FRANK W. WEYMOUTH
Honorary Chairman

upw34cio
1955/5

IN SUPPORTING THE JUNE 4TH
ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
YOU ARE HELPING TO ESTABLISH
A FIRM BASE FOR THE DEFENSE
OF THE SCHOOL.
IT IS A VITAL FIRST STEP.

"Liberty is meaningless where the right to utter one's thoughts and opinions has ceased to exist. That, of all rights, is the dread of tyrants. It is the right which they first of all strike down. They know its power."

-- FREDERICK DOUGLASS

"One of the splendid experiences of my life was lecturing at the California Labor School. Few indeed are the schools in our wide land that consciously fight Jim Crow and anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism, that insist the rights of labor are basic to all democratic rights, and that spread the understanding of the great truth of our day -- the necessity for Peace."

-- HERBERT APTHEKER

CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

(Beginning in Middle of P. 23)

Direct Answer to question I

One of the most decisive steps was taken in connection with the Peking and Vienna Congresses of Peace.

The American Peace Movement reached out its hands across the borders to join [redacted] with the millions of peace fighters in the world peace movement. Until now there has been some difference opinion, due to the dangers of possible persecution. But gradually it has become crysdal clear that the mighty strength of the world movement representing peoples of all Lands [redacted] is strength for us here. As Americans, preserving the best of our traditions, we have the right— —nay the duty, to fight for participation in the forward march of humanity.

The enemies of this progress in our land — the Achesons — the Dulles' — — Deweys — are in constant touch with the remnants of Fascism — with Rhee, with Franco — with the enemies of peace.

We must join with the tens of millions who see in Peace our most sacred responsibility.

Since we are joined together. we can talk to eachother and about each other.

So this decision leads to full explanation of our friends the Soviet People — of telling about their deep desires and hopes for peace - of their peaceful pursuits of reconstruction from the ravages of war — as in historic Stalingrad; Of the heroic efforts of our friends in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, in great China, in North Korea — to explain - to answer the falsehoods of the war-mongering press with clarity and courage.

In this context, we can make clear what co-existence means - living in peace and friendship with another Kind of society - a fully integrated society - where the people control their destinies - where new Kinds of human beings develop within the framework of a new level of society.

This too is a part of our work in building a strong peace movement.

We join with all, of every opinion - if they are for peace, but we must make at the same time an advanced contribution — we, as part of the vanguard must lead not follow — must courageously extend our influence - draw in waiting thousands who want peace and a decent life, as do we.

So I see an early qualitative change in carrying out our most urgent tasks.

See
PP. 23
Possible to begin
There.

I

American Attitudes Toward Peace.

Like any other People, like fathers, mothers - sons, daughters - in every land - when the issue of Peace or War has been put squarely to the American People - ~~they~~ have registered for Peace. Whatever the confusions - however great the hysteria - millions voted for the Stockholm Petition - millions more wanted to. At every step ~~all~~ the vast majority have expressed horror at the idea of an aggressive War.

So from 1945 on - the ruling class leaders of this land, Stepped up the hysteria and Propaganda to drive into American minds

~~that~~ Danger threatened ~~them~~ from the East. This Propaganda began before the blood of Precious human beings stopped flowing in the mighty struggle against Fascism.

I, myself, was in Europe in 1945 singing to the troops, and already one heard rumblings of the necessity of America's Preparing for War against the Soviet Union, our gallant ally. And at home in the U. States. ~~it~~ continued and increased the Persecution of the heroic leaders of the Communist Party and all honest Anti-Fascists

But the deep desire for Peace remained with the American People.

Wallace was hailed by vast throngs, when he resigned from Truman's Cabinet, in Protest against the war-mongering of the then Secretary of State James Byrnes, now the Negro hating Governor of South Carolina, Seven to eight million Peace lovers. Put Wallace on the ballot in almost all of the 48 States in 1948.

The cry for Peace, raised essentially by the Progressive Party,-

forced Truman to take
over, (demigogically of course,)
the whole Progressive Party
Platform. ~~[illegible]~~ In addition
he said he would send
Vinson, one of his trusted
Cabinet ministers, to Moscow
to talk peace.

He also attacked Dewey, his
rival as a real American
Neo-Fascist. The American
people alarmed ~~that~~ Dewey
might lead them to war,
turned to Truman at the last
moment = even millions
of registered Progressive
Party voters.

We all know how Truman
betrayed the American People.

in their hopes for peace –
how he betrayed the
Negro People in their
THIRST ~~thirst~~ for equal rights –
how he tore up the Bill
of Rights and terrorized
the whole American People.

The Korean War has
never been understood by
the American People. ~~[illegible]~~ We
remember the unforgivable
trickery in the use of the
United Nations to further
the purposes of "American
Century" imperialists –
Quite comparable to the taking
of Texas from Mexico –
comparable to the similar rape
of Cuba, the Phillippines, ~~and~~
Puerto Rico, and Hawaii.

At one time, the youth were openly saying they would not go to Korea and there have never been any sizeable number of volunteers.

At one point, American Peace Sentiment ~~stopped~~ helped to stop Truman from pursuing the possible use of the atom bomb in Korea - and helped to force the re-call of McArthur.

Yet in 1952 - the American people again allowed themselves to be taken in - this time by Eisenhower.

He too, promised in the campaign to do all he could to end the Korean

Conflict. The vote shows that Americans believed him. Already he has betrayed their trust and moves as fast as possible toward an extension of the war. There are real threats of attempting to support France in Indo-China = in a so-Called Global Policy. All this comes as no surprise if one looks at those who guide him — Dulles, one of architects of the whole foreign Policy — Dewey (the man so feared in 1948 — and certainly unchanged) — and the whole

array of American Big Business
at its worst.

All these factors become
increasingly clear to great
sections of the American
People and certainly present
a tremendous challenge to
the Peace forces in this land.
If they move swiftly, ~~as~~
correctly - courageously
a mighty United Front for
Peace can be built.
The Peace Sentiment can be
harnessed, organized -
effectively organized.

The Peace movement in
America has been one of

Many Segments - Many ~~Cu~~ Currents

For example the Quakers have been extremely active - not always clear - certainly not understanding ~~the~~ the magnificent contributions ~~[illegible]~~ of the Soviet People. of China and the Peoples Democracies in the building of a new world - but ~~Standing~~ for Co-existence and Mutually advantageous Trade and Exchange.

The English Quakers and Friends have taken an even more Positive Position

There is the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives — which includes many Religious leaders and Intellectuals. They act timidly TIMIDLY - but can be much more deeply activated.

There are many community Peace groups. In Brooklyn New York for example — there are thousands of peoples working in small community groups = in various sections of the city = So Regionally there are great differences in Peace activity.

11.

In California there are State wide groups doing a very fine job And 560,000 people just voted the Peace Ticket.

In the north-west (around Seattle, Wash. & there have been very important united Front activities for Peace. They succeeded in getting Peace on a Special Ballot in the election Campaign near Here last May on the Canadian border - I sang to 40,000 peace fighters!

There are important Peace Committees in many large Negro communities in New York - Chicago - Detroit. - in some sections of the Sixth.

And of course there is most importantly – the American Peace Crusade – which should be ~~[illegible]~~ the core of the Progressive Peace ~~Crusade~~ Forces and indeed of the American Peace Forces.

Here again, the Peace groups have not centralized their actions in sufficient measure. Labor has its Special Peace Committee – Each union has its special Peace unit. The Progressive Party, the American Labor Party the Independent Party in California pursue their own

Paths.

It seems to many of us that the whole Progressive Core must unify - centralize its efforts. In this way there will be sufficient Vanguard strength to establish a firm Co-alition - a firm United Front = But the advance forces must be strongly organized in order to encourage - ~~and~~ push forward - join in parallel activities with other Peace forces.

Progressive America unified is much stronger ~~than~~ generally supposed. For example if all the basically Progressive Trade Unions pooled their

14.

Peace work - joined to-gether = the Picture would be quite different. There are Powerful Units in Maritime - Mining, Textiles - Engineering - Coal Fur & leather - Auto - Tobacco - and tremendous Possibilities of Broadening into many A.F. of L. unions - Auto Steel = The newly formed Negro Labor Councils - have tremendous Potentialities both within Labor and within the ~~the~~ ranks of the oppressed Negro People.

There are many organizations working in the various fields of Labor - Civil Rights - [illegible] & Special groups - Negro People the Jewish People —

the various language groups —

of the Mexican-Americans —

the Puerto-Ricans —

At some points in the Peace Struggle all of these should concentrate on the Peace struggle - certainly at well-defined strategic points of the struggle.

In spite of the Eisenhower victory - in fact because of it - the fight has become much sharper - even desperate for ~~many~~ important divisions of our People.

(1) Already Labor sees an all out attempt to completely smash the Trade union movement. George Meany the A.F.L. successor to Green - announces his readiness to capitulate

& accept what Big Business, now in the saddle, is prepared to give. But this is not the temper of most of labor. Local 600 in Detroit Auto, for example. U.E. & F.E. led by ~~[illegible]~~ workers like the Communists Trade unionist, Harold Ward = West Coast Maritime, mine & mills are but a few. War can only mean complete Regimentation for labor = Peace ~~must be~~ is a basic need for labor's struggle of labor including all but the most re-actionary segments. Tremendous trade with Soviet Republics, China - Peoples Democracies - yes with Western

17.

Escape - caught in the
Marshall Plan mesh -
Answers all arguments about
War & Jobs. Tremendous
possibilities await peace
forces among ranks of labor.

(2) Again the Negro
people, voting in main for
Stevenson, have nothing
to expect from Eisenhower.

Especially an Eisenhower
Party dependent upon a Dixiecrat
South - avowed enemies
of the Negro people.
War would mean an end
to their struggle for
Civil Rights - an F.E.P.C.
right to vote - an anti-lynch law

18.

And to-day the Negro
People watch Africa & Asia =
Closely follow the liberation
Struggles of [illegible] ~~brothers~~
their South Africa - East
and West African brothers
and sisters. They watch
the United Nations and see
the United States join with
western Imperialist Nations
to stifle these Struggles.
They note that Mr. Vishinsky
and the representatives of
the Peoples Democracies
defend the African & Asian
Peoples. Again tremendous
opportunities await the
Peace fighters in winning great

19.

members of Negro organizations and thousands of the Negro People in the fight for Peace.

It is important to note ~~that~~ once the Negro People understand, they can be moved in great numbers - as they are already highly organized in their various Church, - fraternal, (Elks), ~~(for example)~~ and Social organizations.

One militant group. (the Baptists) numbers almost four million of MAINLY working class Negroes. Of course many of these are also Trade Unionists

There is within the Ruling Class an immediate threat to move in Indo-China - in support of French Imperialism

One of the leading Baptists — and an outstanding educator, is Mordecai Johnson - President of Howard University - leading Negro University in America.

A year or so ago in addressing the C.I.O. Convention he pointed out that the struggle in Indo-China was a clear struggle for colonial liberation. True, the Indo-Chinese has a right to accept help from all sources — including Communists. But he completely contests the Dulles theory that every struggle for colonial liberation is a result of Communist agitation. And he further urged an understanding of the Communist world & urged co-existence.

21.

Present talk about an
So that even the adventurous
excursion into Indo-China
Could well help to make the whole
Pattern of Imperialism and
the stifling of Colonial Peoples
Clear to the Negro People.
It could also aid in making
Clear that Korea was just
Such an adventure.

(3) So the intellectuals are
living in great fear of new
Purges - Compare the Present
Cases against Owen
Lattimore, and Vincent.
There threatens another
violent out-burst of McCarthyism.
directed against any and
all liberal-thinking intellectuals
Here is complete Proof of the
fact that the defense of
Communists to-day is the very
bulwark of our defense

of our Civil liberties. As under a Hitler - ~~first~~ the Communists - ~~then~~ FIRST all who stand their ground.

So the peace forces will find listening ears among the intellectuals in bringing their message of peace.

All honest Scientists - Writers Artists - recognize the danger.

And so we could move through all levels of our society.

The American People listened to ~~P~~ Pious Speeches on the question of Repatriation of Prisoners, and the next day were shocked beyond measure by the shooting of Prisoners by our Troops - as at Koje Island.

May see America losing every vestige of any claim to leadership

Americans also note ~~that~~ in other lands - there is no where near the hysteria that exists here - They read of strong resistance ~~to [illegible]~~ WAR among all Parts of the Italian - French - Canadian - English Societies and so in Middle East, India - Africa - Asia.

So ~~that~~ the conditions exist for bold action in the all important struggle for Peace.

~~Here~~

Over The most ~~[illegible]~~ decisive Steps was taken in connection with ~~the~~ Peking and ~~[illegible]~~ the Vienna Congress of Peace.

The American Peace Movement Reached out its Hands across the borders to join with the millions of Peace fighters in the World Peace movement. Until now there has been some differences of opinion due to Dangers of Possible Persecution.

But gradually it has become crystal clear ~~that~~ the mighty strength of the world movement representing peoples of all lands is strength for us here. As Americans, preserving the best of our traditions, we have the right - nay the duty to fight for participation in the forward march of humanity -

The enemies of this progress in our land - the Achesons - the Dulles - Dewey - are in constant touch with the remnants of Fascism - with Rhee with Franco's - with the enemies of peace.

We must join with
the tens of millions who
see in Peace - our most
sacred responsibility.

Since we are joined together
we can talk to each other
and about each other.
So this occasion - leads to
full appreciation of our friends
the Soviet People - of talking
about their deep desires and
hopes for Peace - of their
Peaceful Pursuits of Re-
construction from the ravages
of war - as in historic Stalingrad.
of the heroic efforts of
our friends in Poland -

Czecho-Slovakia - Hungary
Albania - Romania - Bulgaria
in Great China - in North
Korea - to affirm - to
answer the falsehoods of the
war-mongering Press - with
Clarity & Courage.
In this Context - we can
make clear what co-existence
means - living in Peace and
Friendship with another
kind of Society - a fully
integrated society - where
the People control their
destinies - where new kinds of

Human Beings develop within the framework of a new level of Society. This too is a Part of our work in Building a Strong Peace Movement.

We Join with all, of every opinion - if they are for Peace - but we must make at the Same time an advanced contribution - we as Part of the Vanguard - lead not follow - Courageously extend our influence - draw in waiting thousands - who want Peace and a decent life - as do we:

II

(1) WISH THAT WORLD SENTIMENT WILL FORCE CEASE FIRE IN KOREA - AND SETTLE THE QUESTION OF REPATRIATION OF PRISONERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GENEVA CONVENTION -

(2) THE STRENGTHINING OF THE FORCES OF PEACE, ESPECIALLY IN AMERICA, SO THAT WAR CAN NEVER RAISE ITS HEAD.

(3) COMPLETE BANNING OF ATOMIC AND GERM WARFARE.

4. THE USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY FOR PEACE – FOR TRANSFORMATION OF WORLD'S SURFACE SO THAT MAN CAN ASSUME CONTROL OVER THE WILD FORCES OF NATURE.

(5.) GAINING OF RIGHT TO TRAVEL – SO WE IN AMERICA WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO VISIT DIFFERENT, LANDS ESPECIALLY WOULD I LIKE TO SEE AGAIN

MY FRIENDS IN THE SOVIET REPUBLICS.

(6) TREMENDOUS ADVANCES TOWARD INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-DETERMINATION IN MANY COLONIAL, LANDS - IN ASIA - AFRICA - LATIN-AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

(7.) TRADE AND WIDE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE BETWEEN ALL NATIONS.

III

(8.) SUCCESSFUL, FULFILLMENT OF THE PLANS FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND THE PEOPLES DEMOCRACIES - THE VANGUARD NATIONS OF THE PEOPLES STRUGGLES.

III

1. Work in peace movement
2. In the politicalsphere — workin the Progressive Party and in attempts to strengthen the 3rd Party structure.

3. Work in Council on African Affairs and aiding Colonial Struggles.

4. Work in Labor organizations — — Negro Labor Councils and whole progressive Trade Union movement. (Mine-Mill + Smelter workers, Fur + Leather Workers, Marine Cooks + Stewards Union, United Electrical Workers, International Longshoremen's + Warehousemen's Union, Auto Workers, Steel Workers.

5. I hope to go to the South (Visit Fishermen's Local of Fur + Leather Workers Union in Virginia, Sing Concerts in Negro churches and Universities in Carolinas, Virginia + other parts of South)

6. In the cultural field — Making records, Concerts, organize theatre group.
Will send special Albums to U.S.S.R. and ~~P~~ People's Democracies + to other countries.

[1943]

Please return to Robeson, Enfield, Conn.

SOUTHERN STORY.

Two American boys from a training camp at a nearby Air Base were making a practice flight in a bomber over a charming southern Mississippi town; they were flying low and slowly, on reconnaissance, examining the town and their probable targets carefully; their job was to learn how to discover, note and photograph strategic military objectives, so they would be prepared when they found themselves on active duty overseas.

THAD JEFFERSON, the pilot, was an attractive quiet dignified young Mississippian (white) of 2I, thoughtful and sensitive; SAM BRADDOCK, his co-pilot, was a brash young New Yorker (white) also 2I, cocky ,wordy but often witty, a little loud, but **attractive** with an honest straightforward endearing sincerity.

Both men were studying closely the lovely little Mississippi town spread out immediately below them in the clear early morning light.

"Flying round in planes makes you kinda philosophical, dont it?" asked Sam.

"Uh-huh", grunted Thad.

"That sure is a beautiful little town down there. You know, Thad, after we go win this war, I want to treat myself toa visit to a town like this. Me, I always been in the middle of brick and stone and cement and cold-water flats, and playing in cr owded streets full trucks and cars and dust and danger. I always thought I'd like to live in the country and have kids, and let 'em go to the ol' swimmin' hole, go fishin', and sit under apple trees. You know, kinda quiet and calm, and no traffic." Sam spoke a little wistfully.

"Man, you better keep your eye on the ball and make you some notes," said Thad, with rather unusual impatience; "we got to make a report,remember?" He went on briskly as he caught Sam's surprised look. "Now this here's the Court House, over there's the jail, on the other side of the Square's the Church,- all civilian points we got to avoid. Here on this end is the big factory,- that's one of our objectives; an' right alongside them are the freight yards; then the Railroad Station over there,- you cant miss it. Got 'em all? O.K.. Map 'em, Big Boy." Thad smiled at his friend affectionately.

After checking in back at the Air Base and turning in their reports, Thad and Sam strolled together across the fields between the hangars and barrcks of their training camp, smoking a comradely cigarette. In spite of the wide differences in their background~~s~~ and temperament, they had become firm friends.

You know,Thad, that lovely little town back there got me thinking; all that church-on-the-Square business, a house with a front and back yard and a porch, and grass and trees,- maybe magnolia trees. Say,Thad, do those magnolias smell as sweet as they say say they do?

"Oh yes", smiled Thad, "they have a wonderful fragrance,- heavy, rich, romantic; the flowers are very beautiful, even the leaves are lovely,- thick an' very dark green an' glossy." Thad smelled them with his mind as he described them.

"Well now", urged Sam, "tell me some more. You come from these parts yourself. Why dont you invite me to come down an' smell 'em after the war?" He asked the question with such unaffected eagerness that Thad was disconcerted. "You know", Sam added hastily, defensively, "I always said you gotta come and visit me and my folks in the Big City as soon as we get anywhere near it, coming or going, in this man's army".

"Yes, I know," answered Thad with a faint hint of reserve in his voice, "and I really do appreciate the invitation".

"Dont go formal on me", said Sam, puzzled and a little hurt by the reserve which he sensed instantly. "Of course I know all about you Southerners, with your good manners and aristocratic ways. But Thad, you dont know my kind of a guy; we dont always talk loud; we know when to act nice and refined, and be on our good behavior."

Sam's unexpected humility goaded Thad into explanation; "Man, you're on the wrong track. You're way wrong. I'm southern, but I'm not aristocratic. Why plenty people'd call me poor-white, an' that's what I am, I reckon."

"Gwan", said Sam, "I dont believe it".

"Well, I am. Or I was. Now I'm AMERICAN. We're all Americans in the army, in the whole country. Not Northern, or Southern, or poor-white or rich-white, or niggers, or nothin'; just Americans, fighting for a good America, so we wont have those differences any more."

Sam was flabbergasted. A speech from the quiet Thad was unusual in the extreme.

"What's eating you? This America's O.K. with me. We're doing O.K. on this side of the ocean. Its Hitler and Co., and all those Nazis and Fascists in Europe we gotta teach how to behave. We're O.K. here,- we're democratic." Sam boasted complacently.

"Course we're O.K., in a way", said Thad thoughtfully. He was still upset in his sensitive heart and mind over Sam's hurt about the neglected invitation to visit his southern home. "But Sam, we got things to do here, too. Here in America. We got to fight the Fascists and the Nazis over there, an' over here too,- everywhere we find 'em."

"You're nuts,Thad", answered Sam, vaguely disturbed by his friend's groping. "You're talking that radical politics-junk now, and that aint like you."

"No,it aint like me, as you say," said Thad, still thoughtfully. "I dont know what's got into me. It must be that flight just now, an' that town. It got me thinkin', I reckon."

"That's just what I been trying to tell you," said Sam eagerly, "that town is pretty as a picture. It made me go all sentimental."

"It didnt make me sentimental," Thad said a little bitterly, " it made me mad." Sam gazed at his friend in astonishment. "Yes, it made me mad," Thad went on clearly, firmly, "an' I'll tell you why, an' you got to get mad too."

"You're nuts", cracked Sam, not knowing what else to say. "What you got against a pretty little town like that?"

"That town is my home", Thad said quietly; "I was born there. Right there in that part across the railroad tracks, behind the freight yards, where all the poor people live; poor-white people, an' all the niggers,rich and poor."

"Cheesus", said Sam, in surprise, "Cheesus."

Having begun, Thad decided to tell the whole story; he sat down on a pile of lumber which was soon to be used for the building of additional barracks on the field. Sam sat down beside him, interested.

"I can remember so many things," Thad went on slowly, " a lot of them nice an' a lot of them nasty. I remember Ma in the old days,- always tired from cookin' an' washin' an' ironin',- but never too tired to take me on her lap when I was little; never too tired to listen to me when I wasgrowin' up; never too tired to go over an' help the Johnsons, the niggers that lived next door. Miz Johnson was always helpin' Ma too, an' always bringin' us somethin' nice to eat when we were sick. Miz Johnson was cook up at the big Randolph mansion on the other side of town,- the elegant side where all the rich folks live. Mr.Randolph was the banker, an' he had a lovely wife, a real southern gentlewoman like you read about,- but real. She always gave Miz Johnson all the good stuff that was left over from the beautiful dinner parties they had." Thad smiled at the clear and happy memory, and Sam saw it through his eyes.

"That's what I was saying", said Sam eagerly, "its like I always imagined it would be."

Thad didnt even hear him. "Well, Jim Johnson,- that was Miz Johnson's boy, same age as me, grew up with me. We were friends, an' that boy was a whizz at mechanics. Just had a gift. I remember when we were five we made us a toy wagon, an' it was so good we used to take it to the General Store to drag the bundles home on it.

"Jim's father was a good mechanic, made his livin' fixin' things; wasnt anything in town he couldnt fix. My father was------" Thad hesitated, but as the clear picture of his father rose in his mind he went on, smiling, "my father was the junk-man in the town, an' he used to pile all the junk he collected in the big waste-land back of our houses. We all used to go over it regularly, to see what we could salvage.

"Well, Jim and me grew up, both of us makin' things for fun. I went to work in the factory soon as I was big enough, an' Jim went to work in the garage,- washin' cars at first, then as a mechanic's helper. When we were sixteen we built us a jaloppy,- the worst lookin' thing you ever saw, but she ran smooth as silk. It took us two years to collect all the junk to make it,- some from Pa's junk-pile an' some old stuff from the garage. Man, I'll never forget the first day we made it run. We like to had a fit, we were so excited.

"Jim an' me would take turns with the jaloppy,- I had it one night, an' Jim had it the next night, an' so on. Often Jim had to work nights an' I'd have the car every night for a while; an' so a lot of the gang came to think of the car as mine".

Thad's face clouded. "Then one night MATT CLEMMONS asked me for a loan of the car,- seems he wanted to take his girl out joy-ridin'. I couldnt hardly lend him the car, because it wasnt mine; it was mine an' Jim's. I'd have to ask Jim first,- it was only honest. An' besides, Matt Clemmons was kind of stupid an' a bully anyhow, so how do I know he wont get drunk an' break up the car an' leave me to explain the mess to Jim? So I told him no, I cant lend him the car.

"Matt was mad. Seems like he'd set his heart on it, an' seems he'd already told his girl. But I couldnt lend him the car no-how. An' I couldnt explain to him why. So I just said no."

"Why couldnt you tell him it wasnt yours to lend?" asked Sam puzzled.

"Because then I'd have to tell him whose it was, an' I couldnt do that."

"Why not?" asked the straightforward Sam.

"Well you see Sam, that's what I'm a-tryin' to explain to you: I cant tell Matt the car belongs to me an' Jim Johnson together, because Jim is a nigger, an' Matt just wouldnt understand. You wouldnt understand either. But if you'll just keep quiet long enough, maybe I can make you understand.

"Matt was madder'n a hornet. He called me everything. I guess it did look kind of mean," Thad admitted judicially, "because I wasnt goin' no-where myself that night. So I had to get in the car an' drive myself around awhile, so it wouldnt look too bad. But Matt never got over it. An' Matt is mean.

"Then one night about a month later, Matt was drunk down in the Square, an' he saw Jim drive by in the jaloppy. Matt was sore as a boil, an' started talkin': 'Thad Jefferson is shore an onery nigger-lover,' he says at the top of his lungs to all his drunken pals, 'he can lend his god-damned junk-car to that nigger Jim, but cant lend it to a decent white man like me.', So he and his pals pile into a car an' chase Jim, bump into the jaloppy, an' drag Jim out an' beat him up. Jim dont even know what its all about.

"When I come home that night Pa is quiet, an' Ma is out. Pa tells me Jim's in trouble. I get kind of sick to my stomach, an' go over to the Johnsons', an' there is Jim, all beat up. Nobody can understand why. When they tell me, course I know why right away, an' I explain the whole thing.

"I sat down an' cried like a baby. Reckon I thought it was my fault, but I couldnt see how. Ma got scared, seein' me a grown man of I8 sittin' there cryin'. So she goes home an' gets Pa, an' they all try to figure out what to do.

"They got to figure somethin', because if Matt Clemmons is out to get Jim, pretty soon it'd be all over town that Jim had him some trouble with a white girl, an' then there'd be hell to pay. So Jim has got to go.

"They figured an' figured, all night long, an' finally Ma an' Pa an' the Johnsons decide they got to send me an' Jim away to college. That's a swell idea, but they got to find the money.

"Ma tells Pa he's got to take the contract for the town garbage. The new Mayor had just got his election on the promise of a new garbage truck for the town, an' he got the truck, but couldnt find no one to drive it. Everybody said they wouldnt collect nobody's garbage, new truck or no, because it was a dirty stinkin' job.

"Pa said no, but Ma is pretty stubborn when she gets her dander up. 'Oh yes you will, Thaddeus Jefferson', she says, 'there aint nothin' stinkin' about Thad's goin' to college, so you're a-goin' to drive that truck; its honest work an' good pay, garbage not-with-standin' '. So Pa, says alright, he'll drive it.

"Miz Johnson says she'll try to borrow the money for Jim from Mrs.Randolph against her wages as cook, an' she an' Jim's father will figure some way to pay it back.

"Before we know it, I'm through my first year in engineering at State College, an' Jim is through his first year in mechanics at Hampton Institute,Virginia.

"I come home to work in the factory my first summer, an' find Matt Clemmons has gone away. But Mrs.Randolph tells Miz Johnson she thinks it better Jim dont come home yet. Mrs.Randolph takes a big interest in Jim, because she always liked Miz Johnson.

The end of my second year at State I come home again to work in the summer, an' find the Johnsons not doin' so good. Mr. Johnson is sick in bed with some kind of muscular rheumatism, an' cant work in the garage. Ma helps all she can, takin' care of him while Miz Johnson is up at the Randolphs' on her job.

"Matt Clemmons is still away from town, so Miz Johnson asked Mrs.Randolph dont she think it'd be a good idea for Jim to come home an' take over his father's job at the garage for the summer, because they need a mechanic so bad, an' the job'd help out with the money. Mrs.Randolph said yes, she reckon its safe now, with Matt Clemmons gone, an' the garage people needin' Jim so bad they wouldnt take no foolishness off nobody about him. So Jim come home an' went to work."

Thad heaved a long breath, lit another cigarette, and went on: "Well, that was last summer. Everybody was goin' to war, volunteerin' an' bein' drafted, an' pretty soon,with all the good men gone, who should come home but Matt Clemmons. Come home in a brand new car,too, an' all dressed up.

"We all got mighty upset and worried; but Jim, he was very polite to Matt when he come in the garage with his car, an' he takes special good care of the car, keepin' it all polished up an' shinin'; so Matt's satisfied. I was very careful to be respectful to Matt, an' be impressed with all his good clothes an' fine car, so he buries the hatchet with me.

"We all breathe free, an' reckon its alright, an' bygones are bygones.

"But then one night Matt got drunk an' took his car out an' broke it up. It turns out the car dont belong to Matt yet because he aint paid for it,- only so much down an' they cant catch him for the rest of the payments. So Matt was in a pickle. So he gets drunk again to drown his troubles, an' he says it aint his fault the car was all broke up; that nigger Jim Johnson broke up the engine fixin' it in the garage, just to get even with him for the beatin' he got. Its all the nigger's fault, an' damn if he wont go get him an' beat him up good this time.

"Matt gets his drunk friends together an' they start out to the garage lookin' for Jim." Thad stopped, his angry eyes full of tears of helplessness. For once the irrepressible Sam was quiet.

"Things happen funny in a little town," Thad went on quietly, thoughtfully, "things you wouldnt understand. We got a sort of grapevine communications system, an' word gets round in all kinds of ways, mighty quick.

"First I heard of it, my foreman at the factory come into the ice-cream parlor an' whispers to me that Jim's in trouble, an' I better get goin'. 'You go home an' wait, an' do what you can,' he says, 'you'll be most use there, just in case; I'll hang around with the drunks an' do the best I can, an' maybe I can think of somethin'. You try to think of somethin', Thad, we just GOT to do somethin', we just got to.' An' I didnt even know the foreman knew Jim!

" I did what he said. Sick to my stomach, I come home with my mind rushin' round like a whirlpool: what to do, what to do? We GOT to do somethin'. But I was so sick to my stomach I couldnt think of nothin'.

"Home, there was Ma, sittin' in her rocker singin', an' Pa smokin' his corn pipe, as if the world wasnt upsidedown. They give me one look, an' I reckon I was green, because I'll never forget how scared they was. I told 'em everything right out, all in a minute.

"They just sat there an' looked at me, an' they turned kind of green too. Then Ma got up from her rocker,- I can still see it rockin', empty, the way she left it. 'Thaddeus', she says, to Pa, 'you an' Thad stay right where you are, an' dont neither one of you move till I get back. I'm goin' over to the Johnsons', an' I'll be right back. Dont neither one of you move.' And she went out.

"She found Miz Johnson at home, sittin' in her rocker, cryin', an' she didnt even know she was cryin'. 'Where is he?' says Ma. 'At the Randolphs'', says Miz Johnson, 'Mrs.Randolph hid him, an' sent me home; she said if I was home here when they come for him, maybe they wouldnt think to go up to her house lookin' for him. She said she'd guard him with her life. But I dont know, I dont know. She said we GOT to think of somethin', we just got to. But what?' Miz Johnson looked up at Ma, an' like to broke her heart.

"Well, Ma is mighty special." Thad smiled with pride at the memory "Ma looked at Miz Johnson, then she come out with this brainstorm,- all by herself; 'Tell you what we'll do; we'll get out the garbage truck, an' we'll get Thaddeus to drive it past the Randolphs' an' load on the garbage, an' he can hide Jim in the bottom of the truck an' cover him all over with garbage, an' then collect a lot more an' drive on out to the dump an' help him get away. Wont nobody think he's under that mess, an' wont nobody stop him.

" 'Now' says Ma, 'we got to hurry. I'll go home an' get the tarpaulin, so Thaddeus can wrap it around Jim an' keep him clean. You saty right here an' cry, an' dont do nothin', an' dont say nothin'. Just cry.'

" Ma come back home in no time an' gave Pa his orders. Pa was scared, because it seemed too good to be true. But Ma hands him the tarpaulin, an' he got out the truck an' went on his way. He drove on up the hill past all the rich houses, an' nobody paid him any mind. When he got to the back door of the Randolphs', he calls out quietly:,'Mrs.Randolph, I come to collect your garbage'. Mrs. Randolph comes flyin' out of the kitchen. 'But Thaddeus' she says, all nervous, 'today isnt garbage day------'. 'Mrs.Randolph', says Pa, 'Miz Johnson sent me for Jim. Here's the tarpaulin to wrap him in, an' we'll put him in the bottom of the truck. You an' me'll carry him out an' dump him in, then I'll cover him up with your garbage, an' all the other garbage on this route. I'll drive him out to the dump, an' see he gets away. Do you know if he's got any money?'

"Mrs.Randolph just stood there an' looked at Pa. Then she goes to the wine closet where Jim was hid. 'Jim', she calls out, 'Thaddeus Jefferson has come for you in the garbage truck. Is it alright? Are you sure?' Jim comes out an' smiles at her and Pa. 'That would be Mrs.Jefferson', he says, 'it'd take her to think up that one! Yes, Mrs.Randolph, it'll be alright. Thank you, and know I'll never forget you for this.' Mrs.Randolph gives him all the money she has, an' she an' Pa make him lie down on the tarpaulin on the kitchen floor,an' they wrap him up good in it. 'Be sure you leave space so he can breathe' ,says Mrs.Randolph. Then she grabs up the bundle by the feet an' Pa grabs it by the shoulders, an' they carry it out an' dump it, gentle, in the truck. Nobody ~~seems~~ sees them. Pa loads on the garbage, as usual, an' nobody pays him any mind. Then he heads out for the dump.

"Ma makes me go back uptown to find my foreman, an' hang around so I can see what's goin' on, an' maybe slow things up to give Pa more time. The town Square was full of people an' noise, everybody excited an' ravin'. I found the foreman an' told him I think everything's O.K., but if we can just stall for some more time, it'll be better. So he puts somebody up to make a speech about the Purity-of-White-Womanhood-in-the-South, an' somebody else to make a speech about Keepin'-the-Niggers-in-Their-Place, an' the crowd loves it, just drinkin' up all that junk.

"Then they all pile into cars and trucks, an' the foreman gets them to stop for some liquor, an' that takes up some more time. Then they separate into groups so they can guard all the roads out of town. I made the foreman come with me in the group that took the road out to the garbage dump.

"Pretty soon I get sick to my stomach again, because here comes Pa with the garbage truck. Pa was wonderful. I hold onto the foreman while somebody says; 'Hi ya,Thad Jefferson,- you an' that stinkin' garbage.' An' Pa says, just as calm as could be; 'Hi you-all, what you doin' out here? What's up?' 'We come to get us a nigger,- that Jim Johnson. Seen him?'

" 'Seen him this mornin',' says Pa.

" 'Go on,Thad,' yells somebody, 'get that stinkin' garbage out of here! '. An' Pa drives on,- just like that.

"Well, I felt all weak inside, an' I'm still hangin' onto the foreman for dear life. He looks at me good, an' all of a sudden he knows what's goin' on.

"Then we hear the blowin' of the horns of the cars over on the other side of town. The foreman circulates the word around that they're blowin' horns to signal us they got him. So everybody piles back into the cars, tickled to death, an' drive hell-for-leather to the other side of town where the noise was."

Thad Jefferson took a deep breath. "An' that's how Jim Johnson got away. He's in the army now, an officer in the Air Corps, too."

"Cheesus", sighed Sam Braddock, "Cheesus".

Thad Jefferson finished his cigarette in silence.

"Let's go over to the Canteen and get ourselves a cool drink," suggested Sam, restlessly. Together, silent, they made their way through the camp to the Canteen.

Inside the cheerful room they gradually relaxed, their tension eased by the gay carelessness of the men, the music, and the lights. But still silent, they sat and smoked while the Canteen gradually emptied, leaving only a dozen or so men in uniform who seemed settled at games, with newspapers or conversation, and around the piano, quietly enjoying themselves.

Gradually the animated conversation of the little group of white soldiers nearby became audible:

"But a Di-rec-tive is the same as Orders," protested the neat little New Englander, in his definitely Boston accent.

"Sure is," drawled the rangy Texan, "an' you're in the army now, an' you got to do what the army orders says".

"You're a fine one to talk, an' you from the South!" said the Southerner, angrily, "you ought to be on my side in this nigger business."

"Your mistake", drawled Texas, good-naturedly, "I aint from the South, I'm from TEXAS." He went on seriously: "When I first read that Di-rec-tive, an' listened to them Or-ien-ta-tion lectures, I says to myself: 'Huh. No segregation! Lordy, that's a fine howdy-do Join the army to fight for my country, an' now I got to Frat-er-nize with niggers!' I was mad as hell. What would the folks back home think?

"Then I go t to thinkin'. Folks back home aint gonna be where I'm goin'. They aint gonna be in no shell-holes an' fox-holes an' on ships with me when them guns start firin'. Niggers'll be there, maybe, an' maybe they'll help me if I get hurt, an' maybe I'll help them. Makes plenty sense to me. Folks back home cant help me when I'm in a fix over there, so what difference it make what they think? I'm in the army now, an' I'm gonna do what the army orders says," he concluded firmly, looking around the group with his friendly grin.

The tight-lipped red-necked Southerner glared at him. "Orders or no Orders, I'm not going to fraternize with any of those black bastards. They're no more than animals, raping women and cutting up each other. I'd rather die onthe battle-field than have one of them touch me! " he said furiously.

"Now you guys remember that," said Texas with easy good-nature, "if we gets stuck on the battlefield, an' any of them black Medics come along, be sure to tell 'em there's a hell of a lot of difference between us Southerners, an' dont get me mixed up with Alabama here", he laughed, pointing to the enraged Southerner.

"I'm NOT from Alabama", the Southerner said angrily, "I'm from Mississippi, and proud of it."

Thad Jefferson and Sam Braddock got up and strolled slowly past the group on their way out of the Canteen. Thad spoke quietly to them as he passed: "I'm from Mississippi too, an' sometimes I'm not very proud of it. An' you can tell those black Medics for me that I'm with Texas in this argument."

Texas looked up at Thad and grinned. "Well, what do you know. This man's army is cert'ny somethin'. Me, a loyal Texan, gettin' all mixed up with Boston an' black folks an' Mississippi."

Thad smiled back at him. "Man, you better look out. First thing you know you'll be a loyal AMERICAN, gettin' mixed up with all us other Americans. Could be."

Copyright, 1943
Mrs. Paul Robeson,
The Beeches,
Enfield, Conn. U.S.A.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
56 W. 45th Street
New York, 19, N. Y.

Address by

ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON

At a Dinner Sponsored by Progressive Party
Opening Nationwide "PEACE TOUR" - Hotel
Commodore, April 27, 1949

THE NEGRO AND PEACE

I was very much struck by what Paul Robeson said about American Negroes in relation to a possible war. (I know it's a little unusual for a wife to pay attention to her husband's pronouncements, - you know the saying: "A prophet is without honor in his own country, in his own home, in his own time".) - but I thought this one was pretty important, and it certainly raised a storm.

He said, to quote him exactly: "It is unthinkable that American Negroes will go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us generations, against a country which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind."

The Professional Negro Leaders rushed into print to refute this statement, and to explain that Paul does not speak for the "overwhelming majority of the Negro People."

Walter White, the head of the N.A.A.C.P., perhaps the best known of those Leaders said, and I quote: "Negroes are Americans. We contend for full and equal rights, and we accept full and equal responsibilities. In event of any conflict that our Nation has with any other Nation, we will regard ourselves as Americans, and meet the responsibilities imposed on all Americans."

Now I agree that we Negroes are Americans. OF COURSE we are Americans, BUT TRY AND EXPLAIN THAT TO ROSA INGRAM and AMY MALLARD, and the AMERICAN COURTS OF JUSTICE in Georgia; try and explain it to the TRENTON SIX, and the American Courts of Justice in New Jersey; try and explain it to the NEGROES EVERYWHERE who worked in the GARBAGE BRIGADES, the LAUNDRY and CLEANING and LABOR BATTALLIONS in the AMERICAN ARMY in our last War for Democracy; try and explain it to the NEGROES EVERYWHERE who are trying now to get into AMERICAN Public Housing, Hospitals, Schools, and Work Projects.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

WE NEGROES ARE AMERICANS, and WE KNOW IT, But Our Country keeps telling us, in heartbreaking ways, that we have no Rights and Privileges as American Citizens, - except those it chooses to grant us when it feels indulgent.

So it is natural and inevitable that the Majority of American Negroes have come to examine with a jaundiced eye the "duties and responsibilities and obligations" in their proper focus-where they belong - that is, side-by-side with the "rights and privileges".

I know that every sensible Negro in this country, - Professional Leaders notwithstanding, - feels that if he must fight any future war for democracy, the proper place to begin such a fight is RIGHT HERE.

It is in the light of this normal, reasonable conviction that we must examine the relation of the American Negro to a possible war.

IF OUR COUNTRY IS ATTACKED, INVADED, I believe Negroes - along with other loyal Americans, will rally to our defense. THAT'S ONE THING. But I also believe that if our country drafted Negro Americans - and many other sensible, reasonable, loyal Americans, to fight a war in Greece for a King the Greeks don't want, to fight a War in China for Chiang Kai Shek whom the Chinese People don't want, to fight a War for France and Holland, so that the Indo-Chinese and the Indonesians can be kept in Colonial Slavery - I really believe that the government of these United States will have a very hard time indeed luring sensible Americans into fighting such a war.

Now maybe Walter White CAN deliver up his 500,000 membership in the N.A.A.C.P.; maybe Adam Powell can deliver up his membership in the Abysinnian Baptist Church and the 22nd District in Harlem, and maybe other Professional Negro Leaders can deliver up their followers TO FIGHT SUCH A WAR, but I doubt it. But even if they could, that would deliver up a theoretical 2 million at most, - men, women and children.

Then what about the other 12 million un-organized Negroes, - the REAL VAST MAJORITY of the Negro People? Who speaks for them?

It may well be that a giant Negro, one Paul Robeson, the son of a slave who caught the ear of the world with his golden voice, - and who has always used that voice to call the attention of the world to the plight of his Negro People in America, in the West Indies, in Africa, and to the plight of all suppressed and oppressed people everywhere, - it may well be that this Golden Robeson Voice is putting into words some of the thoughts of those un-organized voice-less people, - this vast majority of the Negro People in this country.

Since he has never asked them for anything for himself, and is not doing so now, they may do well to listen to him. They have nothing to lose by so doing.

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NEWS RELEASE

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. • MU 6-5300

Change address to: 56 W. 45 St. New York 19, N.Y.

May 19, 1949

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, wife of Paul Robeson, completing a nation-wide peace tour with Henry Wallace in New Haven (Conn.) on May 18, said "I have been enormously encouraged by the fact that the large audiences we spoke to everywhere do not want war and are very deeply troubled because they find nothing but direction towards war from our government."

Mrs. Robeson, noted anthropologist and expert in colonial affairs, accompanied the Progressive Party leader and his two European guests, Michele Giua, Senator from Italy and Lester Hutchinson, Member of the British Parliament, on a three-week "forum on foreign policy." They travelled 10,000 miles by air, visiting 16 major cities and talking to almost 100,000 people in over 70 meetings.

In a statement issued at the close of the tour, Mrs. Robeson said "I have been worried about the war talk for a long time. I don't feel at all subversive nor un-American in wanting peace, talking and fighting for peace. I feel particularly American and democratic in challenging my government, my Congress and the State Department on their war activities."

The wife of the internationally famous Negro singer and actor added that she has been "very much heartened by the anxious and hopeul attention the special groups of people we met manifested -- labor, ministers, educators and Negroes. I am comforted to find out from the American people and from our guests, Mr. Giua and Mr. Hutchinson, that if I am subversive, I have an awful lot of company with me."

In her final speech of the tour, Mrs. Robeson told her New Haven audience that "As a Negro I have grown up in my country surrounded on the one hand by elegant conversation about Freedom and Democracy and Christianity and on the other by performance quite the opposite."

Terming the American way of life for the Negro a "forest of double-talk," Mrs. Robeson said "'All men are created equal,' yet my people are not equal. 'All Men Are Brothers,' yet my people may not live, work, study, eat, worship, travel, play, side-by-side with their white brothers."

The same kind of "double-talk" is being used, she charged, to confuse

MORE............

the American people about peace. But "everybody," she said, "even we ordinary folk - know what peace means. Even the dumbest of us know that you can't make peace by military conscription, building military bases all over the world, re-arming Western Europe, and stock-piling the atomic bomb."

She called on her audience to tell Congress and the State Department that "we don't want an Atlantic Pact — we don't want war — we want peace."

The full text of Mrs. Robeson's New Haven speech follows:

ADDRESS BY
ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON

(MRS. PAUL ROBESON)
at Wallace "Peace Rally"
New Haven, Connecticut
May 18, 1949

DOUBLE TALK

Now there is a lot of double-talk in our world today - talk about peace while preparing for war; talk about one world and United Nations, while forcing division of nations into spearate, artificial, opposing blocs; talk about religion in some sections of the Church, while using the Church as a weapon in politics and economics; talk about freedom, while denying freedom-of-opinion, speech, and association; talk about Christianity and Democracy as a Way-of-Life, while ignorning the basic concept of both - the Brotherhood of Man.

As a Negro brought up under this American-way-of-life, I know my way around very well indeed in this Forest of Double-talk.

You will remember that as a Negro I have grown up in my country surroun ed on the one hand by elegant conversation about Freedom and Democracy and Christiani and on the other by performance quite the opposite.

"All Men Are Created Equal, yet my people are not equal.

"All Men Are Brothers," yet my people may not live, work, study, eat, worship, travel, play, side-by-side with their white brothers. "America is the Haven of the Lowly and Oppressed", yet we have deliberate, persistent persecution of my people - calling us names, depriving us of our rights as citizens, throwing us into prison without trial, lynching us if prison seems too much bother, and campaigns for sending us back-to-Africa: So that I understand very well the deliberate persistent persecution of the Jews, the foreign-born, and more recently the Communists — calling them names, depriving them of their rights as citizens, and campaigns for sending them back-to-Europe, back-to-Russia.

All this sort of thing is, unhappily, very familiar to me; maybe some people are disconcerted, frightened, and confused by it, but not I. I am a Negro-

MORE.............

American, yes, but I'm not going to live in Africa. I am NOT a Communist - but I have my own ideas and convictions about American law and freedom and loyalty, but I'm not going to live in Russia, either. I've been to both places, on my own, without being sent, and I found them very interesting indeed, but I am an American citizen. American by birth, ancestry, and free choice.

The fact that I do not approve some things our elected representatives in Congress and our appointed representatives in the State Department are doing does not make me less American, it makes me more American.

Now in this era of double talk you may well wonder when is a war not a war?

When Japan invaded Manchuria that wasn't a war. When Italy attacked Ethiopia, that wasn't a war. When Japan took over the islands of the Pacific, that wasn't a war, and more recently, when the Dutch attacked the Indonesians, that was a "Police Action". When the British landed tropps in Malaya, that was a "Security Measure." And when we divide up the world with a North Atlantic Pact and plan to spend billions of dollars to re-arm Western Europe, that is a "Peace Pact".

What we are doing now in Europe is called a "Cold War", and if that Cold War becomes Hot, it is to be called a "Defensive War." (I can almost hear Gertrude Stein say: "A war is a war, is a war, is a war.")

Well, if we put our minds to it, the double talk about peace should not be confusing. Everybody - even we ordinary folk - know what peace means. Even the dumbest of us know that you can't make peace by military conscription, building military bases all over the world, re-arming Western Europe, and stock-piling the atomic bomb.

In all this confusion and double talk we must remember that in a democracy the government is supposed to carry out the will of the people -- not vice versa.

So let us tell our Congress and our State Department that we don't want an Atlantic Pact -- we don't wan't war -- we want peace.

# # # # #

uopwa #16

[1949]

THE TRIAL OF JUDGE MEDINA

(Contempt For Court)

I spent a day in the STATE COURT HOUSE down at Foley Square in New York on Monday, August 22nd, and there I acquired a devastating contempt for Court.

I have been brought up to believe, - regularly recurring instances of corruption notwithstanding, - that Judges were in the main a dignified sober lot. From here on in, the familiar saying, "sober as a judge", will always remind of Judge Medina conducting the trial of the American Communist Party Leaders. CONDUCTING the trial, NOT presiding over it.

Sober and dignified are about the last words which can be applied to Judge Medina's performance on that day. He was patronizing and insolent by turns; he stared rudely and antagonistically at witnesses, or smiled at them with what he probably thought was superior condescending tolerant indulgence; he sang his lines in the now familiar song: "Objection, sustained; objection sustained", for the prosecuting counsel, and "Objection, over-ruled; objection, over-ruled, " for the defense counsel; and then, when he heard his performance becoming far too monotonous, automatic and obvious, he would make quite a business of seeming to pause and consider the objection. We who are familiar with the theatre, recognized that he hadn't muffed his lines, he was merely changing pace for variety and effect. He rocked himself restlessly, back and forth, back and forth in his chair; he pulled first one ear then the other, over and over, like a nervous schoolboy; he made endless notes in what appeared to ben an inefficient long-hand; he wasted a great deal of expensive taxpayers' time in explaining to witnesses, over and over, that they must be Brief.

At one point a witness, Mr. Joseph Starobin, respectfully asked the judge to be allowed to make a two or three-minute explanation of an important point. Judge Medina smiled quizzically at the audience, then looked inquiringly at Mr. McGohey, the prosecuting counsel, and apparently got a green light. (There seemed to be regular traffic signals between Mr. McGohey and Judge Medina.) Then the judge put on his ostentatiously indulgent smile, and explained to all within hearing, that a great many witnesses had taken a great deal of time with their explanations; then he added, generously, (since the present witness had been extremely brief, clear and to-the-point) that he had to concede that Mr. Starobin had not done so, and he therefore was rather inclined to permit this witness to make his explanation, if the witness would take care not to go into any detailed speech. These remarks by the judge were made in a leisurely manner, with a lot of hemming and hawing. The witness merely sat quiet, respectfully waiting for him to finish his interminable rambling. A pause.

The Court: (Judge Medina): You may proceed.

Whereupon the witness, Mr. Starobin, gave his clear, concise explanation of the important point in less than the two or three minutes he had asked for.

I was very much interested when Dr. Herbert Aptheker was called to the stand as a witness for the defense. I have long admired Dr. Aptheker's quiet, dignified, authoritative, scholarly books, articles and lectures on American History, particularly on that very consciously neglected aspect, - the Negro participation in that History. When the defense counsel asked Dr. Aptheker some routine questions about his occupation and background, I was amazed to hear the prosecuting counsel object, and the Judge sustain his objections:

Q: Are you a graduate of Columbia University?

A: Yes sir.

Mr. McGohey (Pros. Counsel): Objection

Judge Medina: Sustained. Strike out thea answer.

Q: Were you a major in the United States Army in the last war?

A: Yes, sir.

Mr. McGohey: Objection.

Judge Medina: Sustained. Strike out the answer. Now Mr. Witness, we have had a good many people here who seem to put the answers in so fast that I do not get a chance to rule on the objections; and I think if you will just try to be careful about that, if you see Mr. McGohey indicating he is going to object, just pause and don't answer quite so rapidly.

Dr. Aptheker: Yes sir.

Q: Do you know all the defendants in this case?

A: I do sir.

Q: Are you a member of the Communist Party?

A: Yes sir.

Q: How long have you been a member of the Communist Party?

A: Approximately ten years.

Q: Did you become a member before or after you became a Doctor of Philosophy?

A: Before, sir/

Mr. Mc Gohey: Objection.

Judge Medina: Sustained. (Then the judge, now trying his very first criminal case, and therefore a freshman, proceeded to deliver a lecture to the dignified university professor and Doctor of Philosophy, as follows:): Now we don't want to make a game of this thing. I am going to strike that answer out, but when I suggest to you not to do something, I always have to start that way and sometimes people disregard my instructions, and I make them a little more emphatic, and finally I have to sometimes do something about it. Now do you think you can possibly avoid giving these answers so quickly?

Dr. Aptheker: Well, sir, I will have to keep my eye on Mr. McGohey.

Dr. Aptheker then had to slow himself down. He had been answering normal questions normally. This information about his professional training and status is of course public knowledge, and the defense was merely reminding the jury that here was an authoritative witness. Then followed an effort on the part of the defense counsel to get permission for Dr. Aptheker, as a teacher of some Communist classes, to explain wxactly what it was he had taught in interpreting the first sentence of the Preamble of the Constitution of the Communist Party. Neither Mr. Mc Gohey nor Judge Medina, with their theme song: "Objection, sustained, objection, sustained," would allow him to do so. After re-framing the questions and approaching this very important issue from other angles, only to meet with the chorus: "Objection, sustained; objection, sustained," the defense counsel finally siad, in desperation:

Mr. Sacher (Defense Counsel): Now if the Court please, I don't understand where I am. Budenz (an ex-Communist) witness for the prosecution) was permitted to testify.....

Judge Medina: Now I don't want any argument, Mr. Sacher. I have made dertain rulings here that are very explicit and clear. If you have read the record and you don't remember them, that is not my fault.

Mr. Sacher: But I fixed the time, I fixed the place, now.....

Judge Medina: I don't want any argument. I will not have it, Mr. Sacher. You ask your questions. If there is some part of the Government proof that you are about to try to rebut, you better get right down to it and be specific.

(Note: The Judge said "Government PROOF? not Government testimony.)

Mr. Sacher: Is it necessary that I must point it out on the record when I want to rebut it?

Judge Medina: The question must be clear to me if its relevancy is such that I may allow it. These generalities.....

Mr. Sacher: Well I must confess, your Honor, this is the first time I ever had to practice that way.

Judge Medina: (angrily) Don't be impertinent, Mr. Sacher.

Mr. Sacher: It is a statement of fact. There is nothing impertinent about it sir.

Judge Medina: There IS something impertinent about it. It is deliberately comtemptuous, and I so find.

Mr. Sacher: (calmly) I object to your Honor's finding . I find nothing comtemptuous in it, and I respectfully ask the Court to give me a moment....

Judge Medina: Please be silent, Mr. Sacher. As to these comments, please stop that.

Mr. Sacher: I wish to ask for permission to spend a moment.....

Judge Medina; I know what you are going to do.

Mr. Sacher: .....to look at the record, if you will be good enought to give it to me.

Judge Medina: (furiously) Yes, the record shows plenty.

Judge Medina was very very angry. Mr. Sacher is a criminal lawyer of formidable experience, while he is merely a freshman criminal judge. Mr. Sacher took his moment to find the place in the record of the proceedings, showing clearly that when Louis Budenz had been asked the identical question by Mr. McGohey, the prosecuting attorney, he has been allowed to answer it at length, and over the objections of the defense lawyers. The record follows:

Q: Mr. Budenz, I will read that sentence to you again: "The Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism." What did you, in connection with these other Communists that you were working with here, understand that to mean?

A: This sentence, as is historically meant throughout the Communist movement, is that the Communist Party bases itself upon so-called scientific socialism as appears in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, therefore as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin to mean that socialism can only be attained by the violent shattering of the capitalistic state, and the setting up of a dictatorship of the proletariat by force and violence in place of that state. In the United States this would mean that the Communist Party of the United States is basically committted to the overthrow of the Government of the United States as set up ~~the~~ by the Constitution of the United States.

(Remembering that the sentence in question read only: "The Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism", period, this seems to me a very very free "interpretation" by Mr. Budenz. But Mr. Budenz, in the record, went even further than that: as follows):

It(this same sentence) implies that those portions of this Constitution which are in conflict with Marxism-Leninism are null in effect. They are merely window-dressing, asserted for protective purposes, the Aesopian language of V.I. Lenin.

Mr. Budenz was certainly a free interpreter. However, It may be true that for more than ten years Mr. Budenz believed that the Communist Party of the United States intended, by force and violence, to try to overthrow the Government of these United States. Believing this, he was an important member of the Party, worked for it, and was paid for that work. (Probably not as much as he is now paid by Fordham University for his work there.) It may well be that when Mr. Budenz found that he did, in fact, disagree with the Party in his "interpretations", that he resigned or was expelled. Logically, then, it would seem proper TO PROSECUTE MR. BUDENZ for conspiring to overthrow the U.S. Government by force and violence, since he insists that he worked for more than ten years to do so. However that may be, Louis Budenz's "interpretation" of that particular sentence remains a part of the Court Record, and on Monday, August 22nd, Dr. Aptheker's interpretation of that same sentence was not permitted to be heard.

After quite a session of "Objection, sustained; objection, sustained," Dr. Apteheker apparently resigned himself to not being allowed to answer questions. Then suddenly, for no apparent reason, on what seemed a trivial detail, the "Objection, sistained; objection sustained" song changed to "Objection, over-ruled; objection, over-fuled," and Dr. Aptheker found himself actually being permitted to answer a question:

Q: On what subjects did you teach in those schools? (Communist schools.)

Mr. McGohey: Objection.

Judge Medina: Sustained.

Q: During what years did you teach in those schools?

A: I taught in schools for the Communist Party in 1940, 1941, in 1946, 1947 and 1948.

Q: When in 1946 did you teach at a Communist School?

A: I can't place the exact date, sir. There were several instances in which I taught under such circumstances that year.

Q: Can you tell us during what part of the year you taught?

A: It would have been towards the latter part, certainly after the April, since I had returned.........

Mr. McGohey: I object.

Q: Well, dont tell us where you returned from, Dr. Aptheker.

A: I wasn't goint to. I was trying to clarify this in my mind.........

Judge Medina: (snapping rudely): Well, dont do so much clarifying. Just answer the question. Was it after April?

Dr. Aptheker: It must have been after April.

Judge Medina: All right.

Q: Can you tell us where you taught during that year?

A: I taught in New York City for the Communist Party.

Q: Was there any specific address in N.Y.C. at which you conducted these classes which you taught?

A: There must have been. I am trying to think where. We are still in 1946?

Judge Medina: (impatiently): Somebody's apartment?

Dr. Aptheker: (no answer. He refuses to be hurried, and appears to be trying to recall details. This question concerned activities of three years ago, and he is a busy man.)

Judge Medina: (apparently infuriated by the calm dignity of the witness, - peremptorily): WILL YOU ANSWER MY QUESTIONS?/////

Dr. Aptheker: Yes sir. I am thinking, sir.

Judge Medina: (threateningly): You had better not think too long! WAS IT AN AN APARTMENT?

Dr. Aptheker: No, sir, I dont think so.

Judge Medina: Was it an a school building?

Dr. Aptheker: I think it was. Yes, sir, in 1946.

Judge Medina: All right. Now answer Mr. Sacher's question, which is, what is the address?

Mr. Crockett: (another member of the counsel for defense): I want to object to what I regard and characterize as the Court's antagonistic attitude and tone of voice with respect to the questions asked by the Court of this witness.

Judge Medina: (calming down) for this part of it will go into the record)

There was nothing antagonistic, Mr. Crockett, but I will not be ignored by a witness when I address him.

Mr. Sacher: I think, your Honor, it was very apparent that the witness was trying to think of how to answer your Honor's questions.

Judge Medina: It was apparent to me that he did not answer my question, and I WILL BE ANSWERED! Now go ahead with your question.

Mr. Sacher then asked Dr. Aptheker a series of questions: Was it not a fact that he wrote the following books: Negro and the Civil war. Negro Slavery Votes in the United States, 1526 to 1860? The Negro in the American Revolution? The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement? Essays in the History of the American Negro People? To Be Free: Studies in American Negro History? To all these questions, Mr. McGohey objected, and Judge Medina sustained his objections:

Judge Medina: Sustained. You had better get down to cases pretty soon, Mr.

Sacher.

Mr. Sacher: Did those books embody the teachings of Marxism-Leninism?

Mr. McGohey: Objection

Judge Medina: Sustained.

Mr. Sacher: Did you use those books which I have mentioned in your teachings in Communist Party Schools?

Mr. McGohey: Objection.

Judge Medina: Sustained.

Mr. Sacher: Inview of your Honor's rulings, I find it utterly impossible to lay before the jury the teachings of the Communist Party in regard to important matters considering which the witness Budenz was interrogated and was permitted to testify, and in those circumstances I find it impossible to proceed with the further examination of this witness.

Well, I thought, as the defense counsel gave up, now the Court and the prosecuting attorney will cross examine Dr. Aptheker, and something good will come of that. But no, neither Judge Medina nor Mr. McGohey would touch Dr. Aptheker, - this Communist of ten years' standing, this reputable university professor, writer, lecturer, Doctor of Philosophy, - this man so well equipped to interpret the meaning of the sentence, which, in any case is clear and precise, and already speaks for itself. Judge Medina and Mr. McGohey wanted the "interpretation" given by Louis Budenz, ex-Communist, to stand, uncontradicted, in the record.

Judge Medina: Very well, the witness may step down..... Unless there is to be some cross examination.

Mr. McGohey: In view of the questions proposed on the direct examination, I have no questions to ask on corss.

x

Judge Medina: Very well, the witness may step down. The next witness.

Both Judge Medina and Mr. McGohey seemed very glad indeed to get rid of Dr. Herbert Aptheker. Later on, howerer, it appeared that the judge was not so smart as he thought he was. Earlier on he had said to a witness, with a knowing smile: "I'm smart that way. I catch on."

The next witness was Mr. Abner W. Berry, editor of the Harlem edition of the Sunday Worker. He was a youngish, pleasant, not particularly distinguished looking Negro. Judge gazed at Mr. Berry thoughtfully and at length, openly sizing him up. He sized him up wrongly, and apparently decided to put on his paternalistic, condescending, indulgent, amiably tolerant manner, and to allow this average looking Negro to proceed.

Mr. Abner Berry proceeded, to prove himself forthright, clear in thought, dignified, and not-to-be browbeaten, I was proud of him:

Mr. Crockett, the Negro member of the counsel for the defense, questioned the witness, and was doing rather well, I thought, when he paused a moment to search out some reference in the record. While he was thus engaged, Judge Medina took over, and asked the witness a series of questions. Mr. Berry handled himself disarmingly, but expertly. The Judge began to become more and more frustrated, it seemed, and apparently decided that he had under-estimated the witness:

Judge Medina:...... If the witness is going to give a definition of what Communists meant by democracy in the ordinary way that people give definitions, I will allow it. If he wants to go on by illustrations, and make what is substantially an address on the subject, I shall not have it. Now you must make up your mind. Now Mr. Berry, dont you think you can tell us and give us the definition [redacted] of democracy as understood by the Communists and in the

Communist Party, without going into a long statement with illustrations?

Mr. Berry: I will attempt it, your Honor.

Judge Medina: Well, you see, here I do not want ......

Mr. Berry: I think I can do it.

Judge Medina: (continuing leisurely).......to seem unkind about things, and I do not like to shut people off when they start explaining something. And if you can do it by giving a definition and do it briefly, I will be glad to let you do it. Now do you think that you cna do that?

The judge's voice was dripping with patronizing generosity. So, I thought, he wouldnt let Dr. Aptheker explain anything because he knew he could explain it well; he will take a chance on this Negro, because he thinks he can't, and he thinks he may make himself ridiculous. And that's where he was wrong. Very wrong. Mr. Berry started talking, and in a brief clear statement, explained the essence of Communist thought on democracy as follows:

Mr. Berry: Well, our view of democracy, that is, the Communist Party's view of democracy, really has three phases to it: number one, the political phase to which it is limited by most political thinkers; secondly, the social, and third, the economic, not necessarily in that order.

As to the political phase, the Communists view democracy as being the ability of everyone to stand for office; two, have the ballot irrespective of their so-called residence requirements and activity. In other words, it should give them the right to vote, and to have the will of the majority so registered in

[redacted]

in every way possible, and enforced by the organization there elected and selected by them.

On the economic field, the Communist Party believes that this political democracy is not possible as long as we have the problem of equating the power politically economically and socially of ONE man who may control the livelihood of 20,000 or as much as 100,000 others, as in the case of a man like Henry Ford; and it is our opinion therefore, that to have actual democracy would mean that the 20,000 or the 100,000 would have to have a say over what happens to their means of livelihood, rather than have it the other way around: ONE man determining the means of life for 20,000 or 100,000. And democracy then would mean the JOINTLY THE 20,000 TOGETHER WITH THE ONE,- IF THAT ONE WERE WILLING, WOULD DETERMINE WHAT HAPPENED TO THE 20,000 and ONE.

In the social field, we feel that a democracy menas the complete right of association of everyone. That would mean, of course, the complete obliteration of Jim-Crow, or the complete obliteration of the practice of denying anyone residence in a public place because of race, creed, color or any other consideration as in some cases, class and political beliefs.

We believe that democracy should encompass the right of a person tolive where he wants, to marry whom he pleases, and to cover the broadest range of social rights. All of these put together, I think, gives at least a sketchy idea of what I concieve to be the Communist Party definition of democracy.

Bravo, Mr. Berry!! Then Judge Medina asked the following silly question:

Judge Median: Now let me ask you a question. If you have in a country all sorts of different people, would you give them all equal rights in this democracy as you envisage it, or would you give certain ones rights and others none?

Mr. Berry: I dont know what you define as "different" people.

Judge Medina: Well, I got the impression as I listened to some of the testimony here, that the kind of democracy that the Communist Party was for, was one that had just the socialism people in it, and the other people were excluded and not given any rights. Am I wrong about that?

Mr. Berry: I think you are wrong, your Honor.

Judge Medina(persisting.; So that as you envisage the Communists' view of of democracy, everybody has equal rights?

Mr. Berry: That is how I envisage it.

And later on, when Judge Medina seemed to be trying to put words in his mouth, Mr. Berry answered firmly, respectfully:

Mr. Berry: I would rather answer it MY way, your Honor.

Judge Medina: All right.

And I said to myself with a glow of pride: Mr. Abner W. Berry, you may step down, Yes indeed, you may step down. You did alright, Honey, you did alright. As for Judge Medina, he didn't do so good. Not so good. I know that he can, and does, put people in jail for what he calls contempt of Court. I wondered if we, the Citizens of these United States, cannot put a judge in jail for what WE call contempt of Court?? Because Judge Medina, down at Foley Square, seems definitely to be showing contempt of Court.

I once sat on a jury in the New York City Courts, and I remember how respectful I was of the judge. In the **TRIAL OF JUDGE MEDINA**, the foreman of the jury, - or rather the forewoman of the jury, - appears to have much more dignity and sobriety than the judge. She seems to be consistently attentive, respectful, poised; she looks intelligent, is very attractive, dosen't fidget, nor rock herself, nor pull her ears. I have no idea what kind of mind, what kind of political, economic and social opinions she may have, nor whether she will render an honest verdict; But I cancertainly say, - with some pride because, incidentally, she happens also to be Negro, - that she behaves with the dignity and sobriety which I have traditionally associated with judges.

Eslanda Goode Robeson,
The Beeches
Enfield, Conn.

August 26,1949

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

MASS MEETING, MEXICO CITY
Sunday, September 11, 1949
E. G. ROBESON

REPORT ON PEEKSKILL

Queridos Amigos.

I would like to give you a Report on THE BATTLE OF PEEKSKILL.

Some American citizens planned to give a Paul Robeson concert in Peekskill, New York, on Saturday, August 27;

Some Un-American citizens planned to break up that concert, by intimidation, and by Force and Violence, if necessary, - because they do not like what Paul Robeson stands for.

Some 2,000 of these Un-Americans succeeded in preventing the concert, by force and violence, - but their very success laid down a challenge to democratic Americans everywhere, who are loyal to the sacred Constitutional Rights of Freedom-of-Speech and Freedom-of-Assembly;

Many of these loyal democratic citizens immediately took up this challenge, and planned a second Paul Robeson concert at Peekskill on the following Sunday afternoon, September 4.

The press and radio of the country gave out the news of the challenge , - the news that the un-Americans would marshall all their forces to break up the concert, - the news that police protection would be provided, - although it was not clear whether the police would protect the un-Americans or the Americans.

The un-Americans came out, - about 1,000 of them, armed with rocks and stones and knives, with hate and hysteria and whiskey, and with vile speech.

The Police came out, about 1200 of them, armed with guns and night-sticks, and in full riot regalia;

The AMERICANS CAME OUT, about 30,000 of them, - ARMED WITH THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, AND THE **COURAGE** TO TEST AND DEFEND THOSE RIGHTS.

The audience rose up to welcome Robeson with a storm of applause, and Robeson, in turn, applauded THEM for their courage in coming out to hear him. The concert was magnificent.

Obviously, 30,000 courageous and determined people could protect themselves against 1,000 hysterical cowards and bullies, - so the concert proceeded; the only serious interruption was a police helicopter, which circled noisily and low, directly over Robeson's head while he was singing, thus drowning him out, and thus "maintaining order."

But the 1,000 hysterical cowards and bullies, re-inforced by whiskey and vicious talk, became infuriated at the enormous success of the concert.

As the crowd began pouring out of the concert-grounds in cars and busses, these un-Americans surged forward, and with rocks and stones and fury, smashed the shatter-proof windows of the cars and busses, severely injuring the passengers.

THE POLICE DID NOT STOP THEM.

In fact, the Police closed off two of the three roads of exit from the grounds, and forced the cars to drive slowly, so that they became easy targets for the rocks; the mob surged forward through the Police lines, over-turned cars with telegraph poles, and attacked the passengers as they got out.

1,000 Rioters, 1,200 Police fully armed, and 30,000 concert-goers. What were the Police doing, you may well ask. Obviously 1,200 fully armed Police could subdue a crowd of 1,000 Rioters, IF THEY WANTED TO; obviously 30,000 concert-goers could protect themselves from 1,000 Rioters, IF THEY WERE ALLOWED TO. BUT the Police PREVENTED them from protecting themselves, thus giving the Rioters free rein.

AND HERE-IN LIES THE LESSON OF THE BATTLE OF PEEKSKILL.

Now this Battle of Peekskill is a clear and typical example of Force and Violence in my Country - this force and violence which has broken out in many places, in many forms, over a period of many years, -

this Force and Violence agains the NEGRO People, the JEWISH People, against LABOR WHEN STRIKING, against our FOREIGN-BORN, against Communists, against anyone who sympathizes with Communists, and NOW AGAINST ANYONE WHO DISAGREES WITH THE ADMINISTRATION, in any way!

This Force and Violence has now reached such proportions as to become a National and International Scandal; this Force and Violence has now reached such proportions as to become an unacknowledged WAR in my Country, -

AN INTERNAL WAR WAGED BY THE ADMINISTRATION, with Force and Violence, AGAINST THE CITIZENS WHO DISAGREE WITH IT.

It is significant and revealing that the Police, sent by Governor Dewey, SET UP COMBAT OPERATIONS HEADQUARTERS AT THE SCENE OF THE CONCERT AT PEEKSKILL.

The Police showed 30,000 ordinary citizens, plus hundreds of Press and Radio personnel, that the Police, backed by Governor Dewey, WERE ON THE SIDE OF THE RIOTERS.

That is crystal clear, and that has put the whole dreadful situation in my Country in proper focus:

As we look at this whole pattern of Force and Violence, we can see clearly now that some of the POLICE THEMSELVES, some SHERIFFS, some OFFICERS OF THE LAW ARE MEMBERS OF THE RIOT MOBS, ARE MEMBERS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN WHO ATTACK AND ABUSE OUR CITIZENS, - Citizens who are guilty of no crime nor misdemeanor, - but who are guilty only of having a different Color, Religion, back-ground, or Political Opinion;

and when our Citizens go to our Courts for protection and redress, they find some of these very Courts, some of the Judges, ON THE SIDE OF THE RIOTERS;

and finally, we find some of our LAW MAKERS CREATING NEW LAWS to protect this un-Constitutional, un-American behavior.

(Jim Crow Laws, Loyalty Laws are concrete examples of this.)

So it seems clear that the Force and Violence in my Country has now reached the stage of an undeclared WAR, in which un-Americans, Rioters, plus a considerable number of our Law-Enforcement Officers, backed up by a considerable number of Judges and Courts-of-Law, and by un-American, un-Constitutional LAWS on our statute books, -

all these AGAINST THOSE AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO INSIST UPON DEFENDING THEIR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS.

In the last analysis, this boils down to the fact that Our Present Administration, supported by the Law Enforcement Machinery, IS FIGHTING A WAR AGAINST OUR CITIZENS WHO DISAGREE WITH IT.

It is INTERNAL, un-declared WAR. IT IS CIVIL WAR.

Any Negro can tell you that for many years it has been a Cold War against him; now it is becoming a Hot War against many other Loyal American Citizens.

So there is WAR now, WAR not only in Asia, in parts of Europe, BUT ALSO IN THE UNITED STATES.

Now you, our Good Friends here in Latin America, understand these internal wars, these Civil wars; many of you have been fighting them for years in your countries; many of you are fighting them even now.

I believe that many of us in the United States can see now that ONE OF THE IMPORTANT REASONS WHY YOU HAVE NOT WON THESE WARS SOONER IS because OUR GOVERNMENT in OUR COUNTRY has supported YOUR Governments in YOUR countries in SUBDUING YOUR PEOPLE.

The whole world knows that our government has done this in China, in Greece, and in many other places.

We in the United States do not understand these things so well; we have been confused for generations by the Large and Elegant CONVERSATION about Democracy;

So it is of very great value to us to meet here with you now to discuss these matters, and to get the benefit of your experience and thinking, about how we are to cope with these Internal Wars WHICH ARE NOW COMMON TO US ALL, - about how we are to fight for and win Democratic Rights for all Citizens, wherever they are, - and about how to cope with Police States.

We all know that Wars can be fought without ever acknowledging that there is a War at all; we all know that Wars can be Internal as well as External; we all know that the First Step in Securing the Peace in the World Is To Secure The Peace At Home.

THAT IS WHY PAUL ROBESON IS NOT HERE IN MEXICO TODAY.

HE IS FIGHTING TO SECURE THE PEACE AT HOME.

HE BELIEVES THAT YOU WOULD HAVE IT SO.

E. G. Robeson
Enfield, Conn.

Time: 8 minutes.

[1949]

THE NEGRO AND PEACE

I WAS VERY MUCH STRUCK by what PAUL ROBESON said about AMERICAN NEGROES in relation to a possible war:

He said, to quote him exactly, and you will agree with me that the press being what it is these days it is a luxury to be quoted exactly:

"IT IS UN-THINKABLE that American Negroes will go to war ON BEHALF OF THOSE WHO HAVE OPPRESSED US FOR GENERATIONS, against a country which in one generation HAS RAISED OUR PEOPLE to the FULL DIGNITY OF MANKIND." End of quote.

THE PROFESSIONAL NEGRO LEADERS RUSHED INTO PRINT TO REFUTE this statement, and to explain that Paul does NOT SPEAK for the "overwhelming majority of the Negro people;"

WALTER WHITE, as Head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People - perhaps the BEST KNOWN of THOSE LEADERS said, and I quote:

"NEGROES ARE AMERICANS. We contend for full and equal rights, and we accept full and equal responsibilities. IN EVENT OF ANY CONFLICT that our Nation has with any other nation, WE WILL REGARD OURSELVES as AMERICANS, and meet the responsibilities imposed on all Americans." end of quote.

NOW I AGREE THAT WE NEGROES ARE AMERICANS.

OF COURSE WE ARE AMERICANS.

BUT TRY AND EXPLAIN THAT TO ROSA INGRAM and AMY MILLARD and the AMERICAN COURTS OF JUSTICE IN GEORGIA?

TRY and explain it to THE TRENTON SIX, and the AMERICAN COURTS of Justice in NEW JERSEY.

TRY and explain it to THE NEGROES who worked in the GARBAGE BRIGADES, the LAUNDRY and CLEANING and LABOR BATTALIONS in the AMERICAN ARMY in our last WAR FOR DEMOCRACY..

TRY and explain it to the NEGROES EVERYWHERE who ARE TRYING NOW to get into AMERICAN PUBLIC HOUSING, HOSPITALS, SCHOOLS and WORK PROJECTS.

WE NEGROES ARE AMERICANS, AND WE know it. But OUR COUNTRY keeps TELLING US, time after time, in HEARTBREAKING WAYS,

That we have NO RIGHTS and PRIVILEGES as American Citizens, (ACCEPT those it CHOOSES to GRANT US when it feels indulgent.)

SO it is NATURAL and INEVITABLE that the majority of AMERICAN NEGROES have come to examine with a jaundiced eye

the "DUTIES And OBLIGATIONS and RESPONSIBILITIES"

in their ~~prop~~ PROPER PLACE, in their PROPER FOCUS, Where they belong - that is

SIDE-BY-SIDE with the "RIGHTS and PRIVILEGES."

I BELIEVE that EVERY SENSIBLE NEGRO IN THIS country -- professional leaders not-withstanding -- FEELS THAT

IF HE MUST FIGHT ANY FUTURE WAR FOR DEMOCRACY,

The proper place to begin such a fight IS RIGHT HERE.

I BELIEVE IF OUR COUNTRY IS ATTACKED, INVADED, that NEGROES -- ALONG WITH OTHER LOYAL AMERICANS -- WILL RALLY TO OUR DEFENSE.

THAT'S ONE THING.

But I ALSO BELIEVE that if our country drafted NEGRO AMERICANS, and many other sensible, reasonable, loyal Americans

TO FIGHT A WAR IN GREECE FOR A KING THE GREEKS DON'T WANT,

TO FIGHT A WAR IN CHINA for Chiang Kai Shek WHOM THE CHINESE PEOPLE DON'T WANT, TO FIGHT A WAR FOR FRANCE and HOLLAND so that the INDO CHINESE and the INDONESIANS can be KEPT IN COLONIAL SLAVERY **

I REALLY BELIEVE THE GOVERNMENT OF THESE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE A VERY HARD TIME INDEED LURING SENSIBLE LOYAL AMERICANS INTO FIGHTING SUCH A WAR.

NOW MAYBE the N.A.A.C.P. CAN DELIVER UP It's 500,000 membership and MAYBE the professional Negro leaders can DELIVER UP THEIR FOLLOWERS to fight such a war, but I doubt it.

(They DID deliver MANY of them up to Mr. Truman and the Democratic Party last election, in return for the USUAL PROMISE of Civil Rights, and here we are, once again STUCK with the PROMISE.)

But even if these professional leaders COULD DELIVER up their followers to fight such a War -- that would account for a THEORETICALLY 2 MILLION at MOST -- MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Then what about THE OTHER 12 MILLION Un-ORGANIZED NEGROES, the real "Vast Majority" of the Negro People?

WHO SPEAKS FOR THEM?

IT MAY WELL BE that a GIANT NEGRO -- one PAUL ROBESON -- the son-of-a-slave WHO CAUGHT the ear-of-the-world WITH HIS GOLDEN VOICE,

and who has always USED THAT VOICE to call THE ATTENTION of the world to the PLIGHT of his Negro People IN AMERICA, in the WEST INDIES, in AFRICA, AND TO THE PLIGHT OF ALL SUPPRESSED and OPPRESSED PEOPLES EVERYWHERE --

IT MAY WELL BE that this GOLDEN ROBESON VOICE is PUTTING INTO WORDS some of the thoughts of these Un-Organized, Voice-less People --

THE REAL "VAST MAJORITY" of the Negro People.

SINCE he HAS NEVER asked them for anything FOR HIMSELF, and is NOT doing so NOW, THEY MAY DO WELL to LISTEN TO HIM.

I BELIEVE that many of our NEGRO LEADERS are really FAR BEHIND the millions of my People -- holding them back, not leading them forward:

THEY ARE NOT PECULIAR in this --

Many LABOR LEADERS are ALSO far behind the millions of working people -- holding them back, DIVIDING THEM UP , and

Certainly OUR PRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL LEADERS are far behind the majority of the American People,

Because, ALONG WITH SOME OF THE MORE BACKWARD LEADERS OF Western Europe,

They are DIVIDING UP THE WORLD, and PLANNING WAR and destruction for us all.

I BELIEVE THE TIME HAS COME for MY NEGRO PEOPLE, THE WORKING PEOPLE, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

TO INSTRUCT OUR leaders and our GOVERNMENTS, AND TO INSIST THAT OUR INSTRUCTIONS BE CARRIED OUT.

WE MUST ALL REMEMBER that there is NOTHING UN-AMERICAN nor SUBVERSIVE in this procedure.

WE MUST ALL REMEMBER that in a DEMOCRACY, the government is sup posed to carry out the WILL of the People, not VICE VERSA.

It may be true THAT OUR LEADERS want an Atlantic Pact, want to divide up the world into SEPARATE, ARTIFICIAL, OPPOSING BLOCS,

Want to RE-ARM for another war which will mean Death and Destruction for our people -

BUT WE THE PEOPLE KNOW THAT WE WANT TO RE*ARM OURSELVES FOR CONSTRUCTION,

for BUILDING HOMES, FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, and PROGRESS,

for CO - OPERATION with our Fellow-Citizens here at home,

for CO - OPERATION with our FELLOW-MEN ABROAD,

FOR LIFE AND FOR PEACE.

uopwa #16

[ca. 1949]

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
56 West 45 Street
New York 19, N.Y.

MEMORANDUM

To: Editors

From: C. B. Baldwin, Secretary, Progressive Party

Shortly after Paul Robeson, Jr., was recently married to Marilyn Greenberg, Paul's mother, Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, wrote the enclosed article to express her thoughts on the reactions to the marriage. It appeared in the Springfield (Mass.) Union June 25.

It think it is a remarkable article, and I earnestly commend it to your attention. I hope very much that you will not only read it but will also publish it complete.

uopwa #16

1)

LOYALTY - LOST AND FOUND

By Eslanda Goode Robeson
(Mrs. Paul Robeson)
The Beeches, Enfield, Conn.

I went to look for my loyalty this morning, and couldn't find it. I searched everywhere for it, and it just wasn't there. Strange. Loyalty is something one doesn't lose - except under extraordinary circumstances. Normally, it's always there. This morning it wasn't. So I began a really thorough search for it. I thought: I must have left it somewhere. But where?

Had I left it in England, where we had lived for twelve years and enjoyed that living? No. I remembered very well that lots of interesting things had happened to me in England: I had discovered Africa, Colonialism, Anthropology; I had been happy, comfortable, and I think welcome with the ordinary, friendly English people. But I hadn't left my Loyalty there - I had merely expanded it a little.

Perhaps I had left it in Africa? I had always been deeply interested in Africa, and anxious to visit My People there. During two

Had I left it in England, where we had lived for twelve years and enjoyed that living? No. I remembered very well that lots of interesting things had happened to me in England: I had discovered Africa, Colonialism, Anthropology; I had been happy, comfortable, and I think welcome with the ordinary, friendly English people. But I hadn't left my Loyalty there - I had merely expanded it a little.

Perhaps I had left it in Africa? I had always been deeply interested in Africa, and anxious to visit My People there. During two extended trips into the interior of the Continent I had come to know many fine African men, women and children; they had welcomed me with open arms, warm hospitality, and a kind of family affection, as if to say: "You have been very late in coming to see us - you American Negro Cousin - but though you have neglected us for so long, we are happy to have you now; and we hope many more of you will remember us, and come to see us." It was a wonderful experience, but I remember that I didn't leave my Loyalty in Africa. No. I had, however, definitely expanded it to include my African people, and those progressive Europeans in Africa with whom I had found so much in common.

Then maybe, after all, I HAD left my Loyalty in the Soviet Union - as the Un-American Acitivies Committee keeps suggesting? Maybe? Could be? No, it could not be, because I remember distinctly that I had brought my Loyalty home with me from Russia. I remember clearly the exciting experience of being among millions of people who refused, forbade, rejected, and punished any form of discrimination because of color, religion, or national origin. I thought then, as I think now, how wonderful it would be if my countrymen could see and understand and learn from this practical working-out of the principle laid down in our Declaration of Independence - that "all men are created equal." I remember very well that I came home from the Soviet Union more consciously loyal to these United States than I had

MORE.......

ever been before; for the first time in my life I was full of respect and affection for, and loyal to, our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Formerly I had brushed them aside as brave and elegant words, but only words. In the Soviet Union I had seen those words TRANSLATED INTO ACTION. It was like reading the script of a play here, and seeing it performed on the stage and in real life, over there.

Then WHERE was my Loyalty? All my life - and during the lives of most Negroes in these United States - our respect, affection and loyalty undergo terrific stress and strain. It's a miracle that we have any left. During these last few months especially, mine have taken a terrific beating: Most of the "democratic" press of my country has cleverly and deliberately misrepresented my husband to the public by taking his words out-of-context. But during these last few days, when our beloved and only child married the girl he loves, I have taken the crucial beating at the hands of my fellow-countrymen: Some of them collected in the street to boo my children, whom they did not even know. These fellow-citizens - strangers - booed my happy children because members of the "free and democratic" press told them that an interracial marriage had taken place, and if they stuck around they would see the principals. (The press men did this so the crowd would accumulate and ramain, to delay our departure long enough for photographs to be taken.)

As I looked at these Americans standing there in the street gaping, and wishing evil for my now distressed children, a great many things became clear and concrete for me. (The natural thing for people to do when they see a newly-married pair is to smile indulgently, vaguely wish them well, and continue on their way feeling a little better for their own kindliness.) These people were wishing my children evil, specifically because the press had told them to. They would never have known the marriage was taking place if the press had not told them when and where. The wedding was entirely private; that was the reason we forbade photographers. So I blamed the press directly, and was very angry with them; not necessarily with the reporters, a few of whom behaved decently.

After a hectic day I brought my children home with me to the peace and quiet and friendliness of Enfield, but already we have received post-cards, letters and telegrams from strangers who dare not sign their

MORE......

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

names, wishing us evil. My children are no longer distressed, thank heaven. They realize that the evil directed against them is not personal, but is part of the larger, ORGANIZED evil in our country, and the world; evil created and directed by the people who PROFIT by making other people hate and divide against each other; people who are even willing to fight a war to prevent all men from confirming the fact that we ARE created equal.

So, as I was saying, I went to look for my Loyalty this morning, and couldn't find it. I searched everywhere for it, and it just wasn't there. After going back over the ground I had covered during my fifty years, I knew I hadn't lost it, so it MUST be there somewhere.

I FINALLY FOUND MY LOYALTY - SOMEWHAT BATTERED, SHRUNKEN IN SOME WAYS, EXPANDED IN OTHERS, ALMOST UNRECOGNIZABLE TO THE ORDINARY EYE: BUT I LIKE IT'S NEW SHAPE, IT'S NEW SIZE: IT IS LARGER AND MORE SOLID AND MAKES MORE SENSE, I THINK. I FOUND THAT MY LOYALTY IS GIVEN TO THE LAWS OF MY COUNTRY AS SET DOWN IN OUR BEAUTIFUL CONSTITUTION AND BILL OF RIGHTS, TO THOSE COMMUNITIES WHICH OBEY THESE LAWS, TO MY FELLOW-CITIZENS, FELLOW-PROGRESSIVES, AND FRIENDS HERE IN MY COUNTRY AND ALL OVER THE WORLD WHO THINK, FEEL, AND WORK FOR THE EQUALITY OF MAN.

Obviously, it would be ridiculous for anyone to be loyal to that part of any country which persecutes him, or to those people who do him harm and wish him evil. Such people are his enemies. Even animals recognize their enemies and make war on them or at least defend themselves.

I therefore, being sound of mind, wind and limb, having at least as much sense as an animal, do hereby declare war on my enemies, and publicly notify them that I will fight them every step of the way until we achieve the equality as American citizens which is guaranteed by our Constitution. I also do hereby publicly thank the fellow-citizens, fellow-progressives, and friends - known and unknown black, yellow and white - who have come forward in great numbers to wish my beloved children well on their wedding-day.

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uopwa #16

The Beeches, Enfield, Conn.
November 27, 1951.

Mr. Carl Murphy,
Afor-American,
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Mr. Murphy:

I have been deeply stirred by the fight which the Negro Press, particularly the Afro, made on behalf of Dr. DuBois, and by the stunning victory which resulted. I have written a piece on the matter, and will be glad if you print it in the Afro. I am enclosing it herewith.

Cordially,

Mrs. Paul Robeson.

Encl.: LET'S GO.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Eslanda Goode Robeson
Re DuBois Case.

LET'S GO!

The acquittal of Dr.W.E.B.DuBois and his colleagues of the Peace Information Center last week by a U.S.District Court was a triumph for the Negro People and our Progressive White fellow Americans, and a revelation of our potential power.

It would be a wonderful thing if 15 million Negroes would recognize this potential strength, and use it consistently to secure our Constitutional rights not gradually, but NOW.

The Negro People, like all other groups of people, have many differences and disagreements among ourselves. Only once in a while do we all get together when we are really aroused about an issue, but when we do, our potential strength is revealed, and things begin to happen. The DuBois case was such an issue. The Lt.Gilbert case was such an issue.

Every Negro knew, deep in his bones, that it is practically impossible for a Negro soldier to get fair and democratic treatment in the Army, therefore we were on Lt. Gilbert's side. And when the bulk of the Negro People moved up and took a firm stand beside Lt. Gilbert, the Army Court Martial commuted his sentence of death. And I'll bet if we'd stayed right there beside him, and demanded his freedom, Lt. Gilbert would today be a free man.

Every Negro knew, deep in his bones, that Dr.DuBois was not an agent for a foreign power (that is,unless always fighting for the rights of the Negro People and for Peace, makes him an agent for a foreign power!), therefore we were on Dr.DuBois' side. And when the bulk of the Negro People moved up and took a firm stand beside Dr.DuBois, the U.S. District Court in Washington acquitted him and his colleagues.

U.S.District Court ~~acquitted~~ in Washington acquitted him and his colleagues.

Let us stay right there beside Dr.DuBois and the Peace Information Center,and see this fight through, to see what the end will be. I believe the happy end,- if I5 million Negroes want it enough to stay right with it,- will be freedom for all our militant Negro Leaders who honestly and sincerely fight for Negro Rights, and freedom for all our militant American citizens who honestly ~~and~~ and sincerely fight for Peace.

The very impertinence of the F.B.I. and the Administration in daring at attack, persecute and prosecute Dr.DuBois, shows that the bulk of the Negro People have been asleep at the switch too long. It is a terrible reflection upon our sleepiness that not until the Adminstration, in its arrogance, made the mistake of picking on the wrong Negro, did the majority of the Negro People wake up and see what was happening to us,- wake up, stand up, and say NO!

Dr.W.E.B.DuBois was the wrong Negro for the F.B.I. to pick on. At the venerable age of 83, he has been our Favorite Professor for several generations. It was Dr.DuBois who first directed our attention to Africa, to our kinship with the African People,and with all the Colored Peoples in the world.

It was Dr.DuBois who first comprehensively researched, documented and recorded our Negro History, and who first taught this history, socialogy and world affairs to thousands of Negro students in colleges.

Dr.DuBois was the founder of the Pan African Congress, a co-founder of the N.A.A.C.P., and first Editor of the important national Negro magazine THE CRISIS.

Dr.DuBois travelled abroad at regular intervals over the years , attending important world conferences,and studying the changing conditions in Europe, Asia and Africa. His scholarly books, articles and essays are in most libraries in all parts of the world.

Most Negroes would agree that Dr. DuBois is our senior statesman, scholar and diplomat, the man above all others who could properly speak for the Negro People in the United Nations Organization.

So when the free-swinging F.B.I. went after our Dr. DuBois, they went after the wrong man. Millions of Negroes know that Dr. DuBois has never apologized for the Negro Question, has never been a Yes Man for the Government, could never be bought. We know his record of more than 50 years of militant fight for the rights of the Negro People.

Therefore when the F.B.I. and the Administration tried to cut him down, the Negro People in all walks of life saw and understood what was happening: Dr. DuBois was being cut down, not because he had disobeyed any law, but because he was miltant.

The Negro People have had long experience with this kind of thing. We have seen Negro after Negro cut down,- not because he had disobeyed any law, but because he had tried to vote, had moved into an illegally restricted neighborhood, was not meek enough, insisted upon his rights and his personal dignity, was too successful, was too militant, did not know "his place."

So we Negroes recognized this pattern in the attempt to lynch Dr. DuBois in the Courts,- Dr. DuBois whose long life is an open book containing nothing illegal, but on the contrary, containing record after record of his fight for our legal rights.

And recognizing this pattern, we Negro People slowly woke up, stood up, and angrily said NO! to the F.B.I. and the Administration: No, you shall not lynch our Dr. DuBois, in or out of Court. NO! And when 15 million Negroes say NO! then that's it, Brother, that's it. And I'll bet there are a lot of red faces in the F.B.I. and Administration right now, and I'll bet they'll think carefully before they try any more shenanigans against us in the future.

And now that the Negro People are awake, aware, and standing up, and have sensed and tested our potential strength, we might as well get on with our unfinished business: We might free Lt. Gilbert, Ben Davis, Alphaeus Hunton, Rosa Ingram; we might insist that the Administration drop the case against William Patterson, and that the State Department return Paul Robeson's passport; we might bring the murdering Florida sheriff McCall to justice, and put an end to the police brutality all over our country. And while we are at it, we might just as well get down to fundamentals and clean up this mess known as the Negro Question once and for all, so we all can settle down into our rightful places in our country.

It has often been said that the Negro must be "taught to know his place." Well, we know our place. The law of the land tells us our place is the position of full and equal citizenship, and we Negroes believe in the law of the land, as expressed in our Constitution and Bill of Rights.

So now that we've got started, let's go on and get the F.E.P.C., Anti Poll Tax, Anti Lynch Laws through Congress, and make all I5 million of us the first-class citizens the law says we are, and get rid of this Negro Question which plagues us in every aspect of our daily lives, and embarrasses our Government before the world.

The distinguished lawyers, Negro and white, whose courage and brilliant legal work won the acquittal of Dr. DuBois and his colleagues, the Negro and progressive white press, the Negro Labor Council and progressive white Labor Unions, and the millions of citizens, Negro and white, well known and unkown, from all walks of life and from coast to coast, who courageously came forth publicly to give them moral and financial support, may all take a well-earned bow and listen to our cheers of "Well done! "

Together, we not only won the right to speak militantly for Negro Rights and to work for Peace, we have also pointed the way toward what we can go on to win, if we will: equality for the Negro People, and Peace in these United States and in this world, which are ours as well as anybody else's.

Let's GO.

Robeson,
The Beeches,
Enfield, Conn.
November 27, 1951.

ESR [1955?]

WHO'S CHANGING WHOSE MIND?

In his regular Sunday evening broadcast on May 2 nd, Drew Pearson talked about Paul Robeson. He said, in effect, that Paul is meeting with Negro leaders, and that they are persuading him to "change his left-wing views".

~~This is hilarious, and it just goes to show how little understanding some of our white fellow citizens have of the Negro People. While Drew Pearson, Walter Winchell, Leonard Lyons, Cholly Knickerbocker and the rest may be able to find out or guess what goes on in smoke filled rooms, penthouse offices, and bedrooms of the white folks who rule this country, they are unable to find out what goes on in intimate circles of the Negro People.~~

~~They can, and do, get "reports". There are always spies and Uncle Toms who will tell. But when they get the reports, they dont seem able to interpret and evaluate them properly. The report of Drew Pearson is a case in point.~~

It is true that Paul Robeson "meets with" top (and also bottom and middle) Negro leadership, and also with many Negroes who are rank and file housewives, workers, performers. And it is certainly true that there is almost always an eager stimulating exchange of views.

It is enormously gratifying to us that the Negro People are becoming daily more and more persuaded that what Paul says makessense, and they are all agreed that the Number One job for the Negro People is to secure their first class citizenship as fast as possible -preferably immediately- here in these ~~United States~~ beautiful and beloved United States; and then to help all people everywhere, as much as we can, as soon as possible- preferably immediately- to achieve their first class citizenship,- their independence and self government, wherever they are.

We all are convinced that when we have achieved these very pressing objectives, many problems which seem so ~~dread~~ dreadful now will have disappeared.

When the Negro People say to Paul: This is a great country, a great democracy, what are you beefing about? Paul says in return: Are you satisfied with segregation and discrimination? Are you satisfied with this democracy as it is practised on us? The answer is always No.

When the Negro People say to Paul: You've got everything,- fame,fortune and success; why cant you be satisfied? Paul says in return: I'm not FREE. With all my fame and fortune and success, as a Negro I'm a second class citizen here in my own country. Are you satisfied with your second class citizenship? The answer,of course, is always No.

When the Negro People say to Paul: Why dont you just keep quiet and go ahead and enjoy yourself; why do you go around antagonizing people? Paul asks in return: Who's antagonizing? The UnAmericans who deny me my rights are antagonizing me; the UnAmericans who deny 15 million Negro citizens their constitutional rights are antagonizing us all. How can you say I'm antagonizing, when all I'm doing is insisting upon the rights guaranteed me,and all citizens, by our Constitution?

When they say to Paul: Look Paul, all this hell you're raising makes it hard for the rest of us. Paul says in return: Was it easy before? The answer is always No.

And so it goes.

Nobody is changing Paul's mind. But Paul is definitely changing the minds of alot of people; not exactly changing their minds,- just helping to clarify them.

Eslanda

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

Langston Hughes, the poet who writes about his people, put all our hopes and wishes into a nut shell when he wrote

Beulah takes up cue with

"Let America be America again"

Narrator

We always did like to get together and sing-- in the choirs, at home, at a social, in the field. It eases our tired feelings and makes us stick a little closer. And we've been believers in the power of faith-- faith in God and faith in the right of our struggle for freedom and dignity. Here is our quartet who will sing:

1.

2.

Narrator

One thing they cannot prohibit--
The strong men---- coming on
The strong men gittin'stronger
Stong men .....
Stronger....

Here is Paul Robeson to sing again. To sing songs of his people. To sing songs of all people.

(Number and selection to be chosen.)

Program should end with audience joining in to sing a familiar and jubilant hymn.

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Labor Conditions in Asia by Essie Robeson – from notes

Trade Union leaders report on social, political and economic conditions in their countries to the Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian countries in Peking.

India. Against a background of "acute and deepening economic crisis", the All India Trade Union Congress (A.I.T.U.C.) is growing in strength and influence, Indian delegate Chavkar Shelmankar said. Nearly 1,250,000 industrial workers in India and Pakistan are organized under the banner of the All India Trade Union Congress. The number of affiliated unions has more than tripled since pre-war years. But real wages in India have dropped 15 to 20% as compared to 1939 as a result of soaring prices. Nehru's decision to devalue the rupee "has further reduced the real wage, bringing utter destitution and pauperization to millions of families of our working people". Both industrial and agricultural production is going down, but prices and profits of the capitalists are going up. In order to pass the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working class and the people, the Indian capitalist class, with the full support of their Nehru government has launched a program of retrenchment and wage cuts, coupled with a policy of fascist repression to drown the resistance of the working class in blood, and disrupt its growing unity. This has resulted in whole or partial unemployment of over 2 million industrial workers and the imprisonment of over 25,000 democratic leaders and active workers, without even a show of a trial.

India now has a "Public Security Act" that enables any police officer to arrest without warrant, anybody and detain him or her for 15 days. And they can be further detained indefinitely by the provincial government concerned. In some provinces, trade unions and democratic organizations, as well as the Communist Party, have been banned, but throughout India, both the Communist Party and the A.I.T.U.C. and a number of other democratic and cultural organizations have been reduced to a state of virtual illegality by arrests and baton charges, or firing on meetings and demonstrations and by banning strikes, by police raids on all offices, by seizure of literature and documents, by banning the entire progressive and democratic press, by driving all the leading cadres underground, and even open seizure of our offices. In the countryside, wherever our pauperized peasantry has marched forward under the leadership of the working class to take possession of land, Nehru's police state has gone even further, he has established Hitlerite concentration camps where hundreds of our militant peasant fighters have been driven to a slow death and even murdered. The Anglo-American imperialists have put Nehru in Chiang Kai Shek's shoes, but the battle cry of the countryside is "We shall go the Mao Tze-tung way".

Ceylon. "China today, Ceylon tomorrow", is the slogan of the workers and peasants in Ceylon, according to S.A. Wickremasinghe, president of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation. In his report he described Ceylon, 25,000 square miles and 16½ million population, as agricultural with no industries. 90% of the entire peasantry are landless, or own uneconomic fragments. Frudal land tenure and share-cropping are the chief features. On the other hand, 75% of the total area planted in rubber is made up of large estates concentrated in the hands of companies and rich landlords.

The Ceylon Trade Union Federation is now fighting against most brutal repression. It was established in 1940 after the leadership of the earlier All-Ceylon Trade Union Congress, formed in 1927, had been bought over by the British employers, and degenerated into a permanent strike-breaking organization.

The present C.T.U.F. has a membership of 20,000 and maintains close relations with the plantation union of Indian workers which has a membership of about 120,000. But mass importation of immigrant labor has been the main obstacle to trade union organization. Every strike was defeated by employers importing labor from India.

Following the month-long general strike of government and other workers in Colombo in 1947 for higher wages, trade union rights and unemployment and old age security legislation was passed to take away even the existing trade union's rights of government workers.

The struggle of our working class for democratic and trade union rights, for a better standard of living, and for economic security, is the struggle against the economic set-up of Anglo-American imperialists' resources, the control over our markets and other exploitation of cheap labor.

Burma. "Before the war, Burma's natural wealth, transport facilities, trade and finance were the exclusive monopoly of five British companies," the All-Burma Trade Union representative, Aung Win, told T.U.C. delegates. Now Britain and America are seeking to re-impose their economic domination of the country through the Thakin-Nu government.

The Burmese people own only 30% of the land in Burma, an area as large as France, or England put together. The balance is owned by 6000 landlords, mostly Indian. Burma was annexed by Britain as a province of the Indian Empire in the last century. After the Jap invasion of 1942, the entire British population fled from the country without organizing the people to defend their country, but guerilla warfare was waged by the peasants and the workers.

Immediately after the war, the All-Burma Trade Union Congress and the All Burma Peasants Union were organized. At the same time the representatives of British monopoly interests returned to Burma in 1945 to resume their activities. The British military authorities on the pretext of post-war rehabilitation transferred the entire control of the rice and timber trade, water and land transport, import and export trade to the former British monopoly interests.

Aung Win charged that the Thakin Nu government, which he said had been set up by "the military authorities of the British imperialists and not by the will of the people", has forcibly closed down the offices of the A.B.T.U.C. and imprisoned most of its leaders who were unable to escape into liberated territory.

The Trade Union Congress (B.B.B.) is a police union set up by the reactionary socialists with direct government intervention. It has no support among the working class. The British imperialists are in consultation with the American imperialists and other imperial powers and the dominions of the Commonwealth for large scale armed interventions in Burma, as free supply of arms and ammunition to the Thakin Nu government is of no avail. American imperialists are making full use of the situation for economic dominations over Burma, so far as an exclusive British monopoly.

However, he said, the struggle has drawn not only the working class and peasants, but the people of Burma as a whole, into a powerful united front.

Siam. The Trade Union delegate from Siam, Mr. Vas Sundarachermara, said Siam, although officially considered an independent country, has been a semi colony from the middle of the 19th century. Siam is rich in natural resources - tin, rubber and valuable timber, but they are all in the hands of the big American and British monopolist and used to occupy the leading role in Siam. The military clique of Phibul Songgram, having seized power in November 1947 with the support of the American monopolies, opened the door to American capital.

Of 18 million population the working class is numerically small. There are about 250,000 to 300,000 workers distributed as follows; about 50,000 employed in the timber industry, 30,000 in rubber production and 20,000 in tin mining. The labor conditions of the Siamese workers are practically inhuman and there is neither labor legislation nor even the most elementary provisions for labor protection and safety devices.

He said the trade union movement in Siam started in the form of mutual aid associations during the war. In November 1944 the first trade union association of workers - the Bangkok Federation of Trade Unions was established. The Federation was a member of the anti-Japanese League of Siam, and while working underground, took an active part in the struggle against the Japanese invaders.

Trade Union organization began to spread throughout Siam, and in April 1947 a trade union Conference was held to establish the General Federation of Trade Unions of Siam. The Trade Union membership has continuously grown to now nearly 50,000. In Bangkok alone there are about 30,000 members. Despite efforts to split the unity of the trade union movement by formation of "pseudo trade union organizations", the Siamese trade unions are going ahead with the increased confidence.

North Korea. The agricultural and industrial progress in North Korea since its liberation was described by Choi Gen Dek, chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Korea. The agrarian reform of 1945 gave 720,000 families of land workers, landless and land-poor peasants of 1 million heclars of free land. In 1948, 55,209 hectars of waste land were brought under cultivation, and the crop amounted to more than 2,800,000 tons, an increase of over 800,000 tons over that of 1946. In this way the food problem of the northern half of the Republic, which had not been an agrarian area, was thoroughly solved.

Of Korea's industrialization, Choi Gen Dek reported: As a result of the nationalization of main industries, 1,034 organs of main industry, transportation, communications and banks have fallen into the hands of the people.

In the northern half of the Republic we have succeeded twice in carrying out the peoples economic plans, and on this basis we drew up a two-year Peoples Economic Plan, 1949-50.

In social reforms: North Korea law provides for 8-hour day for workers and clerks, 7 hours for injurious underground work, 6 hours for juvenile workers, and prohibits child labor. It also provides for compulsory health insurance and paid vacations. Education has been improved, and a new university has been founded.

North Korean Federation of Trade Unions was formed of 13 industrial unions on November 30, 1945, and trade unions have been working to strengthen labor discipline ensure strict observance of the Labor Law, and obtain steady improvement of labor conditions.

To give financial support to the Trade Union activities, the government in March, 1948, adopted a resolution which requires the factory administrations to pay the Trade Unions an amount equal to between two and 6% of the workers' wages.

Today the greatest obstacle to unity and full independence of the Korean nations is the interference in our home affairs by the American imperialists and their tool, the so-called "U.N. Korea Commission", as well as the Syngman Rhee clique.

South Korea. In contrast to the report from North Korea, the South Korean delegate, Bak Se Yeng, who is vice-chairman of the South Korean Federation of Trade Unions, spoke of the mounting unemployment and political repression of his half of the country. The number of factories and mills in South Korea were 10,000 in 1943, dropped to 4,500 in March 1947, and their output was only 26.4% of that in 1939. The number of workers in industry, mining and transportation was 356,000 in 1946, 150,000 in 1947, and recently dropped further. There are today over 3 million unemployed and semi-employed as compared with 1,000,000 in November 1945.

Bak Se Yeng charged that more than 100,000 patriots have been massacred for the reason that they wanted unity and freedom. Innocent people have been arrested and shot without any investigation or trial. The suppression of the labor movement is growing worse. The enemies unconditionally arrest, imprison and massacre even ordinary members of the Federation, not to say their leaders. Despite this, more than 252,000 workers had joined the South Korean Federation of Trade Unions by October 1948, and the Federation is waging an unceasing struggle to bring about unification of Korea and to improve the living conditions of the working class.

Malaya. The Malayan people have been subjected to bloody terror since June 1948, u Cheng, representative of the Pan Malayan Federation of Trade Unions said. Because f the enormous prestige of the Trade Unions movement after the war, the British ere compelled to give de facto recognition to the trade unions. The Pan Malayan ederation of Trade Unions, uniting workers of all nationalities in Malaya was formed n 1946 with a membership of more than 400,000.

However, beginning with 1946, the Labor government began to send so-called advisers on trade union movement to Malaya, who exerted every effort to split the Trade Union Movement and organize government trade unions, When this attempt failed, the British Colonial authorities started an all-out offensive against the working lass and on June 7, 1948, proclaimed the P.M.F.T.U. illegal. On June 12th emergency acts came into force and 1,000 of the best representatives of the Malayan working people were arrested and imprisoned on the strength of these acts; among them were 185 trade union officials.

Under the new emergency regulations promulgated last January, Lu Cheng said, e British have the power to banish the entire permanent Malayan inhabitants from village or a district. Thousands of men, women, and children have been made homeess and tens of thousands of Malayan citizens banished from the country.

an. An appeal for assistance in reestablishing the rights of trade unions and reease of imprisoned trade union leaders was made by Ali Mahmed Zadeh, representative f the Central Council of the Amalgamated Trade Unions of Iran. The trade union vement has been a victim of Anglo-American efforts to transform Iran into a colony ecause of its strategic significance as a bridgehead for attacking the Soviet Union, nd because of its oil resources.

Owing to the treachery of Iranian rulers, our people are deprived of elementary mocratic rights and liberties. After the war the Central Council of Amalgamated ade Unions of Iran had united 70% of all the workers in industry and the oil fields nd had obtained an 8-hour working day, wage increases, regular days off, vacations nd other benefits. But within the past 2 or 3 years, 15,000 democrats have been ssassinated and executed, and at present more than 10,000 people of Iran are in prison or in exile. The trade unions and the Peoples Party of Iran have been outlawed, their property confiscated and their leaders arrested.

In place of the legitimate trade unions, police trade unions have been organized. At the point of a bayonet, the gendarmes and police compel the workers to register in these unions and pay membership dues in threat of dismissal from work. Instead of bread, work, education, health protection and freedom, the British and American imperialists are bringing to the Iranian people cannon, tanks, war planes, their advisors, imprisonment and death. Our young national industry cannot compete with itish and American goods. Factories are being closed, the army of unemployed and aupers is growing daily. Disease is spreading and the mortality rate is rising. On half of the C.C.A.T.U.I. he appealed to the W.F.T.U. and all democratic trade unions the world to intercede in every possible way to get a general amnesty for politi l prisoners and a reversal of the death sentences passed by court martial upon 13 rsons, release of all the leaders of trade unions in jail, and a halt to further rests.

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Mongolia. The extensive trade union activity in Mongolia since its revolution in 1921 was outlined by Adlibish, Chairman of the All Mongolia Central Council of Trade Unions. Our Trade Union is in full charge of social insurance. The Trade Unions receive from the state great social insurance funds, which are used to subsidize workers during temporary loss of capability to work, illness, old age, pregnancy, and to provide rest and recreation for workers and employees. The 8-hour working day, 6-day working week, and annual vacations from three to four weeks with full pay for the workers have been established in our country. The system of child labor is prohibited. Since the first day of the victory of our revolution we have applied the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women workers. As a result of the constant increase of pay and reduction of prices of articles of common use, the real wages of the workers are going up. The expenditure for social insurance in 1949 has increased 1.8 times as compared with 1940. The workers and employees are entitled to medical help, rest homes and sanitariums free of charge. The workers get a flat, heating, light and water supply from the factory or office where they work. Furthermore, the enterprises have restaurants, shops, books, bathhouses, hairdressers, kindergartens and cultural institutions for the benefit of the workers. As a result of the successful application of labor security and sanitation improvements, the number of accidents in factories for the last 7 years has been cut by half. The children of all workers have plenty of opportunity for receiving free primary, technical and university education. In technical and high schools the students are granted state stipends. The Trade Union carries on educational work among the workers of different nationalities in their own languages, such as Chinese and Kazakh. All the Trade Union organizations are formed on a basis of democratic centralization. Their governing bodies are democratically elected from bottom to top by the trade union members and are responsible to them for their actions.

Indonesia. Ali Mardjono, representative of the Indonesian Trade Union Movement, said the Indonesian workers, despite the actions of Hatta and Sukarno, who have sold our freedom to the Dutch and American imperialists, are continuing the struggle for liberation. He said Indonesia has been subjected to foreign exploitation for more than 300 years. Indonesia has become a source of raw materials, a source of cheap labor, a field for foreign capital investment, and a market for foreign-produced commodities.

The peasants, forming about 75% of the total population, are living with an average land as small as 0.19 hectars and, in many cases, without any land at all. In the towns, the working masses are earning starvation wages of 2 to 5 cents a day. After the defeat of Japan, the Indonesian people were forced to fight against the colonial powers. Hand in hand with this went the strengthening of the trade union movement. The workers who rose up in arms against the more powerful and better equipped British and Dutch troops, not only fought to defend their freedom, but also organized powerful trade unions in big industry and enterprise during the latter part of 1945 and early 1946. For the first time in the history of the Indonesian trade union movement all trade unions were united in the central organization of all Indonesian Trade Unions, the Central Organization of Indonesian Trade Unions, S.O.B.S.I., counded on November 29, 1946; it united 28 trade unions with a total membership of 1,290,000, of which 1,000,000 plantation workers are affiliated.

However, the development of American Foreign Policy and particularly the Marshall Plan made it possible for the Dutch to launch further military aggression against Indonesia. On December 22, 1947, the U.S. gave Holland $547,000,000 through the Marshall Plan. Although American diplomats "blamed" the Dutch for the military attack that followed this grant, they are one in their attempts to crush the liberation movement.

The present agreement negotiated between Hatta and the Dutch colonial government in Indonesia to the amount of 4,300,000 guilders, means that the Indonesian working masses shall have to pay for the bullets which kill them in thousands. Mardjono appealed for continued efforts to help the Indonesian people and asked the Conference to condemn the refusal of the Indonesian government to allow S.O.B.S.I. delegates to attend the Peking Conference.

Viet Nam. Luu Duc Pho, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Viet Nam Workers, declared that the emancipation of the Vietnamese working class cannot be separated from Viet Nam's struggle for independence and democracy. Viet Nam has been struggling for liberation since the end of the 19th century when it fell under French colonization; he said the liberation movement started out with rigor with the coming to power of the popular front in France, but the outbreak of the second World War gave the colonialists a new occasion for unleashing repressions against the workers' movement, and all the advantages and liberties won during the popular front period were lost.

After the war, the British imperialists, in the name of the Allies, landed their troops in the south of Viet Nam to disarm the Japanese. Thanks to their benevolent complicity, the French colonialists came back to our country and immediately started their war of reconquest.

But after four years of war, the French have succeeded in occupying only a number of towns. Nearly the whole countryside, that is about 90% of the territory, remains under the control of the Ho Chi-Minh government.

The general Confederation of Viet Nam Workers (T.L.D.) was organized in May 1946 and by the end of 1948 had 250,000 members, 20% of whom were factory workers. Howeve because of continuing French aggression, the T.L.D. has had to concentrate all its efforts on military struggle against the enemy. This consists not only of mobilizing workers to join the army, but also of maintaining production in the rear by moving machinery to security zones and establishing factories there. Despite great difficulties in all the factories, production is increasing regularly. In 1948 it had increased by 60% over the previous year.

Since 1948 T.L.D. has sent representatives out of the country to ensure its relations with the W.F.T.U. and other national centers.

He urged the Conference to condemn the Colonial Wars waged against the people of Indonesia, Malaya and Viet Nam, and to expose the demagogy of bourgeois leaders i those countries who, once their class desires were realized, betrayed the cause of people and became the loyal servants of the imperialists.

Within four years the New Republic has made millions literate. Tax reductions and agricultural improvements have given peasants a real stake in the national struggle.

Poverty, illiteracy, economic and political imperialism, feudalism and lack of industrialization, -- all so closely interwoven and directly connected with the land problem -- are being eliminated in varying degrees of success throughout Asia. In Viet Nam, where these problems are being tackled simultaneously with the fight for independence, the record of achievement in the field of literacy and the condition of the peasants is worthy of consideration: The Viet Nam story of how 16 million people learned to read and write within four years, marks a milestone in the history of social progress and puts another nail in the coffin of French imperialism.

After 80 years of French rule, while Viet Nam could point to roads built to promote the interests of French rubber and rice planters, its average illiteracy rate was 85% of the total population of 22 million. The new republic gave high priority to the literacy campaign in its national social program because it believed that a literate people who had a general knowledge of the country's physical feature natural resources, history and political affairs would be more firmly united than ever in its determination to oust the French colonists.

Language Latinized. Viet Nam had an important advantage over many other countries in Asia where illiteracy is high, in the possession of one of the most perfect latinizations of a national language. Codified nearly three centuries ago by a group of Catholic missionaries, philologists consider the latinization as one of the best developed in the East, as well as one of the most perfect scripts to translate Viet Namese sounds textually and accurately. The first Latin-Annamite Lexicon was compiled in 1652 by Father Alexandre de Rhodes;this phonetic system making use of Latin characters became known as the Alexandre de Rhodes system, and later with certain modifications as "quoc ngu " or national language. After seven years' effort, beginning in 1938, a group of Viet Namese nationalists could not diffuse the language to less than 17% of the population; the country was under French rule all that time. It remained for the Republic to give the program government sponsorship of funds for the campaign to become nationwide and meaningful. Old and young, soldier, peasant, laborer all began to learn to read and write, even in the midst of civil war. Classes were held in paddy fields, in market places, on hill tops, in factories and near front lines. In Viet Nam there were dramatic results as millions began participating more actively in village, factory and army affairs. It was a disgrace to be illiterate. Pres. Ho Chi Minh: "To defend independence, to safeguard freedom, and to create strength and abundance, the people of Viet Nam must understand their own interests and their duties. They must acquire new knowledge for participation in the reconstruction of our great land. Everyone must know how to read and write the national language. It is the duty of literates to reach the illiterates...All women must become literate. They have been slaves a long time. New they shall make all exertions possible to enjoy the status of equality and be worthy citizens of a free and independent country. . . Those who could read and write already were trained as teachers. Slogans put on houses: 'Illiteracy is no less a crime than theft,' 'Illiteracy is as dangerous an enemy as the foreign invader'. . . The regular curriculum consisted of elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic, organization, politics and music. Teachers taught by using familiar daily symbols: pupils and teachers might sing together,'It is round like an egg'."

After completing elementary courses, those able would go on to courses in hygiene, politics, technical education and administration. Vocational and technical schools - emphasis is on improvisation from local materials and practical working experience, i.e. in Public Works. College pupils learn by actual work on dikes, and irrigation projects. The same methods apply in pharmacy, agriculture and medicine. Theory is still essential, but it must always be accompanied by practical working experience. It took very careful planning to reach 16 million people in four years' time. The campaign reached into big villages&factories. A special branch of the government, the Popular Education Office, assumed responsibility for direction and integration of the overall literacy program in all localities.

New Republic did not promote literacy in vacuum. . It was conscious that basic to all Viet Nam's problems and second only to securing national liberation was the problem of the peasantry. For generations this section of the population h lived on a marginal level of existence characterized by oppressive landlords, high rates of usury and uneconomic production. In other words, by the usual pattern of decaying feudalism, and in Viet Nam with the additional complication of French colonialism propping up an outmoded land system.

While recognizing that more land reform must wait until the Republic was fully liberated, certain authoritative steps were taken to make the lot of the peasants who constitute 90% of the population more bearable. These included the encouragement of subsidiary crops, reduction of land rents, distribution of fallow lands, reduction of taxes and usury rates, a dike repair program to prevent floods, establishment of credit and production co-operation and other measures. The prevention of floods which for generations had been the cause of many national disasters received immediate attention. By government decree all fallow land was allotted to small farmers and peasants for cultivation.

The poll tax, which in the past accounted for 60% of the direct taxes under French rule, was swept away as was the salt monopoly . Land rents were reduced by 50%.

In March 1947, the Republic attempted to reduce the density of the population in overpopulated areas by allotting to any citizen over 18 who applied to the local village committee 7½ acres of state owned fallow land on condition that the applicant cultivate the land, or at the end of two years the land thus allotted was to become the property of the tenant.

In 1947 also the Republic established two schools of agriculture in Northern and Central Viet Nam where representatives of village agricultural committees sent elected representatives to study simple improvements in agricultural technique. The courses were brief, usually only several weeks, after which the representatives returned to their own villages to teach what they had learned in the way of crop improvement, stock breeding, anti-epidemic methods. Suggested improvements are kept extremely simple.

Agricultural and handicraft co-ops have also been organized with government assistance. Financial aid in the form of loans at cheap interest rates through a Producers Credit office. The major emphasis among the peasants today is still on production, for Viet Nam is of necessity striving for economic self-sufficing, and it is the peasants who provide the food and clothing for the army. . .

The peasants, 70% of whom are literate today, support the new Republic for the benefits its program has brought them. Without the support and participation of the peasantry, the national liberation movement would not be possible, for it is the peasants who constitute 80% of the Viet Nam national army, and it is they who mount guard in the countryside, sabatoging enemy communication lines and defending their villages from French attack.

ADDRESS OF DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
Chairman, Resolutions Committee
Progressive Party 2nd Annual Convention
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For a second election, the Progressive Party faces this nation with a programe and warning. We come without apology but as the natural instrument through which America may achieve that democracy which has for one hundred and fifty years has been our high ideal and continued failure. For here stands the thesis and antithesis, staring us grimly in the face:

Democracy is the only and ultimate way of governing the state. And contradicting this undisputed truth, comes the fatal fact that democracy has not achieved success in any modern state. What is the synthesis of these contradictory and discouraging statements? We have had many attempts: The most natural and most frequently repeated is the theory that Democracy is impossible, save as half-achieved ideal; it must always be led by the strong man, the Prophet, the Leader, who by force makes the people do what they, in their stupidity and selfishness could never accomplish unled.

Thus spoke Mussolini, Hitler and Franco. This of course is not a solution of Democracy but its cynical denial: coupled with the grim fact that no man is so great as to escape death.

Then we face the theory of the Majority; the doctrine of Divine Right, applied to the Ten who beat the Nine in some contest. This is we know but a rough rule of thumb: since Right is right even if Wrong wins the election; and no returns can change the fact and the consequence. To eliminate the accident of single elections, we rely on Party Government: organized and permanent bodies, which stand for programs and policies, and solicit votes, with the clear understanding that responsibility for the success of the program rests on the organization advocating it, so that the right is sought not in one election but in a continuing policy.

This has been our best approach to democratic Government and has undoubtedly carried us furthest toward our ideal. But during all the long decadesof its trial, it has developed repeatedly the same difficulty: namely, the development of one policy, coupled with absence of any counter policy, and accompanied with elaborate pretense that there were actually two parties and two policies,

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when in fact there was but one, andthat one uncritized and unchallenged. Thus in England for years Tory and Liberal represented but one imperial British policy; in France so-called Radicals were conservatives and Christian Socialists were not socialists; in the United States from 1830 to 1860, Democrats and Whigs were in reality but one party with different leaders, and that party stood for slavery and trade.

Today the Republican and Democratic parties agree not only in foreign policy but in everything essential touching domestic conditions, from fighting the Trade Unions, to raising rents and avoiding social responsibilities.

Democracy has long had a remedy for this One Party rule and that is the Third Party. In the nature of the case, the Third Party is but rarely used: so rarely, that the idea is easily promulgated that it is in its nature revolutionary and undemocratic. In truth, only through a Third Party movement, or the threat of such a movement, can the very ground principles of democratic government be preserved or rescued from oligarchy or Plutocracy rule; of birth or rule of wealth, monopoly or privilege. Unless the people retain and assert the right to turn from two old parties which are in essential agreement or in false disagreement, and establish when they will a Third Party which gives a citizen the chance to vote for what he believes and needs, -- unless that right remains, not only does the Right have no chance to win, but democracy itself fails.

That is the reason why a Third Party movement always meets bitter opposition from reaction and vested interests, and this opposition is not against its platform or policy, but against its very right to exist or appeal to the electorate. Its motives are maligned, its objects distorted and its efforts to make public its platform obstructed. The people are led to believe that in the very effort to establish a Third Party, lies treachery and enmity to democracy. If, moreover, the allied and associated parties in power, control press and radio; and have in their pockets unlimited funds from the swollen profits of interests which they favor and to whom they give licence, then with help of the terrible post-war weapon of propaganda, this political combination can literally deny the polls to a Third Party, smear it with obloqy and drive it from the public platform. And so again democracy can and does fail.

Remember that without Third Party Movements, we might still be British colonies, we might still reap fortunes out of the slave trade, we might still be even more a land of slavery than we are. Third Party movements have repeatedly in our history prevented the eclipse of democracy: beginning in 1844 and triumphing in 1860, they abolished African slavery and the political power based on it.

Beginning in 1872, a Third Party movement fought dishonesty in government and forced the election of Cleveland in 1884. But in that election appeared a new force, aiming at social reform through control of the currency. It appeared again in the election of 1892, when the new Populism cast one million votes. For the next four years populism grew fast and would have swept the country in 1896, under fair election laws; but the South cheated the white vote just as they had the black vote for 20 years and Mark Hanna bought up the North. Populism died. But many of its principles appeared again when Teddy Roosevelt fell out with the Republican leaders and tried to lead the Bull Moose to Armageddeon. He failed and Wilson and War won.

It was not until 1924, that a Third Party movement under LaFollette cast five million votes, but fell before religious hysteria and race hate in the overwhelming election of Hoover. Big Business was in the saddle until the bottom fell out of the whole industrial system in 1929, and the reign of Franklin Roosevelt began.

With the advent of Truman came a new and insistent demand for a Third Party and a chance for real progress toward democracy in this land. With the best will and effort, democracy, the self rule of the people is difficult to attain; with party government it has chance to succeed only if the parties represent real issues and do not simply mean understanding to control public opinion and obstruct policies for the progress of the mass of people. When real issues fail and greed and class combine to use the state for selfish ends, then and then only can democracy be saved from its enemies by a Third Party crusade.

But this is not all. Back of all parties and back of all progress toward a democratic state, must stand the intelligence of the electorate and their knowledge of the facts concerning which they are deciding. Today not only is illiteracy still too wide-spread in this land, but distortion of the news, monopoly of the Press and control of education by text books and frightened teachers is so undisputed, and free speech so curtailed that intelligent democracy is impossible.

The first task of a Third Party is to combat these sinister and misleading tendencies. The Progressive Party then is faced by the initial duty to work for Peace: war settles nothing and war as planned today is suicide of humanity and civilization. Despite high authority we cannot "lick the world" and if we could, what would we do with it? This is the first lesson. Second, the people of this nation must have security and not simply security in Jail; they must have work; they must have a living wage and as citizens they must share in control of such industry as private enterprise cannot or will not undertake or which can only be pursued with public aid. Freedom in America must not mean license but liberty limited by public welfare and social progress.

Not by might nor by power of far-flung armies, navies and aircraft can we help the world, but by sacrifice and example; we gain little by boasting of a democracy which we do not practise or of riches and comfort which at least a third of our own population do not share. We are ruled today by corporate wealth; and blessed as we are in natural resources, never before have so few owned so much at the expense of so many. Public welfare must replace private profit as the end of effort and planned economy must bring order and justice out of the anarchy of Free Enterprise and Private Initiative. No pauper is free, no public service can be private, and the sick and ignorant cannot often initiate enterprise.

We need increased government control of land ownership and use; ~~or~~ socialized medicine to protect the public health;

abolition of slums and publicly subsidized housing on a nation-wide scale; unemployment relief, sickness and old age security, on levels sufficient for decent life; the protection and subsidizing of workers in any essential industry like farming, which has long suffered from present organization of industry; and encouragement of all forms of self-help, like consumers co-operation.

The persons who support this platform do not agree in all matters and have many minds as to wrongs and remedies; as to national and individual responsibility for present conditions. But here are set down the matters on which we do agree; and to the support of this platform we seek the votes off all persons and we do not ask or wish to know what other beliefs they have so long as they wholeheartedly support ours.

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MY CASE

by W.E.B. Du BOIS atROCKLAND PALAC E, NOVEMBER I, 195I

I had expected to be arraigned today in Washington as "Agent of a Foreign Principa
WHO HAD FAILED TO REGISTER AS SUCH. I WAS GOING TO SEND THIS MEETING A MESSAGE TO BE RE
BUT SINCE MY TRAAL HAS BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL NOVEMBER SEVEN, I AM BRINGING THE MESSAGE I
PERSON. THAT MESSAGE IS AN EXPLANATION AS TO JUST WHAT THIS CASE IS AND WHAT IT MEANS
SO MUCH TO ME AS TO YOU AND THE NATION. I HAVE MADE THIS EXPLANATION SEVERAL TIMES BU
I FIND STILL MUCH MISUNDERSTANDING AND CONFUSION ABOUT IT. THIS IS NOT ENTIRELY THE FAUL
OF THE PUBLIC. IT ARISES FROM THE PECULIARLTY OF THE CASE ITSELF.

THE ~~EX~~IMPRESSION IS WIDESPREAD THAT I AND MY FOUR COLLEAGWES STAND ACCUSED OF I
SOME WAY BETRAYING THIS NATION TO RUSSIA~~N COMMUNISM~~. THIS IS NOT TRUE. THERE IS NO SUCH
ACCUSATION AND NEVER HAS BEEN. NEITHER RUSSIA NOR ANY OTHER NATION NOR ANY POLITICAL
LIEF IS MENTIONED IN THE INDICTMENT. WE ARE NOT ACCUSED OF ANY ILLEGAL ACT. IT IS FRE
ADMITTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE THAT THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER OF WHICH WE WER
OFFICERS HAD A RIGHT TO ADVOCATE PEACE, TO DISTRIBUTE PETITIONS AND PRINT PAMPHLETS. T
INDICTMENT ALLEGES ONLY THAT WHEN WE (AND I QUOTE) SPREAD INFORMATION AS TO WAR AND T

~~CAUSES~~ results OF WAR AND ADVOCATED PEACE WE WERE SPEAKING AT THE REQUEST OF AND UNDER ORDERS FROM A PEACE ORGANIZATION WHICH HAD ITS HEADQUARTERS IN PARIS AND WHICH HAS HELD TWO WORLD PEACE CONGRESSES IN 1849 AND 195I. the government does not allege that any contr OF AGENCY EVER EXISTED, BUT INSISTS THAT THE FACT THAT WE ADVOCATED PEACE AS DID THESE CONGRESSES THAT THIS IS PROOF OF AGENCY AND OBLIGED US TO REGISTER AS FOREIGN AGENTS UNDER THE FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT. OUR REPLY IS THAT WE NEVER REGARDED OURSELVES AS AGENTS AND WERE NEVER SO REGARDED BY THE PARIS ORGANIZATION. THAT THIS ORGANIZATION HAD TO BE SURE ITS CHIEF OFFICES ABROAD BUT IT WAS AN INTERNATIONAL BODY, WITH AMERICAN ENGLISHMEN AND ITALIANS AS WELL AS RUSSIANS REPRESENTED AND THAT WHEN WE TALKED ABOUT PEACE WE DID NOT ACT AS PUBLICITY AGENT FOR ANY PARTICULAR ORGANIZATION OR NATION. WE GATHERED NEWS OF THE WORLD PEACE MOVEMENTS FROM EVERY POSSIBLE SOURCE AND ESPECIALLY W WELCOMED NEWS OF PEACE ACTIVITIES FROM THE PARIS ORGANIZATION BUT NOT SIMPLY FROM THIS ORGANIZATION NOR WAS ITS NEWS GIVEN ONLY TO US BUT WAS PUBLISHED TO THE WORLD.

THE HISTORY OF OUR ORGANIZATION IS SIMPLE AND CLEAR. PERSONALLY I HAVE BEEN A ADVOCATE OF WORLD PEACE FOR FIFTY YEARS. I CONNECTED ~~PEACE~~ WAR WITH THE DEGRAdaTION OF T

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COLORED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD ESPECIALLY IN COLONIES. I SPOKE FOR PEACE IN LONDON IN 19
AND/ I9II; IN PARIS IN I9I9, I92I and I923. I WROTE IN THE CRISIS IN I9I3: " PEACE TODAY IF
IT MEANS ANYTHING, MEANS THE STOPPING OF THE SLAUGHTER OF THE WEAKER BY THE STRONGER IN T
NAME OF CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURE " I WROTE IN I9I9 " WE OF AMERICA FIGHT THE GREAT FIGHT
PEACE". I WROTE IN I922: " WAR HAS DESTROYED FAITH AND WEALTH AND HUMAN BEINGS. I GLADLY
ATTENDED PEACE CONGRESSES IN NEW YORK IN I949, in Paris IN ~~I(4(,~~ 1949 IN MOSCOW IN I949 and
TRIED TO ATTEND OTHER CONGRESSES IN MEXICA AND CUBA AND IN CHICAGO, IN I949 AND I950. My
ADVOCACY OF PEACE DID NOT BEGIN WITH THE PARIS CONGRESS AND HAS NOT ENDED YET.

BUT THE Paris ~~CONGRESS~~S CONGRESS ~~CONGRESS~~ WAS THE GREATEST MEETING OF HUMAN BEINGS UNI
IN A GREAT CAUSE WHICH I HAVE EVER SEEN. ON ONE SUNDAY AFTERNOON, I SAW A HALF MILLION
HUMAN BEINGS SHOUT " NO MORE WAR". THE SIXTY OR MORE AMERICANS WHO ATTENDED THIS MEETIN
WERE THRILLED BY IT AND WANTED IN SOME WAY TO HELP ON THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN FACE OF THE
ING THREAT OF A THIRD WORLD WAR. FOR NEARLY A YEAR WE DID NOTHING AND THE NEWSPAPERS SUPPR
THE NEWS OF WHAT OTHER LANDS WERE DOING FOR PEACE. ON APRIL THIRD, I950, ABOUT FORTY PE
INTERESTED IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT MET IN A PRIVATE HOME AND ORGANIZED THE PEACE INFORMAT
CENTER. IT WAS AN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION, SUPPORTED entirely BY AMERICAN MONEY, WITH NO CONNEC

WITH ANY FOREIGN ORGANIZATION. OUR OBJECT WAS TO TELL AMERICA WHAT THE REST OF THE WORLD
WAS DOING FOR PEACE. WE WORKED / UNDISTURBED FOR ~~TMXRE~~EOVER FOUR MONTHS. WE ISSUED PEACEGRA
AND DISTRIBUTED PAMPHLETS. WE PUBLISHED THE RED CROSS APPEAL AGAINST THE ATOM BOMB AND
WHEN THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL WAS ADOPTED, WE TRANSLATED IT AND PRINTED IT AND ASKED AMERI
TO SIGN IT. OVER TWO MILLION 500,000 AMERICANS SIGNED. THEN TROUBLE BEGAN. THE SECRETARY OF S
ATTACKED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AS A RUSSIAN TRICK. I REPLIED THAT NO MATTER WHAT MOTIV
WAS BEHIND RUSSIAN OR OTHER SUPPORT OF THIS APPEAL IT WAS A GREAT EFFORT TO COMBAT EVI
WAS BEING SIGNED BY SOME OF THE GREATEST MEN OF THE WORLD IN ALL LANDS AND AMONG ALL
LIGIONS.

FINALLY ON AUGUST II, FOUR MONTHS AFTER OUR ACTIVITY HAD BEGUN, WE RECEIVED A
TER FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE NOTIFYING US THAT WE SHOULD REGISTER AS AGENTS OF
FOREIGN PRINCIPAL. UP TO THIS TIME I HAD HAD NO DREAM THAT ANY OF OUR ACTS WERE ILLEGAL
WE CAME UNDER TIHS ACT WHICH HAD SELDOM BEGORE BEEN EVOKED. OUR REACTION WAS THAT THE
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAD BEEN MISINFORMED AND THAT ONCE IT WAS SHOWN WHAT WE HAD DONE
THE DEMAND WOULD BE WITHDRAWN. FROM AUGUST UNTIL FEBRUARY, WE TRIED TO GET OUR

CASE BEFORE THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. WE SENT A LAWYER TO WASHINGTON TO STATE OUR CASE AND PRESENT DOCUMENTS. IF WE HAD TRANSGRESSED LAW WE DID NOT PROPOSE TO CONTINUE. WE HAD NO DESIRE TO DEFY THE GOVERNMENT. WE DISSOLVED THE ORGANIZATION ON OCTOBER 12, CONTINUINIG ONLY THE NECESSARY ACTS TO ANSWER LETTERS AND PAY OUR DEBTS. THE DEPARTMENT INSISTED THAT EVEN AFTER CLOSING WE MUST REGISTER AND ACKNOWLEDGE THAT OUR ACTIVITIES FROM THE BEGINNING WERE THOSE OF AN AGENT OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL. THIS WE COULD NOT DO WITHOUT LYING AND WE REFUSED TO REGISTER. ON FEBRUARY 21 WE WERE INDICTED.

ALMOST EVERYONE WHO HEARS THIS STORY SAYS CONFIDENTLY " THEY CANNOT DO ANYTHING TO YOU" THE ANSWER IS THEY ARE GOING TO TRY. THEY ARE GOING TO MAKE US SPEND BETWEEN FIFTY AND ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. THEY ARE GOING TO SMEAR US BEFORE THE PUBLIC AND BLACKEN OUR REPUTATIONS. THEY ARE GOING TO TAKE OUR TIME AND STRENGTH FOR MANY MONTHS FOR ACTIONS WHICH WERE UNSELFISH, UNPAID FOR AND DONE WITH THE HIGHEST MOTIVES.

WHY IS THIS BEING DONE AND WHO ARE DOING IT? THOSE POWERFUL PERSONS IN AMERICA WH WANT WAR AND WHO EXPECT TO GAIN ~~XX~~ from WAR AND WHO ARE AFRAID PEACE MAY BREAK OUT IF THE TRUTH EVEN ON A SMALL SCALE BECOMES KNOWN. BEYOND THIS AMERICA FEARS THE BLACK PEOPLE

and do not want them to realize that their future lies in peace and not world war. That HOWEVER MUCH WE MAY GAIN INCIDENTLY BY WAR HYSTERIA, WE WILL LOSE THE WORLD which is ours IF IT COMMITS SUICIDE.

Cultural Salute to
Paul Robeson
May 26, 1954

STATEMENT BY JOSEPHINE BAKER

In the Asahi Evening News (Tokyo, Japan), May 7, 1954.

(NOTE: Miss Baker went to Japan to adopt two children who will be reared, together with orphans of other nations, in a home she is establishing for them in France. In expressing her thanks to the people of Japan for their cordiality and support, Miss Baker said the following:)

"Indeed my original purpose in coming to Japan was not only to assist the poor orphans in Mrs. Sawada's home, but to explain my world family program which proves how we colored races can cooperate.

"I am looking forward to the day when my little sons Akio and Lumier will grow up surrounded by children of other races in a stimulating environment where they can receive the best of everything, parental attention, a good education, and emerge into manhood as a champion of world peace. Perhaps they may even one day follow in the footsteps of Paul Robeson, who has fought the battles for racial justice and world peace in the stronghold of the reactionaries, who are even today persecuting him and depriving him of the honors and general recognition he has gained in democratic and socially advanced countries. My heart bleeds for the suffering that great man has endured. Indeed he has even been unable to visit the Soviet Union where many races live in harmony and receive his prize for achievements in behalf of world peace."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
ALL PAPERS
AUGUST 6, 1952

53 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

STATEMENT OF PAUL ROBESON ON THE FIGHT FOR FEPC IN THE 1952 NATIONAL ELECTIONS

In the wake of the bold betrayal of the interests of 15 million Negro Americans at the Democratic and Republican national conventions in Chicago, a deep-seated mood of anger is stirring the ranks of every Negro community in the nation.

The political leadership of both old parties is trying desperately to sell the Negro people, including more than a million recently enfranchised Negro voters in the South, platforms that endorse states' rights and fail to spell out support for an enforceable FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, or an end to the evil of segregation in the armed forces and in every other aspect of American life.

The Negro people are determined to have an end to Jim Crow and all its attendant evils now. They are in no frame of mind to accept the weasle-worded concessions to Dixiecratism which make up the Democratic and Republican platforms - especially when they are combined with candidates - Stevenson, Eisenhower, Nixon and Sparkman - all of whom, by deed and word, have proven their stalwart opposition to federal action in the field of civil rights.

The politicians will try ever more desperately to sell, but Negroes are not ready to buy.

This is the attitude that was expressed in a mass meeting of 3,500 Negroes called by Rep. Adam Powell, Jr. in Harlem this past Sunday. Mr. Powell urged Negro voters to "sit on their hands" until such time as they are able to exact from the Democratic candidates a "personal platform" more acceptable than the party standard adopted in Chicago. He also announced that he will hold conferences with Stevenson and Sparkman to exact such pledges as will merit the support of the Negro people.

Whatever the results of Mr. Powell's conferences, there should be no mistaking the nature of the popular demand among Negroes. That demand is, not only for promises, but for performance now.

Ever since 1948 we have had our quota of unfulfilled promises. The need of the hour is for scores of meetings such as the recent one in Harlem, to be held in all centers of Negro population - Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Des Moines, Denver, Seattle , San Francisco and Los Angeles,

(more)

Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, Columbia and Richmond - meetings which will place before both parties the unmistakable demand for action now for FEPC.

What is to deter President Truman from issuing now an executive order for an FEPC with teeth, as Franklin D. Roosevelt did in 1941. Nothing but his lack of will to do so.

If the major party candidates are really in favor of equality in employment, why wait until 1953 for action? They should be called upon to press for a special session of the 82nd Congress, to meet before November for the single purpose of passing FEPC legislation. This would be an earnest of their intent.

If the President would, he could, with the stroke of a pen, wipe out segregation in the nation's capital. No new mandate from the people is needed for Democrats or Republicans to blot out this shameful condition.

In 1946 I led a delegation of Negro and white Americans which interviewed the President on behalf of civil rights legislation, only to be told by Mr. Truman that it was not expedient at that time to force anti-lynching legislation through the Congress.

Since that time it has become expedient for Democratic and Republican politicians to speak for civil rights laws, but not to act for them.

None of the candidates for the highest offices in this land take a forthright position for civil rights, and back it up with action, except the nominees of the Progressive Party - Vincent Hallinan, for president and the courageous, great Negro woman, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, for vice president.

While applauding Mr. Powell's initiative in calling for a rejection of the pledges to date of the two old parties, we must not "sit on our hands." We must demand now, not merely more elaborate promises, but prompt and effective action.

What's needed is an unprecedented unity based on an awareness that the political rulers of the nation have presented Negroes and all decent Americans with a challenge reminiscent of the compromise of 1876 which defeated Reconstruction. They have chosen an alliance with the Dixiecrat South and said to Negroes and the nation: "Your rights be damned. We are interested in war and conquest, not peace and equality."

They cannot maintain this position in face of the united action of millions of Negroes supported by millions more working people. In the conventions soon to be held, 4 million Baptists, one-half million Elks, and millions of others in various Negro organizations the banner of non-partisan

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unity should be raised to meet the challenge of the political rulers. We should strive to face the Administration and its Republican opponents with the united demand of six to ten million Negroes and their trustworthy allies for full and equal citizenship now in every aspect of our national life.

Whoever is elected President, Negroes want FEPC, voting rights and an end to "white supremacist" terror now. There's no reason, if we have the strength and vision to press for these goals unitedly and now, why we should have to wait until after election to get them.

PAUL ROBESON

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
July 30, 1953

53 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y.
ENright 9-3980

ROBESON APPLIES FOR PASSPORT TO PERFORM 'OTHELLO' IN LONDON

Late yesterday afternoon (July 29) Paul Robeson applied for his passport in order to fulfill the starring role of 'Othello' to be produced in London this fall by the Leslie Linder productions of that city. Since his last appearance abroad in the spring of 1950, Mr. Robeson has twice been denied a renewal of his passport by the State Department.

Leslie Linder, who at 28 is one of London's youngest producers, arranged details of the forthcoming production of 'Othello' with Mr. Robeson on the former's recent visit to New York. Upon his return to London, Linder requested a work permit for Mr. Robeson from the British Actors' Equity Association. The Actors' Equity Association, through its General Secretary, Gordon Sandison, replied:

> "It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearing in this country. Indeed the Council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his appearance in this country."

Mr. Robeson, who is currently preparing for a concert in the Peace Arch Park at the U.S.-Canadian border in the state of Washington on August 16, also announced that in addition to the 'Othello' offer he is negotiating several other engagements abroad. After the August 16 Peace Arch Park concert, which last year was attended by a Canadian and American audience of close to 40 thousand, Mr. Robeson will return to New York to make preparations for his trip abroad.

53 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y.
September 27, 1953

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PAUL ROBESON RECEIVES INTERNATIONAL STALIN PEACE PRIZE IN N.Y. CEREMONY. HOWARD FAST AND DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS PAY TRIBUTE TO SINGER'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE.

NEW YORK - Paul Robeson, internationally famous singer and actor, was presented with the International Stalin Prize for Strengthening Peace at a ceremony attended by 300 guests at Harlem's Hotel Theresa on Wednesday, September 23. In presenting the award to Mr. Robeson, Howard Fast, the outstanding novelist, stated:

"It is no accident that almost all the world regards Paul Robeson as one of the grandest and bravest sons of the United States of America. He exemplifies what is best in our land. He went into this holy conflict for peace of mankind without reservation. He has consecrated his life, his career, his heart and indeed his whole future, to the cause of the peace and the welfare of humanity. He has joined the mighty and noble struggle of his own people for their freedom, with the struggle of all mankind for mankind's freedom. Through this struggle he has loomed up out of a sea of hatred and hypocricy, out of cold terror and hot repression, out of the lies and the deceptions, like some mighty giant."

Mr. Fast was introduced by the renowned scholar, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois who described the origin and international character of the award and listed the members of the awards committee and the recipients for the past three years. Referring to Robeson, Dr. DuBois said:

"...He is without doubt today, as a person, the best known American on earth, to the largest number of human beings. His voice is known in Europe, Asia and Africa, in the West Indies and South America and in the islands of the seas. Children on the streets of Peking and Moscow, Calcutta and Jakartha greet him and send him their love. Only in his native land is he without honor and rights."

Mr. Robeson accepted the peace diploma and gold medal "in the name of the American fighters for peace" and declared: "Today, the fight for peace, for the living together of many peoples, for the co-existence of many ways of life, demands more and more of every section of humanity, but especially do these demands broaden and deepen in this America."

Declaring himself "humble and proud" at the occasion, he stated: "There must be and there are, ways to make the American people understand that the world has changed; that it cannot be set back; that the changes springing from the great revolution of 1917 are as real and as continuous as those of other times - of 1775, of 1789, of 1860 and from 1943 on.

Following is the full text of the remarks of Dr. DuBois.

THE STALIN PEACE PRIZES

At the celebration of Joseph Stalin's 70th Birthday, December 21, 1949, the International Stalin Prizes for Strengthening Peace were instituted. The Decree of the Supreme Soviet said:

"The prizes are awarded to citizens of any country in the world, irrespective of their political, religious or race distinctions, for outstanding services in the struggle against the warmongers and for the strengthening of peace. Persons awarded a prize shall receive:

(a) A Diploma
(b) A Gold Medal Bearing the Image of Stalin
(c) A money prize of 100,000 rubles. This will be paid in the currency of the country where the recipients live. (The cash value of the prize in American money according to present official rate is $25,000.)

"A Committee from among representatives of the democratic forces of various countries of the world shall be chosen to name annually five to ten prizes.

"The award is to be made each year on the birthday of Joseph Stalin -- December 21, beginning in 1950."

-- more

The Committee of Awards was as follows:

Chairman of the Committee: Dimitri Skobeltsyn, Professor in Moscow State University.

Vice-Chairman: Kuo-Mo-Jo, of the All-China Association of Workers in Literature and the Arts (China)

Louis Aragon, Author (France)

Members of the Committee: Martin Anderson Nexo (Denmark; John D. Bernal (Great Britain); Jan Dembrowski (Poland); Bernhard Kellerman (Germany); Concetto Marchesi (Italy); Pablo Neruda (Chile); Mikhail Sadoveanu (Rumania); Alexander Fadeyev, General Secretary, Union of Soviet Writers; Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet writer.

The Awards for 1950 were as follows:

1. Frederic Joliot-Curie, Professor of the College de France
2. Soong Ching-ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), President of the Chinese People's Relief Administration
3. Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury (Britain)
4. Eugenie Cotton, Honorary Director of the Higher Normal School in Sevres (France)
5. Arthur Moulton, former Protestant Bishop (United States)
6. Pak Den Ai, President of the Democratic Women's Union of Korea
7. Heriberto Jara, Ex-Minister (Mexico)

Presentation of the prizes to the above were all made in Moscow except in the case of Bishop Moulton, who refused to accept the prize.

The prizes for 1951 were:

1. Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences
2. Pietro Nenni, Member of Parliament (Italy)
3. Ikuo Oyama, Member of Parliament (Japan)
4. Monica Felton, social worker (Great Britain)
5. Anna Seghers, writer, (Germany)
6. Jorge Amado, writer (Brazil)

The prizes for 1952 were:

1. Yves Farge, of France, who led the French National Peace Council since its inception.
2. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew of India, Chairman of the All-India Peace Council.
3. Elisa Branco, prominent member of the Brazilian Women's Federation.
4. Paul Robeson, the celebrated American singer.
5. Johannes Becher, leading German poet and public figure.
6. The Rev. James Endicott of Canada, a fighter for peace and international cooperation. In his book, "I Accuse" he exposed the employment of the germ weapon by the "UN Forces" in Korea.
7. Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet author and vice-chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee.

All of them received their awards in Moscow, with the exception of Paul Robeson, who was denied a passport by the United States State Department.

From these facts I think this audience will easily understand how great an honor has thus come to America, to the Negro race and to Paul Robeson. He is thus placed among the great men of the world and recognized as a prime mover in the greatest cause of our day, PEACE. He is without doubt today, as a person, the best known American on earth, to the largest number of human beings. His voice is known in Europe, Asia and Africa, in the West Indies and South America and in the islands of the seas. Children on the streets of Peking and Moscow, Calcutta and Jakartha greet him and send him their love. Only in his native land is he without honor and rights.

Of Paul Robeson himself, I need add no word to this audience. He fought his way up from a large Methodist minister's family in New Jersey, through high school and college; of which the world heard only his prowess on the football field. He studied law and facing practice, turned to art--to the music of his fathers and the drama of life. He sang his way around the world and all over the Americ the Americas until one day in Paris he dared tell the Black World never to fight the one nation which had legally abolished the color line. Here White America found the excuse it was searching for. It hastened to slander and imprison from the world this Great American Negro.

Song on his lips he came;
Song on his lips he went; -
This be the token we bear of him, -
Soldier of discontent !

Mr. Robeson receives the Stalin Peace Prize tonight at the hands of Howard Fast, especially designatedfor this duty by the Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Awarding Committee.

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL CONVENTION
DECEMBER 4 - 5 - 6, 1953

ADDRESS OF PAUL ROBESON

It is a great privilege to be meeting with you once again in this - for the Negro Labor Council - historic city. Here we first gathered and declared to this nation and to the world - for news travels fast these days - that the Negro trade unionists, united and militant, joined with and by their staunch white brothers and sisters of the whole labor movement, were determined to help in the advance of the struggle of the entire American people to a new level; and particularly within that struggle to set out boldly on the path of the full liberation of the Negro people from whom we spring.

We had come to these decisions because the Negro people themselves were moving - I said moving, man - tired of being double-talked, tired of being denied the full fruits of their labors, denied the first class citizenship for which millions of our forbears had struggled and died.

Nowhere in the United States has the fight for decent jobs, for higher wage levels, for workers' welfare, for upgrading, for the full dignity of the Negro trade unionists, leader and rank-and-filer, been sharper. In no city has the fight of the Negro people for the right to live where they want to, to be rid of the slums and the ghettoes, been more fierce. It seems to be just one more bomb after another. But heroes spring up from all sides, crying out bravely, "Here we stay"-- and stay they do and will remain "to see what the end will be."

Some Americans have already worked out a blueprint for what the end will be. McCarthy, Jenner, Velde, Byrnes, Talmadge, Shivers, see in the end a world of rotting corpses on foreign battle fields, of darker peoples licking the boots of a new, American "master race," of European, Asian and Latin American nations bowing down before the power of the Yankee dollar, of Africa prostrate at their feet.

They see fabulous riches for the few while the mass of American workers, black and white, yellow and brown, live on the very edge of survival. They contend that "what's good for General Motors is good for America."

They see millions of American workers at the very bottom - Negro workers, poor white workers on the iron ore ranges, in the mines, in the California fruit fields, together with great sections of our Mexican, Phillipine and Puerto Rican-Americans brothers and sisters.

Well, I think I know the temper of the delegates to this convention well enough to know that we say: "That dream of yours is out-dated, gentlemen. This is the TWENTIETH century. You've put your money on the wrong horse. You're living in the wrong century. The dream that's about to be realized is not yours, but humanity's - humanity's dream of a world of brotherhood, of equality, of plenty for ALL of the working masses of this land, of colonial liberation, of full freedom for the Negro people of these United States, of eternal and everlasting peace!

Did I say peace? Yes, peace! The end of war, the elimination of armament races, the abolition of atomic weapons, the dedication of the sacred energy of humanity to construction and culture, rather than devastation and blood-letting.

And here at home we, the Negro people, must also be partisans of peace. For what have we to gain from war? Nothing - nothing, that is but more Jim Crow regiments, more high cost of living, more hatred of colored peoples and master-race theories, more dictation by Dixiecrat generals and admirals, more prejudice and repression.

For 90 years since Emancipation our people have been playing "catch-up" in American life. We have been battling for equality in education, health, housing and jobs. We have been struggling to reach a plane of identical treatment with all other Americans.

And now, today, 90 years later - despite all the croaking about the great progress we're making - any Negro who's not looking for a second-string job on Eisenhower's "team" will tell you we've still got a long way to go.

How are we going to get there?

Will shooting down Chinese help us get our freedom? Will dropping some bombs on Viet-manese patriots who want to be free of French domination help American Negroes reach a plane of equality with their white fellowcitizens, and, most important, will a war in support of Malan in South Africa, or the British exploiters in Kenya, or the French in Tunisia place black Americans on the same footing with whites?

To ask the question is to answer it. No! For Negroes to take arms against the New China or against the subject, colonial peoples of Asia and Africa will not advance our cause - it will befoul and degrade us in the eyes of the freedom-striving masses of the colonial world and set back our struggle for equality.

No one has yet explained to my satisfaction what business a black lad from a Mississippi or Georgia share-cropping farm has in Asia shooting down the yellow or brown son of an impoverished rice-farmer.

Mr. Eisenhower or Senator McCarthy would have us believe that this is necessary to "save" the so-called "free world" from "communism." But the man who keeps that Negro sharecropper from earning more than a few hundred dollars a year is not a Communist - it's the landlord. And the man who prevents his som from attending school with white children is not a Communist - it's governor Talmadge or governor Byrnes of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations.

I believe, and I urge upon this convention the belief, that any Negro who carries his brains around with him and has not yet been bought and paid for must agree that it is time for 15 million colored Americans to disassociate themselves from a foreign policy which is based on brandishing the atom bomb, setting up hundreds of air bases all over the world, and threatening colored peoples with death and destruction unless they humbly recognize the inalienable right of Anglo-Saxen Americans to sit on top of the world.

Negroes, as I said, are still playing "catch-up." And with the kind of war that the atom-happy U.S. diplomats are planning we won't be catching up - we'll just be "catching," and relinquishing any hope for liberation and freedom.

I say that, even though Eisenhower is meeting at this very moment with Churchill in Bermuda, we will not, and must not support the British overlords in Kenya - we will fight to free Kenyatta! I say, even though Laniel of France is right there with Eisenhower and Churchill, we must not approve the squandering of billions of American taxpayers' money on the "dirty war" in Indo-China - we must insist that the French rule in France and leave the Viet-namese to govern themselves. And I trust that this convention will record that it is against the interests of Negro workers, the entire Negro people, and the nation as a whole to pursue one step further the suicidal, blustering, threatening, war-minded foreign policy which is the hallmark of this Administration. What Negroes need, and all America needs, is PEACE.

Just join me for a moment in taking a look at what kind of country this could be if peace reigned in the world. What could we do with the forty-to-fifty billion dollars of your money and mine which an arrogant government now spends to build up a war machine here at home and all over the world?

How many counties are there in the South with large Negro peoulations but not a hospital which Negroes can enter? How many thousands of our people have had their life's blood drip away, like Julia Dericotte (whom I knew) and Bessie Smith, one of our great artists, because the county hospital would not take them in? Could not some of these billions be used to build hundreds of hospitals and clinics in rural and city areas, South and North, for Negro and white Americans who now lack adequate medical facilities?

Let's talk about schools for a moment. How many millions - no billions - are really needed to eliminate segregation in education, or to push the level of Southern education up to the inadequate achievement of the North? The money that's not spent for a single H-bomb plant could do this if we really had peace.

Or take housing. Have we eliminated the unpainted rural shacks with the rain pouring inside; the urban tenements and shanties with inadequate plumbing or no plumbing at all, the rat-infested slums in the major cities of the country? Nobody who has traveled through the South or taken a look at the fire-traps here on Chicago's Southside would say that we have. But can we replace these horrible excuses for human habitation with comfortable, sturdy homes for all the American people and at the same time spend billions on war? No, obviously not. If Americans workers, Negro and white, are going to have decent homes to live in then we must have peace.

Yes, peace and vast programs of peace-time construction - hospitals, schools, homes, roads, community centers, bridges and dams - would mean jobs - jobs in the tens of thousands and millions for workers who are now beginning to feel the brunt of layoffs in the electrical trades, in the auto industry, in textile, steel and packing - and you can just keep filling in the others.

Every consideration of the interests of the Negro people, every concern for their security, their fight for equality, their dignity, demands that this convention and every gathering of Negro Americans declare that we must have peace, not war! Let Mr. George Schuyler marry Joe McCarthy if he wants to - we beg to be excused from the ceremony. Let the decrepid Max Yergan lounge around in illusions of 19th century imperialist omnipotence, if he will - we have other ideas. We are convinced by everything that has happened in this nation and abroad that the path to Negro freedom lies in firm conjunction with the giant strides which humanity is taking in all other countries of the world, barring none, towards enforcing the peace and silencing the warmakers.

Now, if you preach this doctrine that I've been advancing tonight - of peace, friendship and brotherhood among the world's peoples - you may still run into a little trouble in the United States. That old devil McCarthy may set out to get you!

But a lot of Americans are waking up to the fact that to be the victim of an attack by McCarthyites may not be fatal.

In fact, the only thing fatal for the American people would be the failure to fight the McCarthite madness. For McCarthyism means destruction of the constitutional rights of free speech and free press and free religion. It means the prohibition of free assemblies such as this one. It means the burning of books which proclaim the scientific truth that all men are created equal. It means the reign of fear, intimidation and terror.

The Negro people, and the masses of American people, have had many obstacles in the climb toward democracy. They overcame the Alien and Sedition Laws of the post-Revolutionary era; they stamped out slavery, they turned back the "Bolshevik" scare after World War I. I have no doubt that they will beat back McCarthyism and restore our traditional liberties. But to do this we must reject the Big Lie on which McCarthyism thrives. The big lie is the fairy tale that the American people are somehow threatened by "communism."

If we subscribe to this falsehood then any militant leader of labor or the Negro people's struggles may be in jail tomorrow. If we concede that the ex-city councilman of New York, the ex-lawyer from Atlanta, Ben Davis, belongs in a Terre Haute Jim Crow jail, then we concede McCarthy's right and Brownell's right to jail you and me and Harry Truman, and to dig up Franklin D. Roosevelt and put him in jail too!

The defense of Davis and his colleagues, the demand for their immediate amnesty, is the very foundation of any claim we have to basic civil liberties. Certainly we of the Negro people, bombed and lynched and falsely jailed for decades can understand this.

Talk about potential allies in this struggle on the McCarthy issue - brother, we'll have plenty. Truman's on the hot seat. Morgenthau, Mrs. Roosevelt, and 20 million-odd Democrats and plenty of Republicans - no matter how hard they try to look the other way, we can move out to them and tell them, "Man you'd better stay with me - we're in the same boat, brother."

We must counterpose to the Big Lie the Big Truth of our times - that any kind of general war will destroy all the peoples of the world, that different social systems must live together in peaceful cooperation and competition, that the American people will not be abreast of the rest of the world until we choose a government really dedicated to the needs and welfare of the working people, the poor farmers, the Negro millions and all the oppressed of this land.

If we are to do our job, we must move among the great rank and file of all workers, and among the masses in our several communities; and for us particularly of the Negro Labor Council, we must move among the stirring masses of the Negro people. Our strength, courage andprogram is for them an urgent and dire necessity.

Yes, our strength and courage and vision must broaden and deepen within the very innards of the magnificent body politic of our great people. Instances spring to mind. The Packinghouse's fight on discrimination is no accident. It represents a deepened understanding of the needs of our people, of many of our most mature trade unionists, men and women of every group in that union sensing way down in their hearts the meaning of this struggle and sure in the knowledge that the Negro stands on the threshhold of gaining his long-sought freedom.

Another example, I was reading in this week's "Courier" an article about Asbury Howard of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, an article written with dignified respect for a great event - his election to the vice-presidency of this great international union. Great credit is due to this union and its fine leaders and rank and file, and great credit is due to the Negro people. For in them is Asbury Howard rooted.

Read his story. Yes, rooted in Bessemer, Alabama, near Birmingham, couldn't get rooted deeper in that Southland. Rooted in his Negro community; fraternal leader, church leader, NAACP leader, labor leader, and a proud leader of the Negro Labor Council. So he brings to his union the tremendous strength and powerful potential of the whole Negro people. The Union was conscious of Howard's strength among his people, as well as in the union. The two came together in a magnificent unity, at a new level. Because of this dual strength - within his union and within the struggle for Negro liberation - Howard, according to the report, was able to bring great strength to his colleagues, Maurice Travis, Clark and others. This is moving into the realm of united strength of all Americans of all colors, of all different origins, giving some measure of full human dignity to one's brother and sister, in this instance a Negro brother.

We must all learn to function in our communities, to win the communities to our side. Here in Chicago, Negro Americans, Irish Americans, Polish-Czech-Americans - we progressives must fight for unity and common struggle. We must convince our different groups of the need for unity between white and black and brown and yellow. White groups must convince white communities that struggle for Negro liberation is their struggle. We of Negro America must convince our Negro brothers and sisters of the overwhelming need for unity with honest, tried and true friends of the Negro people.

In other spheres of American life - middle class, professionals, social agencies - in the joint efforts of the NAACP and B'nai Brith, for example, we must also see the possibilities of progress. Did you see the television program emanating from Washington, D.C. the other night? The B'nai Brith, an organization of the Jewish people - hopefully, I suppose, honoring President Eisenhower with a plaque for his efforts in behalf of minorities - got to the real business of the evening by devoting most of an hour's program to the question of civil rights for the Negro people.

And most importantly the program was a magnificent one in cultural form. A Script by Rodgers and Hammerstein, leaders in the musical comedy field, with actors like Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer, Lucille Ball of "I Love Lucy", William Warfield, the great baritone; Ethel Merman, Jackie Robinson, and others - all around the basic issue of full citizenship for the Negro people.

So clearly here in this militant section of our democratic struggle there is no need to stress the growing importance of Negro freedom to the whole question of the sincerity and truth of American democracy. Certainly we didn't create this concept, this historic fact. What created it? Three hundred years of slavery, a civil war, the movement of colonial peoples, white, brown, yellow and black, all over this earth, the earth-shaking events of 1917 in the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics, the events in the growing Peoples Democracies, in China, in India, in Africa, in the West Indies, particularly British Guiana, in Latin-America - from Mexico south - in our own South, here in Chicago.

Yes, freedom must and will raise its head. And one of the most important, long overdue historic necessities in our great land in this 1953 is freedom, full freedom for my people. Yes, unsegregated schools in the South and everywhere, the right to office in this land, the right to the most beautiful homes, the right to full business opportunities, the right to full cultural opportunity and growth, the right to travel anywhere, the right to speak our mind out, the right to the status and dignity of full citizenship.

We have valiant brothers and sisters who stand with us, who everyday as we have to battle courageously for their rights and privileges. For all American labor also stands under the whiplash of our common enemy. But a Maurice Travis, an Ernest DeMaio, a Jimmy Pinta stand firm. A Ben Gold hurls the enemy staggering back, yes, the National Labor Relations Board, itself.

An outstanding example of deepest unified struggle is reflected in the pictures in the press today showing black and white, Hawaiian, Mexican, Phillipine-Americans standing firm on the San Francisco docks, many of them heroes of historic struggles. So Harry Bridges and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union stand locked in a bitter fight with Jim Crow Lundberg and his Jim Crow union around basic labor issues, around basic rights of Negro men and women to sail ships. And the very heart of this struggle is the Union's Local 10 with 1,800 Negro members, a real force for progress.

Velde and his committee, strangely, arrived at the very moment of Lundberg's provocation with stool pigeons, white and colored, to attack this fine union. If ever there was an issue involving the right of our folks to work, and yes, to live, it's this. I know we will support this struggle to the full. I am a life member of ILWU and stand ready to fly to that picket line, in the line of trade union duty.

So American labor, with us of the Negro Labor Council a very important segment, have the opportunity to play a great role in this century's historic growth, in this historic realization of the full potential and richness of a great people - a people, builders of this land; givers to this land of a great part of its culture; continuing contributors to its material, cultural and spiritual growth.

Let us set about fulfilling our historic tasks. No, not alone, not just alone with the Negro people, but with all sections of the American people - indeed, with the similarly heavy-burdened Jewish people, with the language groups from every section of Europe, East and West, with the descendants of Asian-born forbears, with our brother and sister Americans stemming from the great cultures of the Mayas and the Aztecs of Mexico (Saludos, amigos caridos!) with the Phillipine-American and Puerto

Rican-Americans - indeed, as the Ballad for Americans says, with Irish, Negro, Jewish, Italian, French and English, Spanish, Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Finnish, Canadian, Greek and Turk and Czech and double-Czech Americans!

It has been some time since I have been able to visit my friends in other parts of the world as I used to. The State Department has declared that it's best to keep me at home, you know. But I intend to be going soon again. I have invitations to do Othello in London and to sing and act in many parts of the world.

I am bringing a suit in the Federal Courts to test the right of a few arrogant bureaucrats in Washington to decide to keep an American under virtual house arrest. I am confident that you will be with me in this fight which will continue until the whole constitutional issue is settled.

I am confident that you will be with me in the building of the publication FREEDOM, a voice of the Negro people, and especially of the Negro workers, crying out for peace, democracy and equal job rights. A special issue of FREEDOM dealing with the struggle in Africa is available in the lobby of this convention and I hope every delegate will read FREEDOM and subscribe to it and get friends in the shop and neighborhood to do the same.

The Council on African Affairs, of which I am proud to share the leadership with that great American, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, faces hearings before the mis-named Internal Security Committee under the McCarran Act. It is being persecuted because it fights to arouse Americans to an understanding of their stake in African freedom. It deserves, and I am sure will receive, your support in its fight against this persecution.

I am confident, and I am happy. Confident that we shall win peace and abolish war in our times. Happy that under the sterling leadership of the officers of this Council, the Negro workers are playing a bigger and bigger part in the battle for full and equal citizenship. It has been a long time. But that fact that you are meeting, and that you will not be turned back, means that it will not be as long as it has been.

You are the future. I salute you.

The End

FOR ALL PUBLICATIONS
IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MARCH 3, 1954

139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.
MO 6-8700

STATEMENT BY PAUL ROBESON

Though I recognize the difficulty which truth has in overtaking the lies which abound in the public press these days, I feel I must address myself to a few of the irresponsible, fantastic and absurd items which have appeared recently concerning my work, my outlook and my family. It would not be a matter of major concern that one slanderous fiction, manufactured out of whole cloth, was spread by a guttersniping gossip columnist of the Hearst press; the American people have learned to expect, and discount, the trash which spills forth from this most anti-democratic, anti-Negro flank of American journalism.

But when Negro picture-magazines pick up the slander and elaborate others, and when at least one of our respected weekly newspapers joins the game, the implications regarding the ethical standards and journalistic practices of the Negro press require that the record be set straight.

I happen to be working on a book which will answer many of the questions asked me from time to time. For the moment these few paragraphs will suffice.

My views should be well known. When, years ago, I came to understand that the advances of the few of us, while fine, cannot in the name of "great progress" be used as a catch-all to justify the oppression of the millions of our people in this and in other lands, I gave up my career as such to enter the struggle for freedom at another level. Since then I have fought uncompromisingly for the full citizenship of my people - for full justice to the working people and the long-suffering sharecroppers, white and colored - for the intellectual and cultural freedom of the scientists, scholars and artists of our precious but beleagured land. And to help attain these goals, I fight for peace and friendship among the nations of the earth.

In all these struggles my activities have been varied: singing concerts to help the needy and struggling descendants of my forbears in Africa, joining picket lines against segregation, singing in the South to non-segregated audiences, speaking out in the near and deep South - Richmond, Norfolk, Charlotte, Birmingham, Atlanta, Mobile, Memphis, New Orleans, Dallas - for the full freedom of my people. I have been on picket lines for auto workers in Detroit in their trying days, on dangerous picket lines on the Mesabi iron ore range for the steel workers, and in the full tide of the trade union struggles in the maritime, longshore, packing, electrical, farm-equipment, fur, smelting and tobacco industries.

Finally, surrounded by some of the bravest men, women and children in our land, white and black and brown, I have stood guard against American fascism in Peoria, Ill., Albany and Peekskill, New York.

All these activities, both here and throughout the world, have been done in full view, for all to see and to hear. I have shouted and shall continue to shout at the top of my voice for liberation, full emancipation - yes by 1963 (a full hundred years after the blood-stained promise) but before 1963, *now*, if possible.

As for my political faith, all peoples have within their ranks differences of opinion, Certainly among no people is this clearer than among the colored folk of these United States. We had Denmark Vesey, a martyr to our cause, We also had his opposite, the handkerchief-head who handed him over to the "massa."

-more-

Our history, however, has been for the most part, one of magnificent and militant struggle. The pages are full with names like Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Bishop Logan, Frederick Douglass, Richard Allen - and close to our own time the great W. E. B. DuBois and the valiant Mary Church Terrell.

Always we have had differences of approach, of tactics, yes, of belief. So, today, our problems are complex. We live in a complex society. We are Progressives, Republicans and Democrats. Is it surprising to see that there are those of us who refuse to compromise with trickery and double talk and become Progressives and, yes, radicals? Anything wrong with some radicals among a people who have suffered slavery for 300 years, who have been the primary source, in human bodies, in human toil, of much of the great wealth of this land - and who still live in poverty and in unspeakable ghettoes. A few outstanding figures, posed against the suffering many, can't be the whole answer. This would be a strange kind of progress indeed.

Now I have been privileged to see and to know many fine, sincere, great-hearted radicals. Today some are being persecuted and sent to prison, others harried to their deaths by the enemies of the Negro people and of the ordinary working folk of this land. They have long supported and identified themselves with the struggles of all laboring peoples, of every group - of the Jewish-American, Italian, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Hungarian, and all Americans in their hard fight for decent wages, decent homes, full education for their children, and against the McCarthys and the McCarrans - for full status in this land of ours and theirs.

Of decisive importance in these struggles have been the unceasing labors, sacrifices and devotion of many working class leaders - Negro Communists such as Benjamin Davis, Claudia Jones, Pettis Perry, Henry Winston and James Jackson. Their civil rights and liberties measure the liberties of all Americans. This is glaringly evident in these days of arrogant McCarthyism when any opposition to the status quo is regarded as "communism" by the powers that be.

In the pages of many journals, domestic and international, is reflected my deep desire for peace, not war, for abundance, not poverty, in the world. I have travelled in many lands, seen and known many peoples. They are like the most of us.

They want their children to live without fear, in friendship, with cultural exchange and mutually profitable trade - and enduring peace. My experience, not my reliance on biased newspaper accounts, tells me that this is particularly true of the new lands of socialism - the Union of Soviet Republics, the New China and the new People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. We can and must live in peace with these peoples. We must respect them as they respect us. Personally I have for them a profound respect and affection.

Finally, born and raised in this land, my roots go deep. My father, my mother - my father's folk in North Carolina, my mother's folk in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and all my hard-working brothers and sisters as a whole, all over this land - have poured a lot of their blood and toil into this rich American earth; and, brothers and sisters, some part of it belongs to me, whatever I believe, and whoever my friends, domestic and international, happen to be.

I know of no force on this earth that can make me retreat one-thousandth part of one inch from my firm, well-considered, repeatedly declared and fully openly-lived beliefs.

As one of the great songs of my people says: "...I never will turn back - I will go - I shall go - to see what the end will be."

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139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
May 4, 1954

Editor
The News
220 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Enclosed herewith is a statement issued by Mr. Paul Robeson in reply to the slander that he is "changing his views." We hope that you will print it or excerpts from it.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

Also sent to:
N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun
N. Y. Times
N. Y. Post
N. Y. Journal-American
N. Y. Herald Tribune

For Immediate Release
All Papers

May 3, 1954
New York N.Y.
139 W. 125 Street

STATEMENT BY PAUL ROBESON

center

"Various newspaper columnists, radio commentators and magazines are now spreading the fantastic slander that Paul Robeson is 'changing his views.' Well, liars will continue to lie, and it's a sad but true fact that nowadays American manufacturers lead the world in the production and distribution of every variety of falsehood--including, as we have just seen in Washington, 'doctored' photographs.

"But let me say this for the record:

"The very essence of my life and work is loyalty to my convictions. I am, as I have been for many years, firmly and fully devoted to the struggle for peace and democracy throughout the world, for Negro liberation and colonial freedom, for friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, new China, and the people's democracies of Europe. The interests of the working ~~masses~~ people of every land are my guiding principle, and I know of no force that can make me change.

"As for those who are telling the public that I have changed my mind, I might ask: 'How stupid can you get?' Is the struggle for peace less meaningful today when Dulles threatens momentarily to throw the H-bomb--and bring retaliation in kind upon our own heads?

Is it thinkable that Paul Robeson, winner of the International Stalin Peace Prize, would ever cease for a moment in his efforts in the sacred cause of peace?

"~~Is Paul Robeson~~ Am I, one of the three men awarded the title of 'Champion of African Freedom' in 1950, expected to ~~cheer~~ ignore in 1954 the continuing massacre of ~~his~~ my brothers in Kenya? And here in America--is Jim Crow dead and buried? Has Congress passed the anti-lynching law or F.E.P.C.? Has my people's demand for economic, political and social equality been granted? If not, why should Paul Robeson, who has dedicated his life to the struggle for these goals, change his mind about them now?

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"The fact is, every day brings new proof that the great ~~[illegible]~~ cause of peace and liberation, in which I am inseparably united with the vast majority of mankind, is invincible. The doom of imperialism has been sounded in all of Asia, and soon ~~[illegible] be long before~~ Africa and the other colonial lands now straining against their chains, will rise in mighty freedom.

"And here at home, it's beginning to look as if those who want to 'go it alone' into a new world war ~~against the [illegible] insistence on peace~~ can't count on having the American people go with them--and everybody else has already said no.

"Change my mind? Gentlemen of the press, you'd better change yours, because what I believe in--is happening! "

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
All Papers

139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
May 3, 1954

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Planning Committee for a
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 13, 1954

SRP AUDIENCE DEFIES LEGION TO CHEER ROBESON AT UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Last Saturday night, May 8th, the student body of the University of Chicago jammed Mandel Hall on the campus for a concert by the world-renowned artist Paul Robeson and his noted accompanist, Alan Booth. A turn-away crowd of another thousand stayed long enough to give evidence of their enthusiasm for the beloved Negro artist before the concert began.

The Planning Committee for the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson to be held the evening of May 26th at the Rennaisance Casino here in this city considers the events surrounding the Chicago concert part of a significant trend throughout the nation. A spokesman for the Committee expressed the opinion that if this trend continues growing in the next few months it will force the State Department to reverse its decision to revoke Paul Robeson's passport.

The size of the Chicago crowd was evidence that the campaign of intimidation begun weeks before the affair had not had its desired effect. Shortly after Paul Robeson was invited to perform on the campus by the Student Representative Party of the University, the American Legion issued a protest. The SOUTHTOWN ECONOMIST, largest circulation community newspaper in the city, carried the Legion protest as its lead story with huge headlines in its May 5th issue. The paper reported that "Officials of the Anti-Subversive Committee of the Cook County Council of the American Legion have made a formal demand upon Chancellor Lawrence Kimpton of the University of Chicago to cancel a recital ...by Paul Robeson, classified by government agencies as being a 'Communist'".

The Student Representative Party stood firm and refused to back down on their invitation to the noted singer. The feeling of the student body on this issue was expressed even before the concert when an election took place on campus April 30th to the National Student Association. The Student Representative Party, sponsors of the Robeson appearance, won 13 out of the 20 contested offices.

In a statement concerning the issues around the concert May 8th, the Student Representative Party had this to say: "It is important that students make the opportunity to hear Mr. Robeson; first, because many have never had a chance to hear him, and second, because by doing so we refuse to accede to a policy of suppressing those whose views are controversial." The statement also congratulated the officials of the University for sticking to the tradition of academic freedom.

In this atmosphere of a resurgent spirit of campus freedom, Paul Robeson sang both the classics and the freedom songs of the people. The response of the audience attested to their awareness of the greatness both of the artist and the occasion.

The Planning Committee for the May 26th Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson reports that the sale of tickets and the eagerness of so many artists to appear with and in tribute to Paul Robeson at the Renaisance Casino the night of May 26th is proof that, as the spokesman put it, "new winds of freedom are blowing".

# # #

July 7, 1954
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL
ROBESON'S PASSPORT
139 W. 125 St., Suite 6 - MO 6-8700
New York 27, N. Y.

PAUL ROBESON FILES NEW APPLICATION FOR PASSPORT

Renewing his efforts to obtain a passport, Paul Robeson, noted singer and actor, informed the U. S. State Department last week of his desire to leave the country next September in order to make concert and stage appearances in Great Britain and Israel.

In a letter accompanying his new application sent to the Passport Division, which for four years has barred him from foreign travel, Mr. Robeson presented photostatic copies of several contract offers he recently received from abroad.

Included was a bid for him to play the title role in a new London production of Othello, and a statement by the British Actors Equity Association unanimously approving the offer and expressing "satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part in which he has previously made so striking an appearance."

Another English offer cited was for a concert tour of the country under the sponsorship of the Workers Music Association, with supporting personal invitations from a distinguished group of British musicians and composers, including Vaughn Williams and Benjamin Britten.

Also listed was an invitation for a concert tour of Israel sent to the singer by Adam Holender, leading Tel Aviv impressario.

In his letter, Robeson pointed to the fact that in the U. S. his opportunities for performing in opera, drama, motion pictures, concert halls, radio and TV are severely limited. "I am one of the many American artists," he declared, "who have been thus blacklisted for political non-conformity."

"Consequently," he wrote, "the invitation to sing and act abroad is welcomed by me with heightened enthusiasm in that it affords me the only opportunity to practice my profession in conventional entertainment media before large audiences.

"The value of this opportunity lies in the fulfillment of my artistic efforts and in permitting me to earn a livelihood in my profession."

The complete text of Robeson's letter follows:

Department of State
Passport Division
Washington, D. C.

July 2, 1954

Gentlemen:

This letter is intended to accompany my application for a passport. It is submitted in compliance with Item No. 3 of printed instructions issued by you and entitled "Essential Requirements to Obtain a Passport". That item calls for a letter "stating where, when, why and length of stay abroad". I hereby furnish the information requested:

1. I intend to visit the British Isles and Israel. I may also visit such areas of continental Europe, particularly France and the Scandinavian countries, as may invite me to sing or perform during my stay abroad.

2. I propose to leave in or about September, 1954.

3. My purpose in traveling is to practice my profession as a singer and actor. More particularly:

    (a) I have been invited by Leslie Linder Productions to play the title role in a production of Othello. British Actors' Equity Association has unanimously approved my appearance and performance in England. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the offer of Leslie Linder Productions. Also annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the approval of British Actor's Equity Association. I call specific attention to the following language of the letter of the British Actors Equity Association:

> "It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearing in this country. Indeed the Council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his presence in this country."

(b) I have been invited by Workers' Music Association Ltd. to make a concert tour of England under its auspices. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the offer, supported by a personal invitation from the vice-presidents and another from R. Vaughn Williams, the renowned dean of contemporary British music. The vice-presidents who signed the invitation are:

Geoffrey Corbett
Phil Cardew
Inglis Gundry
Arnold Goldsbrough
Bernard Stevens
Rutland Boughton
Edward J. Dent
Elizabeth Maconchy
Benjamin Britten
Joseph Lewis
Alan Rawsthorne
Arthur Benjamin

I call your specific attention to the following language of the vice-presidents' invitation:

> "We cordially support this invitation and, as representative British professional musicians, assure you that such a visit would undoubtedly be greatly appreciated by thousands of music-lovers here."

(c) I have been invited by Adam Holender, Impresario of the Agence Internationale de Concerts, Theatre de Variete of Tel Aviv, Israel, to make a concert tour of Israel. It is my understanding that Mr. Holender has made arrangements for me to sing in various concert halls in Israel. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of a proposed contract tendered to me by Mr. Holender. It is my intention to enter into a contract to sing in Israel upon satisfactory terms to be arranged.

(d) I have received many expressions of interest in my singing or performing in other lands. It is probable that when I travel to England to fill my engagement there, arrangements may be made for me to sing and perform in other European countries, notably France and Scandinavia.

4. I expect to stay abroad for about six months.

* * *

I am a singer and actor by profession and I have achieved recognition in many foreign countries as well as in the United States. However, my opportunities for performing in the ordinary channels of entertainment in this country have been severely limited, in that opera, drama, motion pictures, the larger concert halls, radio and television have unfortunately been closed to me here. I am one of many American artists who have been thus blacklisted for political non-conformity.

Consequently the invitation to sing and act abroad is welcomed by me with heightened enthusiasm in that it affords me the only opportunity to practice my profession in conventional entertainment media before large audiences. The value of this opportunity lies in the fulfillment of my artistic efforts and in permitting me to earn a livelihood in my profession. If I should be unable to accept the present invitations to perform abroad, I should be without any corresponding opportunity to employ my talents for compensation at home.

Accordingly, I request your speedy and favorable consideration of the within application.

Very truly yours,

(signed) Paul Robeson

From: 139 West 125th St., Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.
July 28, 1954

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PAUL ROBESON EXTOLS MARY CHURCH TERRELL

Paul Robeson, unable to attend the funeral of Mrs. Mary Church Terrell because of a concert engagement at the International Peace Arch on the American-Canadian border, today expressed his deep regret at the loss of "one of America's great daughters".

His full statement follows:

> America loses one of her great daughters, (a worthy sister of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth). In her unceasing militant struggle for the full citizenship of her people, Mary Church Terrell leaves us a rich heritage and a noble example -- an example to be followed by us all until full and final victory.
>
> Personally, I have lost a very dear friend who gave me deep inspiration and continued courage.
>
> ... PAUL ROBESON

From: Freedom Associates, Inc.
139 W. 125th St., New York 27
August 12, 1954

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PAUL ROBESON ISSUES TRIBUTE TO VITO MARCANTONIO

Characterizing the late Vito Marcantonio as "the Thaddeus Stevens of the first half of the 20th century," Paul Robeson in a tribute today called upon the American people to build "a living monument to him who lived so well."

"We have lost a tried and true friend," Robeson said, "the foremost spokesman for the rights of man the Congress of the United States has produced in the 20th century. For me a special sadness comes when I think that I will no longer share Marc's warm and principled friendship."

After commenting on Marcantonio's great contributions to the fight for equal rights for the Negro people, Robeson declared: "Marc was never a quitter. He would expect us to fight on; to build ever stronger the people's unity; to rout the warmakers and exploiters; to send to Congress tens and scores of men and women who will serve the people in the style and spirit of Vito Marcantonio; to win the peace, happiness and equality for all the world's peoples to which he dedicated his life. As we do, we will be building a living monument to him who lived so well."

The statement in full follows:

In the untimely death of Vito Marcantonio progressive humanity suffers a shocking and grievous loss. He was the people's tribune, standing often alone in defense of their rights and interests in the halls of a Congress over-run by the spokesmen of big business and corrupt old-party machines.

When all other Representatives howled and legislated for war he advocated and cast the people's vote for peace.

When Congress saddled the labor movement with the Taft-Hartley law and other oppressive measures, he voted for the working majority of Americans and against the special interests of monopoly.

When the constitutional liberties of the people were taken away by the McCarran Act, the Mc Carran-Walter immigration law and the Smith Act, he defended their rights in the courts.

In his district - the 18th Congressional District of New York - Marc was revered and loved as a friend, a brother, a true leader, by the scores of thousands of Puerto Rican, Italian, Negro, Irish, Jewish, and Slavic families - the families of the poor - whose cause he aggressively championed and whose problems he tirelessly helped to solve.

Perhaps no group of Americans is called upon to honor his name and his memory more than the Negro people, not only in East Harlem, but in all parts of this vast land.

Marcantonio was the Thaddeus Stevens of the first half of the 20th century. Consult the Congressional Record for the seven terms he served the people so fearlessly and brilliantly. No session of Congress during these 14 years was spared the responsibility of considering the Marcantonio bills against the poll tax, to penalize the crime of lynching, to legislate fair employment practices. No voice was raised more eloquently or frequently than his on behalf of our sorely oppressed people.

Examine his voting record. He was the only Congressman in the past two decades who possessed a perfect record of votes on questions directly and indirectly affecting the special interests of Negroes.

And with it all he was the finest Congressional parliamentarian of our time. When New York first elected a Negro Congressman it was to Marc that he turned to "learn the ropes" of procedure in the House. Adam Powell must remember those early days. And scores of other Negroes, the "race relations" advisors and consultants in various government agencies - Washington's " Black Cabinet" - must recall that it was to Marc's office that they found their way to work out strategy and tactics for Negro advance in NYA, WPA, housing, the armed forces, in all phases of American life.

He was one white friend who never shirked a fight on our behalf, who never tolerated an insult to the Negro people. When the great scholar and statesman, W. E. B. DuBois, stood trial as an alleged "foreign agent" because he leads the millions who fight for peace, Marcantonio was his counsel and won him vindication. When the Negro-hating Henderson Lanham, representative from Georgia, called the peerless defender of civil rights, William Patterson (now confined to Danbury federal prison on another trumped-up charge) a "black s-o-b" in a Congressional hearing, Marcantonio took Pat's case in the contempt proceedings which followed - and won him vindication.

Certain political jackals and vultures have already begun to distort, in an attempt to destroy, the real meaning of his life. To them he was an "enigma". How could he be so right on domestic economic and social issues, they piously ask, and yet so "wrong" on international affairs.

The answer is simple - for those who are not afraid to admit it in these hysterical times. Marc's policy on foreign affairs was as true and as right as his program on domestic questions. The one flowed naturally and inexorably from the other.

He hated fascism because it robbed the people of their liberties and livelihood, made the "master race" theory a cornerstone of government policy, and sought to subject all mankind to the tyranny of a Hitler and the German bankers and industrialists he represented. Thus he worked for the total mobilization of this nation against fascist aggression and for strongest unity of the allies, including the Soviet Union, which was necessary to win victory in World War II.

But at the war's end his keen political insight saw the unmistakeable signs - the people's victory was being appropriated by big business and the military. Negroes were thrown out of their newly-won positions in industry, executive FEPC was scuttled, "legal lynching" became the order of the day, Taft-Hartley put chains on the labor movement, freedom of thought and assembly were penalized, McCarthyism ran rampant, taxes, prices and profits soared without government hindrance. And behind the breastworks of this domestic repression the administrations of both Truman and Eisenhower proceeded to circle the world with U. S. bases and troops, oppose colonial liberation movements everywhere, brandish the A-and H-bombs, and dry up the "reservoir of good will" which the U. S. had built up during the "Good Neighbor" era of Roosevelt.

The best interests of the people of the 18th Congressional District, and of the working people and Negro people of this country, demanded that Marc act and vote for peace and against war. He did, and for this the American people will honor him.

We have lost a tried and true friend, the foremost spokesman for the rights of man the Congress of the United States has produced in the 20th century. For me, a special sadness comes when I think that I will no longer share Marc's warm and principled friendship.

Italian-American, carpenter's son, he never deserted the working people from whom he sprang. As he rose to service in the political arena, their fortunes rose with him. He was the clearest embodiment in Congress of the common interests which obtain between the Negro people and the working people of this land.

Marc was never a quitter. He would expect us to fight on, to build ever stronger the people's unity; to rout the war-makers and exploiters; to send to Congress tens and scores of men and women who will serve the people in the style and spirit of Vito Marcantonio; to win the peace, happiness and equality for all the world's people to which he dedicated his life. As we do, we will be building a living monument to him who lived so well.

****

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
410 East Warren Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

For Immediate Release

Meeting of the National Council
of the
National Negro Labor Council
at the
Hotel Theresa, New York, N.Y.
September 25-26, 1954

REMARKS OF PAUL ROBESON

It is always an occasion of great importance to me to take part in the activities of the National Negro Labor Council. My mind goes back to your great conventions - Chicago last year; Cleveland in 1952; the founding convention in Cincinnati in '51; and even before that the great gathering of trade unionists in Chicago in June of 1950 which gave birth to the idea of a militant, mass organization of the Negro workers fighting courageously for their economic needs and for the rights of their entire people.

You said that this organization was called for because there was a crying need for somebody to pay consistent attention to the job problems of the breadwinners of our people. Somebody had to give top priority to the questions of discrimination in employment, FEPC, growing joblessness, and the shameful spectacle - in this nation which boasts of leading the so-called "Free World" - of not only single plants, but whole industries which eliminate Negroes either altogether or from the skilled, better-paying jobs. It was time, you said, not only to talk about being the last hired and first fired - but to do something about it.

And who could do this job for the Negro workers better than Negro working men and women themselves? The answer was obvious the, and is just as obvious now: "Who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

Of course, you never sought to do the job alone. You knew that the initiative had to be yours, but you knew just as surely that your crusade had to involve thousands and eventually millions of others if it was going to succeed. And so you proclaimed a doctrine in Cincinnati that got right down to the heart of the matter, and that brought the delegates right up on their feet. You said, to paraphrase a slogan which has been the rule of your organizational existence, "We do not need or ask anybody's permission to fight for our own livelihood, our own security, our own lives, but we seek everybody's cooperation.

You sought first of all the cooperation of the labor movement with its 15 million Negro and white workers in AF of L, CIO and independent unions. And of equal importance, you sought the support and cooperation of the long-established organizations of Negro life - the church, our fraternal bodies, the NAACP, the Urban Leagues and our business institutions.

And, realizing that cooperation is a two-way street, you offered the resources of your organization in support of those who were engaged on other fronts of the battle against Jim Crow. You could be counted on to join the mounting fight against segregation in education, housing, health, recreation- in all phases of American life.

But all the while you have kept your big guns turned on the fundamental issue - jobs and economic security for our people. You have realized that it's on the production line that the whole ugly practice of segregation and discrimination bears its most bitter fruit; and that in the end the battle to lick Jim Crow in production will largely determine its fate everywhere else.

When the Dixiecrats decree that Negro and white children shall not go to school together they are preparing the ground for the day when they will not be allowed to work on the same machine together. They they decree that Negroes must ride in a hot, grimy railroad car - half baggage and half coach - while whites ride in air-conditioned comfort, they are setting the stage for public acceptance of the fact that Negroes can be porters and waiters - servants - on the railroads, but not engineers, conductors, trainmen and clerks.

Oh, yes, it's at the point of production and at the pay-window of the American economy that Jim Crow pays off for those who love it most. It pays off in $[illegible]½ billion every year in super-profits for the monopolies, sweated out of the toil-worn bodies of Negro workers.

-MORE-

That is why, though I manage to keep busy with many responsibilities, I always feel a special urgency to do what I can to advance the program of the National Negro Labor Council. That is why I have said before, and repeat today, that whenever you call upon me for service I will be there, shoulder to shoulder with you, the finest sons and daughters of the Negro people and of the entire working population of this land.

That is precisely what I meant when, in 1947 at a concert in St. Louis, I announced that I would put aside my formal concert career for the time being to enter the day-to-day struggles of my people and the working masses of this country. I meant the struggle for our daily bread - such battles as I had been part of on the picket lines on the Mesabi iron ore range, with the auto workers in Cadilac Square, the gallant tobacco workers in Winston-Salem, the longshoremen, cooks and stewards in San Francisco, the furriers, electrical workers and a host of others.

No, of course, I'm not the only one who has recognized your importance and your potential. Among the first to pay tribute to you, in their own way, have been the traditional enemies of our people and of American democracy. They've complimented you by leveling against the NNLC and its leaders the most vicious and unprincipled attack.

Because you fight all-out for the rights of Negro workers they say you somehow endanger the nation's security. That's a lie.

Because you proclaim your solidarity with African and Asian workers and call for the independence of all colonial peoples they say you somehow betray our national interests. That's a lie.

Because you preach the truth - that the Negro's well-being is served by peace, not war, by building schools, homes and roads, not guns, tanks and bombs - they say you lack patriotism. And that's a lie.

They would like to hound you out of business if possible - discredit your leaders, make you register with the so-called Subversive Activities Control Board, stop you from publishing literature, holding meetings, arounsing the nation in support of your program.

They'd like to shut you up while Talmadge defies the Supreme Court on segregated education and spouts his arrogance over nationwide radio and TV hookups, and while a new rash of hate groups, including the recently formed National Association for the Advancement of White People, flood the mails with filthy "white supremacy" propaganda.

But here you are meeting today - a fighting, democratic organization, determined that "just like the tree that's planted by the water, you shall not be moved."

And while I know that nobody in this room has ever had any doubt but that you'd be here, I think this is a fitting moment to say that the NNLC - despite all the attacks, including a few from leaders of our own people who should know better - despite the difficult times we've had, always with insufficient money and often with little encouragement - despite all this the NNLC is needed today more than ever, and our best days lie just ahead of us.

I think I know how great the need is. For I live in Harlem, and as I sit in the parish house of my brother's church Mother AME Zion, and as I walk up and down the avenuse or visit with friends, the signs of hard times are everywhere. In New York State the production index has dropped 10 per cent in the past year and unemployment insurance claims have steadily risen.

Even in so-called "good times" the vast majority of Negro workers live at a bare subsistence level. Our family income is still - after all the economic "progress" of the World War II period - just one-half the family income of white workers. And when the firing starts Negroes - by statistical count - lose their jobs twice as fast as anybody else.

What's true of New York is doubly true of the major industrial centers in Pennsylvania, the middle West and the West Coast. The president of the United Steelworkers of America recently announced at their convention that one out of every three steelworkers in the nation is either out of work or working part-time. And it's difficult to pick up a newspaper without reading that a couple of auto plants have merged and "merged" a few thousand workers out of jobs; or that another company has "retooled" thousands more onto the breadlines.

It's bad enough that the Eisenhower administration started out by giving away our national wealth in tideland oil, public power and tax concessions to the monopolies, but when they start taking away our jobs and telling us that the pain in our stomachs is not really hunger but imagination, then it's really time for something drastic to be done.

I'm glad that raised your voice with that of the labor movement, and I know that you are unique in Negro life, in putting forward a comprehensive anti-depression program to stem the downward trend of the economy and provide jobs for the unemployed.

It seems to me that instead of giving the AF of L a political lecture, as he did at their convention, Secretary of Labor Mitchell ought to be forced to say where he stands on the AF of L proposal for a billion dollar appropriation for building public schools as a part of the implementation of the Supreme Court ruling against segregation.

And when it comes to housing - why we could use the 300,000 housing units authorized annually in the administration bill among Negroes alone and we'd still be in a terrible fix for a decent place to live.

Another way to fortify our economy against depression would be to open the doors to two-way worldwide trade, which means specifically trade with China, the Eastern European democracies, and the Soviet Union. But, oh no, says our government, we don't like their politics. Well, I'm not here to say we must like the politics of these nations, for that's not necessary for normal commercial relations. But isn't it true that our government fosters trade with fascist Spain and with Malan's South Africa. So if politics is to be the yardstick in international trade it means that the U. S. government is saying to 15,000,000 Negroes that it approves the politics of the most oppressive, racist dictatorship on the face of the globe today.

If this be true, perhaps we Negroes ought to take a long second look, not only at our economic situation and our civil rights position, but at the foreign policy of our government and its effect on our daily lives. Now I don't intend to do that now - I'm going to stick to the agenda - but I must say that it seems to me that such a searching appraisal is in order for the whole Negro people today.

Of course, the embargo on trade with China, dictated by McCarthy, Knowland and the China Lobby, is having an opposite effect from that intended. They think that by embargoing China they will starve the government out and eventually get the discredited Chiang Kai Shek off the little island of Taiwan (Formosa) and back into business as an American puppet on the mainland.

But China's trade and economy and well-being are constantly expanding. Trade delegations are constantly going to and from Britain and many other Western nations, excluding only the United States among the great powers. And the ones to feel the brunt of the policy are the American workers who, instead of walking the streets in search of work, could be making the tractors, farm implements, tools and structural steel which New China needs and is ready to buy.

Of course, a comprehensive program for the economic welfare of Negroes depends not only on fighting to hold on to what we have and to prevent unemployment. If that were the extent of our program we'd always remain at the bottom rung of the ladder.

We must always be breaking new ground. And you couldn't have picked a better place to break it than on the nation's railroads. Railroad men have always played a big part in the life and legend of our people. John Henry would certainly be proud to know that you are launching a campaign to guarantee that hiring will be color blind on the railroads which he and his fellow workers built.

This campaign should stir Negro life and the nation as few crusades in the past. Every Negro leader who has worked for a while carrying bags or waiting table while preparing for his career ought to lend the weight of his prestige to your efforts. For instance, Dr. Ralph Bunche once worked on the railroad to help pay his way through school. Now, as long as Negroes are barred from the skilled trades in the industry the implication is plain that the man who holds the highest position of any American in the United Nations is unfit to collect tickets, or yell All Aboard or turn the throttle on an American railroad - because he is a Negro.

I hope that Dr. Bunche and many other outstanding Negroes who at one time labored in the dirty end of railroading will consider this an insult to them personally as well as to their entire people and will throw their weight behind the Council in this campaign.

-MORE -

But not only are there those who once worked on the roads. There are the thousands of Negroes who work there now. They enjoy a highly respected position in our communities throughout the nation. Their activities touch on the lives of the millions of our people. They are to be found in every church, lodge, club and society. It is here that we must take our message, spread our pamphlet and other literature, secure signatures for the petition to Vice President Nixon and the Contract Compliance Committee. If this campaign is taken to the bed rock of Negro life, to the heart of our organizational activities, there is no question in my mind but that we'll stir this nation, place the railroad magnates on the spot where they belong, and wind up with some Negroes driving trains as well as sweeping them, selling tickets as well as buying them, giving orders as well as taking.

As this campaign gets into high gear be sure that you can count on me.

I notice among the banners on the wall one that calls for the restoration of my passport. I want you to know how deeply grateful I am for this action on your part. As you know, a campaign has been mounted on this issue. We're just getting under way here in the United States; but alread all over the world - from Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America - messages are being sent to the State Department by thousands of organizations and individuals, meetings of scorse of thousands are being held, demanding that our government restore the elementary right to travel which any citizen should enjoy.

The case will soon be placed before the federal courts. And I shall sue, not only for the right to travel abroad to fulfill the artistic commitments which await me, but also to visit where I please, say what I like and associate with the friends whom _I_ choose.

This is the essence of democracy, the base on which this government was founded in a deadly battle with tyranny, and it is the shame of these times that citizens must now sue in the courts and raise movements of public protest to regain that which was so dearly bought 178 years ago.

But fight we must, on this front and on many others if we are to restore and expand this democracy of ours. I know we'll win and I intend to keep on fighting until we do. It is one of my greatest sources of pleasure and pride to know that as I do I am fighting side by side with the men and women who are the members and leaders of the National Negro Labor Council. You can be sure we'll be seeing a lot of each other as the battle sharpens and broadens in the days ahead.

30-30-30-30-30-30-30

News Letter
SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
Telephone: ENright 9-8110

For immediate release, October 16, 1954

PROSECUTION THREATENED FOR AID TO AFRICANS

At a Federal Grand Jury hearing in Washington, D.C., to which he was subpoenaed, Dr. W.A. Hunton, Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, was informed that the Justice Department regards the work done by the Council in sending aid for the relief of needy Africans in South Africa as grounds for possible prosecution under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

The subpoena served on Dr. Hunton ordered him to bring before the Grand Jury on October 7 all correspondence with the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress, which have jointly led the struggle against racist oppression in South Africa, as well as all other foreign correspondence from 1946 to date, all records of funds sent abroad by the Council, and all materials published or disseminated by the organization in the same nine-year period.

The only other witness besides Dr. Hunton to appear before the Grand Jury during its three and a half day session on this matter was Dr. Max Yergan, who was ousted in 1948 from his executive post and membership in the Council on African Affairs. Yergan was closeted with the Grand Jury for the first full day and a half, while Hunton waited to be called in. He made two further appearance before the Grand Jury at intervals between testimony by Hunton.

The close questioning of Dr. Hunton on the Council's contacts with various individuals and organizations in South Africa and elsewhere, it was learned, was aimed at trying to establish that those in the leadership of movements for African welfare and freedom were Communist or Communist-controlled .

This was the same thesis that Yergan set forth in a lengthy interview in the magazine, U.S. News and World Report, May 1, 1953. The views he expressed in that interview were sharply attacked both by African leaders and by Negro spokesmen and newspaper editorialists and columnists in the United States.

Dr. Hunton told the Grand Jury that the Council on African Affairs was not the agent of any foreign principal and therefore had never considered the question of registering as such. He stated that the real issue in the case was the moral question of whether it is right or wrong for Americans to give assistance to Africans who are in distress and want.

The Council, whose chairman and vice-chairman are Paul Robeson and Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, collected and sent large quantities of food and money in 1946-47 for the relief of African famine distress in South Africa. In 1952-53 it collecected and

(MORE)

forwarded funds for the aid of the dependents of thousands of African men and women who were arrested during the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in protest against the Malan Government's fascist-like subjection of the country's non-white peoples. This year the Council has been able to give financial assistance to the Kenyatta Defense Fund in London, established to provide legal counsel for Jomo Kenyatta and other Kenya leaders prosecuted by the British.

Following the Grand Jury hearing the Council's Secretary expressed the opinion that a "calculated campaign" has been launched in this country to try to discredit the African people's liberation movements by branding them "Communist". Besides the Yergan interview he cited as evidence various recent N.Y. Times dispatches from South Africa, an editorial in the Sept. 4 Saturday Evening Post, an article by Oden Meeker in the current issue of the same magazine, and other similar articles.

"It is to be hoped," Dr. Hunton said, "that the Government will not officially adopt this view and penalize those Americans who support the cause of African freedom."

Grand Jury

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
for the District of Columbia

THE UNITED STATES

vs.

John Doe

REPORT TO UNITED STATES DISTRICT
COURT HOUSE
Between 3rd Street & John Marshall Place
and on Constitution Ave., N.W.
ROOM 3812
Washington, D. C.

The President of the United States to

W. A. Hunton, Secretary
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
139 West 125th St.
New York 27, New York

You are hereby commanded to attend before the Grand Jury of said Court on Thursday, the 7th day of October, 1954, at 9:30 o'clock A.M., to testify on behalf of the United States, and not depart the Court without leave of the Court or District Attorney.

AND BRING WITH YOU

the original or, in the absence of original, a copy of each of the following documents:

(a) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and/or its officers and the African National Congress and/or its officers for the period of January 1, 1946 to the date of the receipt of this subpoena.

(b) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and/or its officers and the South African Indian Congress and/or its officers for the period specified in (a) above.

(c) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and/or its officers and any individual outside the United States affiliated with a foreign government, foreign political party, and/or any organizations located in a foreign country for the period specified in (a) above.

(d) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and any foreign government and/or political party for the period specified in (a) above.

(e) All books and records of accounts covering receipts and disbursements of funds or anything of value between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and any individual, organization, or political party outside the United States and any foreign government within the period specified in (a) above.

(f) All materials published and/or disseminated by the Council on African Affairs, Inc., for the period specified in (a) above.

WITNESS: The Honorable Bolitha J. Laws, Chief Judge of said Court, this 27th day of September, 1954

Harry M. Hull, Clerk. (printed)

(blank)
.... By John C. Coogan, Deputy Clerk. (signed)

Attorney for (blank)..................

(imprint of seal)

Provisional Committee to Restore
Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125 Street - Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
November 24, 1954

STATE DEPARTMENT DENIES ROBESON RIGHT TO ATTEND SOVIET WRITERS CONGRESS

Paul Robeson, the internationally famed artist, has been refused permission by the Passport Office of the State Department to travel to Moscow to attend the Congress of Soviet Writers which opens December 9.

Upon receipt of an invitation from the noted novelist, Alexander Fadeev, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Writers, Mr. Robeson contacted the Passport office and requested that a passport application which he had filed in July be amended to include his participation as a guest in the two-week meeting of Soviet writers. His earlier application was made for the purpose of fulfilling concert engagements in England, France, Israel and the Scandanavian countries, including a London production of "Othello" under management of Leslie Linder Productions.

A letter to Mr. Robeson from Willis H. Young, acting director of the Passport Office, dated November 18, states that since the earlier application was "tentatively denied by this office on July 26, 1954, it will be necessary for you to proceed in accordance with the procedure outlined in Section 51.137 of the Passport Regulations if you desire to have the Department give further consideration to your case."

The regulations referred to require an applicant to "prove" that his views do not deviate from those of the State Department as a prerequisite for receiving a passport. Discretionary power in granting or withholding permission to travel is placed in the hands of the Secretary of State and an appeal board established within his Department.

Mr. Robeson is challenging the right of the Secretary to wield such arbitrary power. He is bringing a suit in federal court to compel the Department to issue him a passport on the ground that refusal to do so deprives him of his constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought and assembly, and the freedom to earn a living guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments of the Constitution.

The invitation to the Congress of Soviet writers was also signed by Boris Polevoy, an outstanding Soviet author who has written a play about Robeson which has been produced in Moscow and other centers of the Soviet Union. Mr. Polevoy, supporting the formal invitation with a personal message to Mr. Robeson, stated: "We do not lose the hope...to see you among us, you the greatest singer of our days, a man of great soul and pure heart, Paul Robeson."

3~~00~~30-30-30-30-30-

From: Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 W. 125th St., Suite 6, New York 27, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WORLD PROTESTS MOUNT OVER LATEST STATE DEPARTMENT REFUSAL OF ROBESON PASSPORT

As news of the U. S. State Department's refusal of Paul Robeson's most recent application for a passport spreads, new scores of protests and pledges of support are streaming into the office of the Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport from Europe, Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, South America, Canada and Australia.

Mr. Robeson's application for a passport to travel to England, Israel, France and Scandanavia was submitted July 2. The State Department reply of July 27, signed by R. B. Shipley, Director of the Passport Office, said that the issue of a passport was "precluded" under passport regulations "upon the basis of information which the Department has received from various sources." Paul Robeson states he will appeal this decision to the U. S. Supreme Court, if necessary, on constitutional grounds.

"This fight is not a personal one alone," he said, "but one that affects an increasing number of artists, scholars and others, particularly of my own people, who are now being denied passports. In this fight for my constitutional rights I now shall extend my request. Not only do I want to visit the places already mentioned, but to accept invitations from many peace groups all over the world, including India, China, the Soviet Republics, many South American and Caribbean countries and Africa. This I shall do in the interest of cultural exchange so vital to the easing of world tensions."

The following excerpts from a few of the hundreds of messages of support and copies of protests to the State Department and U. S. Embassies over the world coming into the Provisional Committee indicate that world opinion is with Paul Robeson:

From 75 African, Indian and white cultural and civic leaders in Johannesburg, South Africa: "When the United States Government deprived you of your passport, they deprived the people of the world of your wonderful voice. It is not a personal move against you - it was a political move of world-wide importance.

"To us you represent the real America, the true America - not of the H-Bomb, McCarthy, blood and thunder comics and Mickey Spillane - but of the love of peace and real culture that we know exists among ordinary people everywhere. By preventing you from travelling, your Government is depriving itself of its finest ambassador."

From Negombo, Ceylon: "To us in this faraway but lovely tropical Island of Ceylon, the name of Paul Robeson is honored ... His birthday is always commemorated by the Robeson Society here which has many hundreds of members ... In fact his voice and personality have left an abiding imprint on the heart of Ceylon. The Robeson fans in Ceylon, like those all the world over, look forward to the day when this great singer will be able to tour this physically doomed and spiritually dead planet, and with his heaven-endowed voice rouse the soul of mankind to arise and save itself."

From Ivor Montagu, well-known English author: "In name of Magna Carta by which already in Thirteenth Century Englishmen won right of unimpeded travel from and to their homeland and whose tradition is shared by and links our two countries, I wish joy and success to campaign to restore that right to Paul. May his noble voice and presence soon bring us and other folks much needed reminder (of) fundamental virtues and character of American people whose best and greatest ambassador he will ever be."

From Fucikove, Vice-President Czechoslovak Peace Committee: "Express solidarity your campaign."

From a long list of the best known artists of Indian to the Embassy in Delhi: "The Indian people demand that the passport of Paul Robeson be restored to him, and that no fetters be put in his way to move from continent to continent singins his songs of freedom and peace, bringing joy and hope to millions of people all over the world."

From the Building Workers' Industrial Union of Melbourne, Australia to the State Department in Washington: "We write in respect to the with-holding of a passport by the State Department from the American singer and actor, Paul Robeson. This is against Article 13 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that 'Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country;' and the United States of America, being one of the Great Powers, is expected to give leadership to the rest of the world in putting the United Nations Charter into effect.

"In addition, we are of the opinion that the exchange of culture between countries is one of the strongest means of building world peace; and because of the universal love of music by all people and the very high degree of artistry achieved by Paul Robeson, he could be of the greatest service to his country in helping to forge a link of friendship between America and other countries."

From the renowned African novelist Rene Maran, in Paris: "My heart and spirit are with you in the campaign which you are waging for the granting of all citizenship rights to the great Paul Robeson... Are they (the government) never to understand that they cannot set themselves up as the defender of free peoples while denying the most elementary right to one of the most illustrious of their sons?"

From a member of the House of Commons in London: "Your State Department surely cannot any longer be under any illusions as to the harm being created by the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport... In paying tribute to an artist who has delighted and enthralled me and my friends, I beg America to appreciate the harm to our western way of life, which is being caused by this denial of freedom and this resort to economic strangulation."

From the Staff of the Bulgarian Cinematography, Sofia: "Our appeal to the American Minstry of Foreign Affairs is to restore Paul Robeson's passport and to give him license for foreign concerts, so that, through him, the peoples of the world may have the possibility to lay the foundations of cultural exchange and strengthen friendship and peace in the world.

From Haifa, Israel, comes this ringing, simple appeal: "As a simple woman without political orientation I am deeply concerned by the fact that your Government is denying lawful passport to the beloved and famous singer Paul Robeson. The songs of Paul Robeson have always inspired me with a feeling of brotherhood and love for your people and I have always regarded Paul Robeson a pride to his country.

"Therefore as a mother of children I appeal to you that country and Government be like a true mother to her children and citizens without prejudice to their convictions or race and restore the honour of the United States of America by restoring without delay the passport to our beloved Paul Robeson."

From 50 signators of the Staff of the National Library of Paris to John Foster Dulles: "The undersigned, members of the staff of the National Library of Paris, having diverse political, philosophical and religious beliefs, having learned that the great American artist, Paul Robeson, has been refused his passport and permission to travel abroad, we wish to intercede and urge your reconsideration of this question, divorcing it from all political considerations. We are aware of the tremendous renown of Paul Robeson and believe that the ban placed upon this artist singing in foreign lands can only harm the cause of the United States. We hope that the State Department will appreciate this point of view of sincere friends of the great American people and will allow other peoples to hear once more this master of vocal music who honors America."

From Henri Jourdain of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Vienna: "The undemocratic action of the State Department is an insult to all peoples. The world's workers who know and love the voice of Paul Robeson are with you. They express to him their solidarity and protest energetically against this discriminatory act on the part of the American authorities.

From Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Peace Council, Vienna: "We are certain that this campaign will get broad support in the different countries and we ardently hope that your work will be successful. It is a valuable contribution to the efforts of all defenders of peace to develop cultural and artistic exchanges and to strengthen friendship between the peoples, particularly between the people of the United States and the other peoples of the world."

From the People's Progressive Party, Georgetown, British Guiana: "Accept wholehearted support in efforts to restore your rights. Best wishes for a successful campaign."

From writers and intellectuals of Montevideo, Uruguay: "It is impossible that at this hour when all of the people of the world want to establish and strengthen cultural and fraternal relations, that such a great artist, universally loved and admired, should be prevented from leaving his country because of policies hostile to culture, to individual rights and to the friendship of peoples."

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NEWS RELEASE FROM: PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE
PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
139 W. 125th St., New York 27

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ROBESON SINGS THIRD BORDER CONCERT

The artistry of Paul Robeson winged unimpeded across an international frontier with the appearance of the world-beloved singer and actor in his third annual concert in beautiful Peace Arch Park on the United States-Canadian border.

Although denied a passport to appear in their countries, Robeson sang to friends from many lands as the audience was swelled by athletes and visitors from all parts of the British Commonwealth who are in Vancouver for the famous Empire Games.

The many thousands who made the annual pilgrimage to the Peace Arch spread out across the smooth green lawn, up the gentle flower-splashed slope, which make the park a natural amphitheater, and overflowed into the trees rimming the eastern boundary. Estimates ranged from fifteen to twenty thousand. However, a Canadian Mounted Police check of 8,000 cars lends weight to the larger figure.

Although the informality and warmth of an outdoor affair remained, Robeson, this year, sang a complete, formal concert program ranging from the beloved spirituals of his people, the folk music of many lands, to the somberly dramatic "Prayer and Death" excerpt from Moussorgsky's "Boris Godunov". The artist freely admitted that he had some doubts as to the suitability of this selection for a huge, outdoor audience, but these soon vanished. The audience loved it and cheered when the singer expressed the hope that he would soon be able to present it on the opera stage of Europe and "even in my own country."

Since its inception the annual border concert has been linked to the fight to force the U. S. State Department to rescind its ban on Robeson's passport. The first was held when the singer was unable to get permission to leave the U. S. to appear in a Vancouver, B. C., concert sponsored by the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers. If Robeson cannot come to us, the union said, we will go to him. So the great artist went to the border and the people flocked to hear him. Each year Mine Mill has sponsored the concert.

This year the union put out an elaborate, printed program which contained greetings from many Canadian trade union and fraternal groups. Included as well were some of the messages from personages all over the world protesting the passport ban. Harvey Murphy, Mine Mill regional director, introduced Robeson as a "great American who is loved throughout the world."

As a special tribute to the fighting traditions of the Canadian union, Robeson presented a reading of the scene "I Speak for Joe Hill" from the play "The Man Who Never Died" by Barry Stavis. And the program included, as it does every year, a request for "Joe Hill". In response to the greetings from Murphy the singer pledged to his audience that he will "press for the freedom of Africa and all colonial people" and will "keep fighting for the dignity of my people and all people."

During an intermission a young Australian athlete paid tribute to Robeson and presented him with gifts from the youth movement of that country. The gifts included a boomerang and Australian Empire Games pin.

The Case Of...
PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

A FACT SHEET PREPARED BY THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WANT TO HEAR ROBESON'S VOICE

"We propose to hold an All-India Cultural Conference in November at Calcutta and we request you to make every effort to encourage us by your presence there."

ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

"The Union of Roumanian Composers is inviting you together with the pianist Lawrence Brown to give concerts in our land beginning from September 15th, 1951. Our public is writing for these concerts."

THE UNION OF ROUMANIAN COMPOSERS

"Are you able to accept recital concert tour Great Britain commencing November or January next. Minimum period required eight weeks. State terms."

LONDON, W. I.

ISRAEL

The leading concert agency in Tel-Aviv has offered Paul Robeson a series of ten concerts at an unprecedented fee with the assurance that his appearance in Israel would take on the aspect of a national festival.

SCOTLAND

The executive board of the Scottish area of the National Union of Mine Workers has invited Paul Robeson to sing.

During recent months many additional invitations have been tendered Mr. Robeson to sing, act and speak in many countries throughout the world.

But Paul Robeson cannot fulfill these engagements.

YOU ought to know WHY.

THESE ARE THE FACTS:

1. On July 28, 1950, two agents of the State Department called on Mr. Robeson and demanded that he turn in his lawfully held passport. On the advice of his attorneys, Mr. Robeson refused to do so.

2. On August 4, 1950, the State Department announced to the press that it had cancelled Paul Robeson's passport and had informed all U. S. border officials to detain Mr. Robeson should he attempt to leave the country.

At the time his passport was revoked, Robeson had made arrangements for a trip to Europe to attend several meetings and to fulfill concert and speaking engagements at Prague, Czechoslovakia and Nice, France, and to make a speaking and singing tour of Scandinavia and give several concerts in Italy and the British Isles.

Mr. Robeson has owned a passport continuously since 1922 when he first went abroad at the beginning of his concert career. Never before has a question arisen as to its renewal or the issuance of a new passport to him.

3. In response to written inquiries made by Mr. Robeson through his attorneys, representatives of the State Department stated on August 7, 1950 that the action taken by it was in accordance with "discretionary powers" of the Secretary of State.

During an interview with the State Department on August 23, 1950, Mr. Robeson was told that he could regain his passport if he agreed to refrain from making speeches abroad.

4. After this interview, attorneys for Mr. Robeson instituted suit on December 19, 1950, in the U. S. District Court at Washington, D. C. petitioning the Courts to correct this unwarranted violation of Mr. Robeson's

(OVER)

rights and privileges by the Administrative branch of government.

The suit contended that:

(1) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition and association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

(2) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional right to own and procure property guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

5. The first constitutional violation of Mr. Robeson's rights as a citizen by the Administrative branch of government is clear. If a citizen is to be permitted to travel abroad only when he echos views pleasant to the State Department or any other government agency, his right of freedom of movement and of speech is severely restricted.

The second constitutional violation, that of Mr. Robeson's property right, is based on scheduled concert appearances which had to be cancelled as a result of the State Department's action.

6. On April 20, 1951, the U. S. District Court upheld the State Department in its arbitrary action, by claiming it had no jurisdiction in the case. It also refused to order Mr. Robeson to surrender his passport to the State Department.

7. Notice of appeal from this decision was filed by attorneys for Mr. Robeson on April 23, 1951. The appeal itself was entered in the U. S. District Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C. in August, 1951. The appeal reiterated and elaborated upon the contentions of the original brief.

8. This appeal will be heard in the current fall term of the Court of Appeals at a specific date still to be set.

9. Attorneys for Paul Robeson in the passport suit are Judge James A. Cobb and George E. C. Hayes, 613 F St. N.W., Washington, D. C.; George A. Parker and Barrington D. Parker, 1130 Sixth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., all members of two of the most distinguished Negro law firms in Washington, D. C.; and Nathan Witt, 9 East 40th Street, New York 16, New York.

10. Though Paul Robeson was the first, and remains the most distinguished American, to suffer this infringement of his constitutional rights by the State Department, the number of victims of passport revocation has grown alarmingly in the past year and is steadily increasing.

Among those similarly deprived of the right to travel are two outstanding Negro women leaders: Mrs. Charlotta Bass, former publisher and editor of the (Los Angeles) California Eagle. Mrs. Therese Robinson, Grand Directress of Civil Liberties, Independent Benevolent, Protective, Order of Elks of the World.

Others are: Corliss Lamont, writer and lecturer. Howard Fast and Albert Kahn, writers. John K. Fairbanks, Professor of History, Yale University, and Reverend Richard Morford.

The facts make it clear that upholding the State Department's "right" to take such arbitrary action in the case of Paul Robeson threatens the right of any American citizen to travel abroad for any purpose and to speak freely abroad or at home, if the matter is distesteful to the Administration.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

Action aimed at restoring Paul Robeson's right to travel, therefore, will help preserve the constitutional rights of all. The following actions are urged upon all individuals and organizations:

(1) Send a letter, postal card, or telegram to President Harry S. Truman, the White House, Washington, D. C., and to Dean Acheson, U. S. State Department, Washington, D. C., urging that Mr. Robeson's passport be unconditionally restored.

(2) Have your church club, social, civic or fraternal organization, or trade union discuss the passport case and pass a resolution to be forwarded to the President and to the Secretary of State.

(3) Write letters to the editor of your community newspaper on the case.

(4) Get your organization to prepare a brief amicus curiae (friend of the Court) which may be used to support the arguments of Robeson's attorneys when the case is heard. Such a brief can be submitted by any individual or organization and is in keeping with legal procedure. Send a copy to Mr. Robeson's attorneys as well as copies to the Attorney General's office.

(5) See that the Robeson passport case is presented at all public meetings and that action is taken wherever possible.

(6) Send a contribution to help the work of organizing and coordinating a national campaign.

Miss Margaret McCaden, Secretary
Provisional Committee to Restore Paul
Robeson's Passport
2286 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Phone: Au 6-6465

I have written to President Truman and to Dean Acheson.

My Social Club or other Organization has discussed the Paul Robeson Passport Case and passed a Resolution.

Send me _____ copies of this Fact Sheet @ 1¢ each.

I wish to support the national campaign to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport. Enclosed is my contribution.

(Name) ______________________________

(Organization) ______________________________

(Address) ______________________________

____

Pam. 33-59

Robeson, Paul

Ballantine Gymnasium

Rutgers College

Wednesday, December 17th, 1924

8:15 p. m.

Concert

— by —

Paul Leroy Robeson

Baritone

assisted by

Mrs. Charlotte Murray

Soprano

LOUIS HOOPER AT THE PIANO

AUSPICES PHILOCLEAN LITERARY SOCIETY

Steinway Piano

Courtesy Griffith Co., Newark

Paul Robeson graduated from Rutgers College in 1919 one of the most versatile leaders that Rutgers has ever developed. A member of Phi Beta Kappa, Cap and Skull, and the Philoclean Literary Society, a winner of letters in football, baseball and track, chosen by Walter Camp as All-American end in 1917 and 1918, an honor man, the winner of the freshman, sophomore, junior and senior prizes in oratory, and a member of the debating team, Robeson has an undergraduate record that has seldom, if ever, been equaled.

After graduation, Robeson studied for three years at the Columbia Law School, and after a short, successful practice, was offered the position of assistant district attorney of New York. He was not satisfied, however, with his work, and after some hesitancy entered his now chosen profession—the stage. His work in O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones" and "All God's Chillun's Got Wings," has won the approval of the leading dramatic critics and has stamped him as one of the coming actors on the American Stage.

Lately, Robeson turned his attention to the concert world where he has received almost equal recognition. His reception at the Copley-Plaza, Boston, November 2, was enthusiastic, and his success in this line, were he to follow it, would be assured. Tonight's concert is the first that Robeson has attempted since the Boston recital.

Robeson's chief charm lays in the simplicity and unaffectedness of his voice and in the depth, power and emotion of which it is capable. Its quality is never forced and never harsh, but if need be can fill the concert hall with its boomings as do the drums in his "Emperor Jones".

Program

I.

By and By	Arr. by Burleigh
I Want to be Ready	Arr. by Burleigh
Deep River	Arr. by Fischer

II.

Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child	Arr. by Burleigh
I Don't Feel Noways Tired	Arr. by Burleigh
Sinner Please Don't Let This Harvest Pass	Arr. by Burleigh

CHARLOTTE MURRAY

III.

L'il Gal	J. Rosamond Johnson
Seems Lak to Me	J. Rosamond Johnson
Nuthin	Carpenter

INTERMISSION

"In the Bottoms" (Suite for Piano)	Nathaniel Dett

LOUIS HOOPER

IV.

Every Time I Feel De Spirit	Arr. by Lawrence Brown
Didn't It Rain	Arr. by Burleigh
Go Down Moses	Arr. by Burleigh

V.

Thou Hast Bewitched Me Beloved	S. Coleridge Taylor
Now Sleeps the Crimson Petal	Harry T. Burleigh
Thou Art Risen	S. Coleridge Taylor

CHARLOTTE MURRAY

VI.

Swing Low, Sweet Chariot	Arr. by Lawrence Brown
Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray	Arr. by F. Work
The Gospel Train	Arr. by Burleigh

Patrons

His Excellency and Mrs. George S. Silzer
Hon. and Mrs. Edward L. Katzenbach

Dean and Mrs. Walter T. Marvin
Dean and Mrs. Harry N. Lendall
Charles C. Aitken, '81
Mr. and Mrs. Asher Atkinson
George V. N. Baldwin, Jr., '86
George H. Blakeley, '84
Eugene S. Booth, '76
Lewis B. Chamberlain, '86
Mr. and Mrs. Samuel S. Childs
Morrison C. Colyer, '97
Dr. William H. S. Demarest, '83
David Fales, Jr.
Haley Fiske, '71
Mr. and Mrs. W. Edwin Florance
Howard Gillespy, '75
Major and Mrs. Walter S. Greacen
Valentine B. Havens, '12
Mr. and Mrs. William P. Kelly
David Layton, '94
Dean Mabel S. Douglass
Dean and Mrs. Jacob G. Lipman
John H. Logan
Leonor F. Loree, '77
Mr. and Mrs. Luther H. Martin
Mrs. J. L. McKinney
John Wyckoff Mettler, '99
Seaman Miller, '79
William J. Morrison, Jr., '97
James Neilson, '66
Mr. and Mrs. Henry Parker
Dr. and Mrs. John H. Raven
Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Reed
Richard C. Rice, '08
Dr. and Mrs. Arthur L. Smith
Mr. and Mrs. Henry P. Schneeweiss
Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Stevens
Dr. and Mrs. P. A. van der-Meulen
Hon. Foster M. Voorhees, '76
Dr. Oscar M. Voorhees, '88
Mr. and Mrs. Ralph W. Voorhees
Rynier J. Wortendyke, '82

Committee

L. P. Hasbrouk, '25
Wm. H. Mitchell, Jr., '25
L. Lee Starke, '26

Pam. 25-31 DEPARTMENT OF NEGRO LITERATURE AND HISTORY Robeson, Paul

Robeson.

PAUL ROBESON

BARITONE

The Copley-Plaza

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Sunday afternoon, November 2
at 3.30 o'clock

LOUIS HOOPER, Pianist

Patrons and Patronesses

His Excellency the Governor and Mrs. Channing H. Cox
Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. Alvan T. Fuller

Mrs. J. Dellinger Barney
Mrs. Farwell Bemis
Mrs. George H. Binney
Mrs. Jarrett S. Blodgett
Mrs. Gorham Brooks
Mr. and Mrs. Arthur T. Cabot
Mr. and Mrs. T. Handasyd Cabot
Mr. and Mrs. George Edwards Clement
Mrs. J. W. Whitcomb Cotton
Mrs. Louis Cox
Mrs. Guy Currier
Mrs. Ralph Adams Cram
Miss Josephine F. Durrell
Mrs. William L. Edwards
Mrs. J. W. Elliot
Mr. and Mrs. G. Peabody Gardner, Jr.
Mrs. W. B. Henderson
Professor and Mrs. Edward B. Hill
Mrs. R. Carlton Hodgkinson
Miss Mary Frances Hoffman
Mrs. Roland G. Hopkins
Mrs. Nelson W. Howard
Mrs. Helen Allen Hunt
Mr. and Mrs. Carl F. Kaufmann
Mrs. Justin H. Kershaw
Mrs. George Lee
Mrs. Joseph D. Leland
Mrs. Lindsley Loring
Mrs. Amy Coburn Lyseth
Mr. and Mrs. George R. Mance
Miss Fanny P. Mason
Mrs. Roger Merriman
Mrs. William A. Mitchell
Mrs. Francis J. Moors
Mrs. John F. Moors
Mrs. Horace Morison
Mrs. Lorenz F. Muther
Mrs. Henry W. McKean
Mrs. N. W. Niles
Mrs. R. T. Paine, 2nd
Mrs. Alfred Potter
Mrs. Charles B. Prince
Mr. and Mrs. George D. Pushee
Mrs. William Z. Ripley
Mrs. Francis P. Sears
Mrs. Joseph Lindon Smith
Mrs. Henry L. Smyth
Mr. Moorfield Storey
Mrs. S. Warren Sturgis
Miss Bertha Wesselhoeft Swift
Miss Alice P. Tapley
Mrs. Carl L. Watson
Mrs. Jasper Whiting
Mrs. Wyman Whittemore

Mrs. May Fiske Hoffman, Concert Director
Chickering & Sons, 169 Tremont Street, Boston

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson was born in Princeton in 1898. His mother had been a school teacher before her marriage and his father was a colored minister in the college town. The father was born in slavery but having an opportunity to study the ministry at Lincoln University, where a great many have prepared themselves, he did so. So the boy Paul was brought up in an atmosphere of refinement and education. He attended grammar school in Westfield, where the family lived in his childhood. In 1910, they moved to Somerville, New Jersey, where the Rev. Robeson took charge of the congregation and Paul entered the eighth grade. He attended Somerville high school, graduating in 1915.

On account of his color he had little chance to exercise his dramatic ability in high school. He starred in debating and played football—to the honor of the school, created a sensation in oratory, held a record in scholarship, and practically constituted the bass portion of the Glee Club which was at that time the best the school has ever had.

Upon entering Rutgers College in the fall of that year, history practically repeated itself. He came as near to being a perfect type of college bred man as any man graduating from an Eastern college or university. He had one of the highest averages ever made by an undergraduate, with a grade around ninety. He was an honor man all the way through college and one of the first of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He played football four years, baseball three years, and competed in track in the third year, winning the coveted title of "four letter man." He won the freshman prize in oratory, and the sophomore and junior prizes in extempore speaking. He was a member of the Glee Club, of Philoclean, and of the debating teams. He was chosen by Walter Camp for the All-American end in 1917 and 1918 and because of this and other honors was taken into the honorary Senior Society of Cap and Skull.

In February, 1920, the year following his graduation from Rutgers, he entered the Columbia University law school and graduated in February, 1923. He then began working toward his M. A. in law, also finding time to play professional football.

It was while he was a senior at the Columbia Law School that he became a charter member of what was called the "Amateur Players." This was a group of Negro students who made an attempt to produce plays of their race. It was in this connection that Robeson played the part of Simeon in "Simeon the Cyrenian" of Bible fame—the bearer of the cross.

It happened that Kenneth McGowan, director of the Provincetown Players, and others connected with that organization, as well as Mrs. Norman Hapgood, wife of the editor of Hearst's Magazine, were present at the performance. All were vastly pleased with Robeson's performance. It led directly to his engagement to play the leading male role in "Taboo," a three-act play given at the Sam Harris Theatre in New York, dealing with voodooism among the Louisiana Negroes. Miss Margaret Wycherly played the part of the leading lady. Robeson also played in "Taboo" when it was given in London with Mrs. Patrick Campbell in the lead. In the meantime he had given a few weeks to the musical comedy, "Shuffle Along."

When Eugene O'Neil was about to produce "The Emperor Jones" he asked the young man, whom he had seen play "Simeon" so successfully, to give him a reading for the leading part. Robeson at that time was thinking of nothing but perfecting himself in his chosen profession, and refused the offer. However, when the play was recently revived, Robeson played the part of Brutus Jones, emperor, in a truly inspired fashion.

In the meantime as a lawyer, Robeson had had three very fine offers, one of them a position as assistant district attorney in New York. It was his refusal to take this which brought an even greater storm of criticism, for it marked his determination to stick to the stage if possible.

When asked what course he expected to follow, that of the law or of the stage, Mr. Robeson answered, "I shall stick to the stage if I have the opportunity to do so. On the stage, think of the millions of people that I might reach—and especially with a play of this type. Think how powerful an influence that would be. People need to be shown that the Negro is worthy of respect. They need to be shown that he can do things. If I can be the right sort of man and the right sort of actor, think of the number of people that will say, "Look at Robeson; now he's a Negro, and a Rutgers College graduate, look what a fine man he is." And with that recommendation the Negro race will rise in the estimation of mankind.

Robeson did a great deal of singing while he was in college and afterwards to help pay for his education. He has learned a great deal since he first became connected with the theatre, and realizing as he does that he is not perfect, he keeps on learning. It is this fact that augurs so well for his future.

He has three brothers and a sister. One brother is a minister, one a doctor, and one is in business. His sister is a teacher in Philadelphia. Both parents are dead.

Mr. Robeson's wife is a graduate of Columbia University, and now Assistant Pathological Chemist in the Presbyterian Hospital, New York.

Mr. Robeson appeared as Brutus Jones in "The Emperor Jones" with the Provincetown Players this summer at **Mariarden,**—Peterboro, N. H., and repeated his New York success. As a compliment to Mrs. Currier, the Director, he gave a short program of songs in the studio there at one of her informal Sunday night concerts, and the audience was so delighted they begged Mrs. Currier to arrange a concert program so that the Mariarden patrons and their friends could enjoy Mr. Robeson as a singer, and this is the first opportunity Mr. Robeson has had to leave the stage in New York for a concert.

BEST AVAIL

Programme

I.

a.	Swing Low, Sweet Chariot	Arr. by Lawrence Brown
b.	The Gospel Train	Harry T. Burleigh
c.	Couldn't Hear Noboby Pray	Arr. by Mr. Hooper

II.

a.	Somebody's Knocking at Your Door.	Nathaniel Dett
b.	Every Time I Feel the Spirit	Arr. by Lawrence Brown
c.	Deep River	Arr. by William Arms Fisher

III.

a.	Peter, Go Ring Dem Bells	Harry T. Burleigh
b.	Didn't It Rain?	

INTERMISSION

IV.

"In the Bottoms" (Suite for Piano)	Nathaniel Dett

Mr. Hooper

V.

a.	Li'l Gal	J. Rosamond Johnson
b.	Mammy's Angel Chile	C. White

VI.

a.	Noboby Knows the Trouble I See	Harry T. Burleigh
b.	All God's Chillun Got Shoes	Arr. by Mr. Hooper
c.	Go Down, Moses	Harry T. Burleigh

Chickering Piano

Press Notices

"THE EMPEROR JONES"

The greeting from the audience was perfunctory.

. . . . For one hour and a half, with only a few minutes for scene-shifting, the atmosphere kept alive by the steady throb, throb of a tom-tom, Robeson held his audience,—enthralled is the word. He was called before the curtain by men and women who rose to their feet and applauded. When the ache in the arms stopped their hands they used their voices, shouting meaningless words, gave hoarse, throaty cries. Canes were thumped on the boards of the floor. The power of the play had much to do with the emotion fired—that must be admitted—but the ovation was for Robeson, for his emotional strength, for his superb acting.

Robeson is almost a giant, in height and breadth. He has a powerful voice, a voice that fairly booms, and it is resonant. One wonders if he has ever tried to sing. To an ear more or less attuned to the tonal qualities of the human voice the impression was given that if Robeson had the proper training he would become one of the greatest singers in the world. All that Chaliapin has, Robeson has, though in one the talent has been developed. . . . He is, and it is true, as fine an actor as there is on the American stage today. Just what he would do, cast in other than a part dissimilar to that of "The Emperor Jones," is debatable—it is our guess that he would do remarkably well, add fresh laurels to those that were given him, won by him, last night.

N. Y. Telegram and Evening Mail, May 7, 1924.

"ALL GOD'S CHILLUN GOT WINGS"

. . . . In the final scene of the first act, where O'Neil helps him with some vigorous and brilliant writing, Robeson furnishes one of the fine moments of the present theatrical season.

N. Y. World, May 16, 1924.

ABLE COPY

Robeson, Paul

CARNEGIE HALL—JAN. 10th

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LAWRENCE BROWN AT THE PIANO

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PAUL ROBESON

PAUL ROBESON was born in Princeton, N. J. He was the youngest son of a Methodist minister who had earned his way through Lincoln University. His mother, a school-teacher, died when Paul was six. A close, inspiring friendship united father and son.

Once he brought home a report card with seven A's and one B. "Son, what's the B doing there?" asked his father. "Nothing less than perfection" became Paul's motto. Perfection came easily to him. His brilliance at high school won him a scholarship. He went to Rutgers College. He won his "R" in football, baseball, basketball and track sports, being one of Rutgers' few 4-letter men. Walter Camp called Paul Robeson "the greatest defensive end that ever trod the gridiron."

An average of over ninety per cent. in all his studies won Paul Robeson the Phi Beta Kappa key in his junior year. His logical brain, convincing language and endearing personality made him Rutgers' star debater. He was graduated as "the perfect type of college man." A brilliant career as lawyer was predicted for him. He completed the two-year law course at Columbia University and took his degree. In the meantime he consented to act in a play being given at the Y. M. C. A. By chance Eugene O'Neill was in the audience. He came backstage and insisted that Paul Robeson should act in "Emperor Jones." Robeson laughed at the idea.

In 1923 he consented to play "Emperor Jones." To his astonishment the audience went mad over him! "Emperor Jones" was followed by "All God's Chillun," "Porgy," and "Black Boy" (written especially for him). His law career was definitely abandoned for the stage. Though all admired his acting and his appearance, it was the marvelous quality of his voice that thrilled them most. "Why don't you give a concert?" clamored critics and audiences. In 1925 he gave his first concert, in New York. His gloriously pure and velvet voice flooded the hall with magic beauty. People shouted and stamped until he had given an hour of encores. For his next concert they lined up in a snowstorm to buy standing room.

A brief concert-tour of Europe stretched itself into two years. He became the rage, winning new thousands

of devotees wherever he sang. London, Paris, Berlin, all cities acclaimed his genius.

F. C. Coppicus, American concert impresario, who managed the concert tours of Caruso, Chaliapin, Jeritza, Rosa Ponselle, Marion Talley and other great stars, heard Robeson in London and engaged him on the spot. In November 1929, Robeson established himself in New York as one of the world's great drawing cards, for he sang two sold-out recitals in Carnegie Hall within five days, a feat rarely accomplished. W. J. Henderson, dean of American music critics, declared in the New York Sun: "He is a master of the art of singing. He has fairly and fully won the vogue which he enjoys."

After his triumphant return to America, Robeson filled crowded recital engagements in Central Europe, and created a furore in Paris where he appeared for the first time with orchestra, singing four songs to accompaniment specially prepared by Ralph Lawton.

In the late spring of 1930 the spoken stage again claimed the presence of this versatile artist. He appeared in London in a pretentious production of Shakespeare's Othello, and created an international sensation as the Moor, being the first negro to enact this role since the days of Ira Aldridge, forty years ago. London critics praised this performance in columns, and New York papers devoted front page space to cabled stories of the event. Robeson's Othello was world-wide dramatic news.

As Robeson's speaking voice has gained measures of musical quality from his vocal training, so his singing voice has been enhanced by performance on the dramatic stage. In January 1931, Robeson will return to the American concert platform for his first coast-to-coast concert tour in several years.

The lithe, bronze magnificence of his figure, his delightful smile and the warm appeal of his powerful personality combine with the heart-searching beauty of his singing and the measured emotion with which it is charged, to fulfill the perfect aim of art, which is to excite and then to satisfy. Infinitely touching is this great voice, which seems to come out from eternity rather than from a human throat. Its rhythm, its exaltation, its sensuous loveliness thrill the ear. Its simplicity, truth and spirituality thrill the soul. Not to hear Paul Robeson sing is to miss an intense experience of life.

Y[illegible]

He aroused the enthusiasm o[illegible]ience by the deep sincerity with which he sang. The voice has a color and mellow warmth which are probably natural gifts, but the smoothness of his delivery gave evidence of a mastery of breathing, tone-coloring, and production.
Times.

So rich, so mellow, so manfully beautiful is this voice. It takes a voice of rare beauty like his which with the ease of "Ole Man River" just keeps rollin' along, to make a solo presentation of spirituals enthralling throughout a concert of them. *Post.*

CHICAGO

To me, Paul Robeson is the ideal Negro spiritual singer of the day. He brings to their delineation the genuine tonal timbre, with its peculiar original, typical tang and tinge.
American.

A beautiful voice, warm, rich, capable of great variety of shading. His singing is the soul of the Negro revealed by a man with the gifts of heart, brain and voice.
Daily News.

PITTSBURGH

He thrills you — that's certain. To a superlative degree he has everything that goes to make the artist. *Press* (WILLIAM R. MITCHELL).

The audience went wild with enthusiasm. To the natural qualities of voice he brings a limitless sense of musical values and a superb intellect with such success that his listeners remain awe-struck with the beauty of each song. *Sun-Telegram.*

The house was in ecstasies. Whatever religion is, Robeson is it. The voice is a baritone, splendidly timbred. As to his sub-line voice, it is superb. His mezza voce is above reproach, and emotionally, he is everything. *Post Gazette* (HARVEY GAUL).

TORONTO

One of the most gorgeous baritone voices ever heard in this world — a voice and a musical gift capable of singing anything ever written for a baritone.
Daily Star (AUGUSTUS BRIDLE).

Robeson packed Massey Hall last night. He conquered the audience by the genuine sincerity and simple and direct appeal. The reception accorded him was remarkable.
Mail and Empire.

If you want to define eloquence you would say — "Hear Paul Robeson!" Again and again you think of the great Chaliapin — of Chaliapin's tones dipped in honey.
Evening Telegram.

LONDON

We sat there in a trance of noiseless ecstasy as he touched our heartstrings with his marvelous voice. We laughed and wept. He broke our hearts with beauty. We applauded until we were weary, and we made him sing till he was weary. I have never seen a more unsated audience.

Before he sings a note he looks at you with his dream-charged eyes. Then, as you yield to his powerful domination, he turns his head with a smile to Lawrence Brown at the piano, and nods. He has you, and he holds you in a dream-state till the song creeps back in the silence out of which it came.

I have heard all the great singers of our time. No voice has ever moved me so profoundly with so many passions of thought and emotion. It is effortless enchantment moving through fluctuant states of thought and feeling.
The London Daily Express (JAMES DOUGLAS).

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Josephine Truslow Adams

PRESENTS

PAUL ROBESON

IN

CONCERT

WITH THE

Chamber Orchestra of the New Center of Music

JOSEPH LEVINE, Conductor

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, PHILA.   MARCH 7, 1941, 8.30 P. M.

BENEFIT: Committee For People's Rights
Commemorating 150th Year of the Bill of Rights

Program

◆

SERENADE IN F MINOR, OP. 3.................................... *Leo Weiner*

Allegretto, quasi andantino
Lebhaft, sehr rhythmisch
Rubato, andantino
Allegro molto

JOSEPH LEVINE, *Conductor*

Chamber Orchestra of the New Center of Music

GROUP OF CONTEMPORARY SONGS............................ *to be announced*

PAUL ROBESON

Lawrence Brown at the Piano

INTERMISSION

Commemorating the Signing of the Bill of Rights

ROCKWELL KENT

SUITE FROM "THE CRADLE WILL ROCK"........................ *Marc Blitzstein*

The Night Court
The Drug Store
Mrs. Mister and Reverend Salvation
Nickel under the Foot
Leaflets; Cradle Will Rock

JOSEPH LEVINE, *Conductor*

Chamber Orchestra of the New Center of Music

Hilda Morse, Soprano; David Brooks, Baritone; Thomas Perkins, Baritone;
New Theatre Acting Company

"BALLAD FOR AMERICANS".................................. *Earl Robinson*

PAUL ROBESON

Lawrence Brown at the Piano

Program Notes

◆

LEO WEINER - 1885- *Serenade for Orchestra Op. 3*

Weiner has long been known as one of the finest teachers and composers in all Europe. Many of his works have been heard in this country, especially such chamber-music pieces as his F sharp minor string quartet and the sonata for violin and piano. The Serenade on this program is an early work but is characteristic of Weiner's intense love of Hungarian folk-idioms and themes. The music is full of national color and fascinating rhythmic charm.

MARC BLITZSTEIN - 1905- *Suite from "The Cradle Will Rock"*

SCENE 1. THE NIGHT COURT

The scene is laid in Steeltown, U. S. A., on the night of a union drive. On stage are Mr. Mister's "Liberty Committee", consisting of the town's leading citizens, who have been arrested inadvertently and are impatiently awaiting their release; the Moll; and a broken-down druggist. The members of the "Liberty Committee" tell of their plight and boast of their positions in the community in their efforts to show the blundering "cop" his mistake.

SCENE 2. THE DRUG STORE

In a flash-back, Harry Druggist is found with his son Stevie in the store he once owned. The action revolves around an explosion which kills Gus and Sadie, two Polish workers, and also Stevie, who breaks with his father in an attempt to warn these two that their lives are in danger.

SCENE 3. REV. SALVATION AND MRS. MISTER

In another flash-back, Reverend Salvation is discovered with Mrs. Mister, whose husband is the leading employer of the town, discussing the nature of his sermons for 1915, 1916, and 1917.

SCENE 4. NICKEL UNDER THE FOOT

The Moll expresses her comments on life and people as she has found them in her efforts to survive in Steeltown, U. S. A.

SCENE 5. LEAFLETS: CRADLE WILL ROCK

Larry Foreman ironically describes the technique of "passin' out leaflets". The chorus, led by Larry Foreman, join in the title song, "The Cradle Will Rock".

"The Cradle Will Rock" is scored for 1 flute (interchangeable with piccolo), 2 clarinets, 2 saxophones, 2 trumpets, 1 trombone, guitar (interchangeable with banjo), accordion, piano, percussion and strings.

EARL ROBINSON - 1911- *"Ballad for Americans"*

This has been called by its authors a "pamphlet for democracy". Written in defiance of the rules of popular song-writing, without the familiar "June moon" and with its historical references completely accurate, "Ballad for Americans" was first heard on the radio in a stirring performance by Paul Robeson. Tonight Mr. Robeson is singing his solo version of this cantata.

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October 23, 1942
Wheat Street Baptist Church

PAUL ROBESON

Paul Robeson was born in Princeton, N. J., April 9, 1898, son of a minister and school teacher. His elementary and secondary education was done in Somerville (N. J.) where he made a name for himself as a debater. His college work was done at Rutgers where he was a four-letter man and also elected to Phi Beta Kappa. His post-graduate work was done in law at Columbia University, New York City.

Entering Amateur Dramatics in New York he was "spotted" by Robert Edmund Jones and Kenneth MacGowen and offered the title role in O'Neill's "Emperor Jones." From this work he was acclaimed by an enthusiastic audience. From then on, Robeson's career has been connected with the footlights. He has been acclaimed internationally, both as actor and singer; for in both fields it is the magnificence of his vocal powers that give color both to speech and song.

SYLVIA WARD OLDEN

Sylvia Ward Olden is one of the best of our young pianists. She was first trained by her mother, a native of New Orleans and a widely heralded singer and teacher. Miss Olden then studied in the Howard University Department of Music under Cecil Cohen. Later she graduated with honors from the Oberlin Conservatory of Music. She has toured widely giving joint concerts with Carol Brice, contralto, and in a duo piano team with Thomas Kerr, rising young artist and composer. Miss Olden taught for a while at Talladega College. This year she joined the staff of the Department of Music at Dillard University.

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Assisted by
Sylvia Ward Olden, Pianist

At the piano
Lawrence Brown for Mr. Robeson

PROGRAM

I

Lord God of Abraham (from Elijah)	Mendelssohn
Creation's Hymn	Beethoven
Dan le printemps de mes annees	Garat
Chassidic Chant (Hebrew)	Arranged by J. Engel

MR. ROBESON

II

Fantasie in F Minor	Chopin

Miss Olden

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VV— At Home and Abroad

III

Ballad for Americans....................................Robinson-La Touche

This stirring patriotic Ballad had its first performance in the CBS Pursuit of Happiness radio program, November 5, 1939. Time Magazine's report of the event stated that after the conclusion of the work the applause of the studio audience of 600 lasted a full quarter of an hour. The switch-boards in the New York and Hollywood studios were swamped with telephone calls of enthusiastic comments, and the following day letters began pouring in asking for a repetition of the program. The Ballad is a modern Cantata for baritone solo and chorus. It is divided into four dramatic episodes—the Revolution, the growth of the union, the Civil War, and the Machine Age. The soloist voices the spirit of the American people, with all yearnings and strivings and their unquenchable hope in the future.

MR. ROBESON and CHORUS
Directed by Mr. Kemper Harreld

INTERMISSION

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62 PEACHTREE, THRU to BROAD

IV

Etude in D (Un Sospiro)	Liszt
Out of the Silence "Seven Traceries"	Wm. Grant Still
Scherzo Bacchanale	Griffes

Miss Olden

V

Prayer and Death of Boris (from Boris Godounoff)	Moussorgsky
The Flea	
Balm in Gilead	Arranged by H. T. Burleigh
Joshua fit de battle ob Jericho	Arranged by Lawrence Brown

MR. ROBESON

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as

OTHELLO

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PAUL ROBESON

JOSE FERRER UTA HAGEN

in

OTHELLO

By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

With

Edith King James Monks

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ROBERT EDMOND JONES

Music composed by

TOM BENNETT

Associate Producer

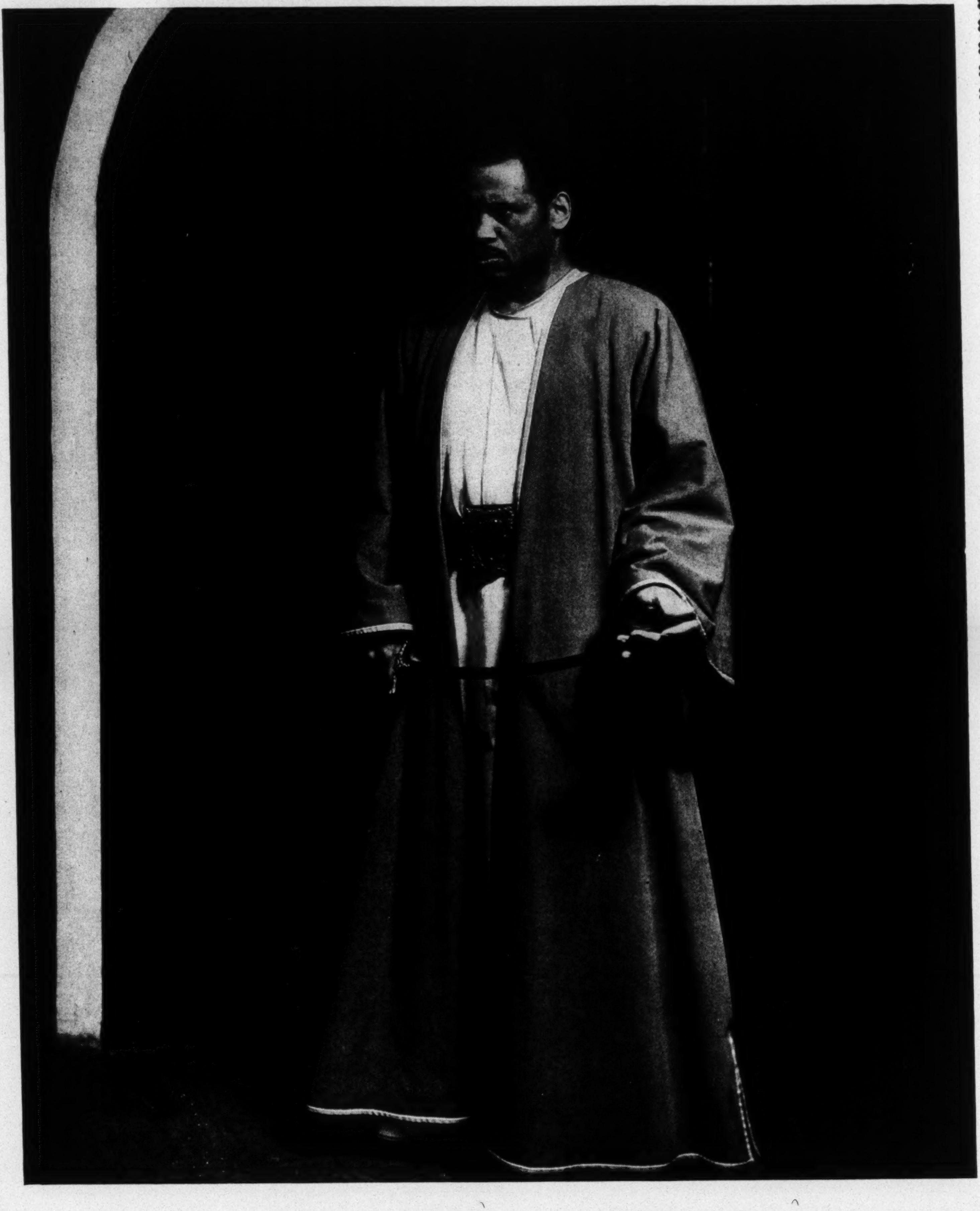
JOHN HAGGOTT

PEOPLE OF THE PLAY

OTHELLO, a noble Moor in the service of the Venetian State
IAGO, his Ancient, or Adjutant
DESDEMONA, daughter to Brabantio and wife to Othello
CASSIO, Lieutenant to Othello
EMILIA, wife to Iago
BIANCA, mistress to Cassio
BRABANTIO, a senator
LODOVICO, kinsman to Brabantio
GRATIANO, brother to Brabantio
RODERIGO, a Venetian gentleman
MONTANO, Othello's predecessor in the government of Cyprus
THE DOGE OF VENICE
Other senators, soldiers, servants, and citizens

• • •

The scene of the play is first Venice and later a seaport in Cyprus.
The time of the play is during the Turkish Wars.



PAUL ROBESON *as* OTHELLO

THE BLACK OTHELLO

by Margaret Webster

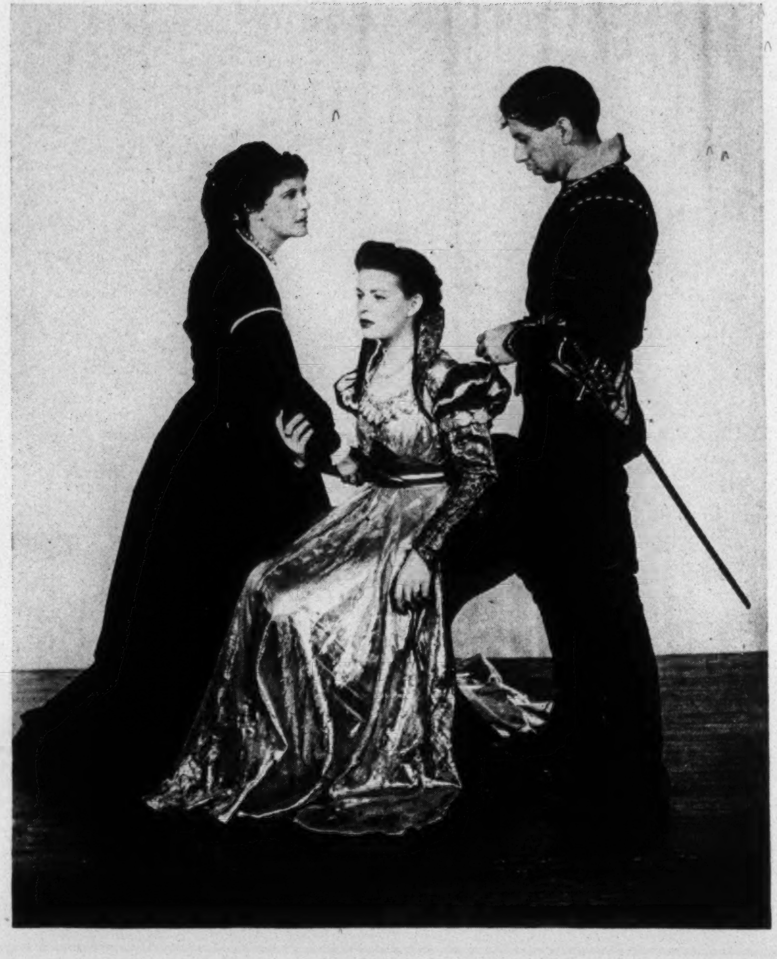
Dick Burbadge, leading man at The Globe and London's matinee idol of the early Sixteen-hundreds, had not played all of Shakespeare's star parts, from Richard III to Hamlet, for nothing. He must have known pretty closely what to look for, when he started to work out the details of his make-up and physical appearance as the Moor of Venice. Even before rehearsals started, before he had a chance to talk the matter over with his author, the text of the play was plain enough. "Black," was the reiterated adjective; "begrimed and black"; "thick-lips," "sooty bosom." Shakespeare's intention must have seemed plain enough to any straightforward reader.

Besides, Burbadge was familiar with the black-face dancer of Elizabethan vaudeville, the Morisco, the 'Negro or Moor,' from whom the ubiquitous Morris-dancers derived their leaping antics and jingling bells. He was presumably not unacquainted with the 'Moors' of Elizabethan literature and drama, the Blackamoors, a term widely and loosely used to designate equally Ethiopians, Egyptians, Gold Coast negroes and inhabitants of the North African 'Barbary' shores. He must have concluded quite simply that Shakespeare meant a black man from Africa—that huge, dark continent, that region of "antres vast and deserts idle," of "cannibals" and "Anthropophagi," whose coasts the hardiest mariners of Western Europe had risked their lives to chart, whose vast, mysterious hinterland was still an unknown world.

At all events, unworried by ethnological exactness, Burbadge played Othello, and played him black; of this we have contemporary indications. If Shakespeare protested, or had different ideas, no word of the difference of opinion has come down to us. For more than two hundred years Burbadge's successors, poor simple souls, followed the original example; until Edmund Kean of London's Drury Lane, that same Edmund Kean who shattered theatrical tradition by playing Shylock in a black wig instead of the prescribed red one, appeared as a pale Othello, a coffee-colored Othello, what the enlightened Nineteenth century had learned to mean when it referred, accurately enough, to a 'Moor.' This change was hailed by Coleridge, the great writer and essayist, as a most "pleasing probability." Here, at last, was the authentic 'Moor'; Roderigo's "thick-lips' epithet was merely a "wilful confusion," and the other textual evidence might be dismissed on various assorted grounds.

What with Kean's acting genius and Coleridge's critical cogency, the controversy was off to a flying start, and commentators have made the most of it ever since. "Tawny," says one; "black," snaps another; "a half-caste," describes the great Fechter's rendering: "an animal, tropical black," is another writer's analysis. Says George Lewis: "Othello is black; the very tragedy lies there; the whole force of the contrast, the pathos and extenuation of his doubts of Desdemona, depend on his blackness." While Mary Preston of Maryland, writing in 1868, roundly states: "We may regard the daub of black upon Othello's visage as an EBULLITION of fancy, a FREAK of imagination . . . the single blemish on a faultless work. Othello was a WHITE man." One critic, more moderate than the rest, most sensibly concluded: "The point which the Poet emphasizes so often and so strongly is the difference of race between him (Othello) and Desdemona. . . . This fact is sufficient for all dramatic purposes; to ascertain the exact shade of his skin may be left to those who have leisure to play with probabilities."

This temperate judgment, however, was acceptable to neither side. Historical evidence was invoked: "In the ages of her splendour, Venice was thronged with foreigners from



every climate of the earth; and nowhere else, perhaps, has the prejudice of colour been so feeble." Venice, moreover, at the period of the play, was in the midst of her great series of wars against the Turks; Portugal and her ally, Abyssinia, the oldest Christian country in Africa, were equally concerned in this struggle against the common foe. Certainly the Othello of the play seems to be a Christian, and what more likely than that an Ethiopian fighter of genius, a kinsman, perhaps, of the royal 'Lion of Judah' should command Venetian troops in the Battle of Cyprus? But the purists respond stubbornly with racial data about Mauretania, each side claiming for Shakespeare the precise amount of erudition and ignorance, inspired guess-work and wide research, which would bring him into the closest alignment with their particular view.

Actors have been similarly divided. The white robes of the disputed Moor have been stained with every shade of grease-paint from burnt cork to cafe-au-lait. Once, at least, the part was played by a colored actor, Ira Aldrich. This "African Roscius" of the middle Nineteenth Century never played in his native land of America, but he appeared with great success as Othello, Shylock and Lear in all the great cities of Europe. In Russia he was received with particular enthusiasm. It is recorded of him that he "smothered Desdemona with decency, and raged afterwards with propriety." All the great Shakespearean actors of the last and present century have played Othello, Americans, Frenchmen, Germans, Englishmen, Russians and Italians, and probably no two have ever played the part exactly alike, nor have any two dramatic critics ever been in exact accord in praise or condemnation.

One fact, however, stands in sharp relief. The difference in race between Othello and every other character in the play is, indeed, the heart of the matter. This is the cause of Othello's terrible vulnerability on which Iago fastens so pitilessly; because of this, the conduct of which Desdemona is accused seems to Othello only too horribly possible; this is Iago's first and most powerful weapon, twisted to every conceivable use: against this, the courage and strength of Desdemona stand out most clearly. It throws into sharpest relief all the emotional conflict of the play, gives depth and poignancy to the tempest of Othello's soul and leads directly to his self-destruction. If the tension, the bitterness, the complexity and power inherent in this central situation be realized, then the actors will have succeeded in interpreting their author. There are many means to the same end. The argument as to their relative rightness or wrongness seems to me to be academic. The art of the theatre is not amenable to mathematical rules, nor the magic of Shakespeare to limiting analysis and definition.

For Shakespeare's greatness lies in this: he created human beings with a compassion so profound, an understanding so penetrating and remorseless, that all of us can come to his great tragedies, return to them again and again, and receive from them renewed and differing experience, the qualities and impressions which are sympathetic to our own minds and hearts. The tragedy of Othello, the pity and terror of it, lies in human beings, carried to the furthest extension of which poetry and the dramatic imagination are capable. The brilliant, unrelenting portrait of Iago is no less wide in scope. All the elements of man's destruction are here fused and fired; in every varying degree of comprehension they will be welded to a different shape. Each of us, perhaps, who has known and loved this tremendous play, has created for himself his own Desdemona, innocent and steadfast, his own Emilia, who "wears her virtue loosely," his own Cassio, Roderigo and the rest.

On one thing we can all agree. OTHELLO stands as a document of the human race, not of individuals imagined by Shakespeare, named in the play and bounded by it; not of a special epoch or race or country, but reaching down into the hearts of men then and now and on into the unforeseen planes of time to come. To us, in 1943, Cyprus and Venice and North Africa are no strange lands; they have drawn very close; space and distance shrink to nothing. So, in the presence of Shakespeare's great humanity, difference of time and manners, race and creed, vanish. We are in the presence of men and women, of ourselves.

The Story of THE PLAY

by John Haggott

THE basic story of Othello was obtained by Shakespeare from the novels of Giraldi Cinthio. These novels were published in a series called The Hecatommithi, and the author seems to have designated his tale as a document to "Young Ladies against disproportionate marriages, that they should not link themselves to such, against whom nature Providence and a different way of Living have interposed a bar." But Shakespeare takes only the simple plot and lets the editorial references of his Italian predecessor lie well alone; for the tragedy of Desdemona and her dusky husband is less in their separate stations than it is in the greed for power which activates their friend and servant Iago to his plans. Certainly some of the extreme jealousy manifested by Othello toward Cassio is stirred by a feeling that his wife and Cassio are social equals; but the evil in the play is far outside them, it is the inherent love of power and position in mankind.

Not only did Shakespeare depart thus in the use to which the plot is put, he also deviated from it in several major instances. In Cinthio, the Moor is the newly appointed head of the garrison at Cyprus; there is no mention of a Turkish war going on at the time; Desdemona and her Moor arrive at Cyprus together safely on a smooth and tranquil sea; not separated as in the play by a violent storm. A storm of such violence in fact that it destroys the enemy fleet before it can attack Cyprus. But, the greatest differences in the two versions of the story affect the motive of the tragedy. In the Novel it is Iago's love for Desdemona and his own jealousy of Cassio whom he thinks to have her favor that moves him to arouse Othello against the Lieutenant. For by this mean, he hopes to remove Cassio from Desdemona's sight and leave the field clear for himself. He accomplishes this by the same process used in the play, getting Cassio drunk and instigating a brawl in which the Lieutenant draws his sword upon a soldier of the guard. This is cause for Othello to deprive him of his rank; and Iago's plan would have been complete except that Desdemona intercedes for Cassio and asks Othello to restore him. The possibilities of a reversal of Iago's plan cause him to arouse the Moor's jealousy against Desdemona and Cassio; and together they plot the death of both wife and Lieutenant. Iago is persuaded by the Moor, after a deal of entreaty as well as cash, to kill Cassio and then to slug Desdemona with a sand bag, so as to leave no mark. Then the Moor and his Ensign plan to pull down part of the ceiling on Desdemona's body to simulate an accident. This pleasant bit of work would have succeeded except that Cassio, left wounded in the street, recovered to accuse both servant and master of murder before the Senate in Venice. Both were brought to this tribunal, Othello to be released by the Senate but later killed by the kin of Desdemona, and Iago to die of tortures received in getting his testimony. And, thus, says Cinthio, "did heaven avenge the innocence of Desdemona."

"Witness, you ever-burning lights above . . ."

These characters, though similar in action, are patently not Shakespeare's. Our Othello is a great military genius who is urgently needed by the state for the defence of the Eastern Empire. In fact, his services in this sphere are so necessary that the Doge and the Council give very scant attention to the charges against Othello which are brought not by a private citizen but one of their own members. The Doge hastily hears the evidence, sanctions the marriage, and immediately turns to give Othello his orders. And, the Cyprus to which Othello brings his bride is a realistic garrison where there is always a possibility of revolution against Venice. It is not the hot-bed of grande amours of Cinthio; in fact the roughness of the assignment causes some discussion in the Senate scene about the fitness of Desdemona's going there with her husband; then, too, our Othello who commands this outpost would seem to be a Christian rather than a Mohammedan. He speaks of his God, his temper both in Venice and in Cyprus has more a Christian tinge than a Saracen one; and, when he is finally convinced by Iago of his wife's infidelity, his killing of her would seem to be more the execution of a sentence than an act of blind rage. He asks her if she had prayed that night before he strangles her, a question which even the most courteous of Saracens might have omitted. But, the most important fact of all in this comparison is that in Shakespeare Othello does kill Desdemona, with reluctance and with a high tragedy of purpose; he does not watch avidly as his Ensign beats her to death with a sack of sand.

The Ensign of Cinthio (who becomes our Iago) is a small man led to his deceits by lust for his master's wife. That is his sole purpose. He is a shallow and singly dimensioned character who serves simply as a literary illustration of the old saw about what monstrous nets we weave. Shakespeare took this neo-moron and made him into a human. He has pride; he has ambition; and he has a desire for revenge. These are all in the makeup of any member of mankind; but in Iago they become the controlling factors of his life. They become his sole reasons for action, and in this intensification lies the evil which makes Iago the supreme villain of our literature. There is little that is abnormal in Iago's character except the disproportion which ambition takes in his life, the same ambition which affected the Macbeths and was attributed to Caesar.

Our Iago is basically a commoner who has had long sergeant-like military service; he hates the background and education which has made Cassio his superior and he hates Othello, for recognizing this superiority in his rival. It is true that Othello was high born in his own land; but that land was Africa—and to Iago it was a Continent of barbarity and savage customs. It was not Italy, the land that had produced both Cassio, the cultured Florentine graduate of a military academy, and Desdemona, daughter of a nobleman, who may have influenced Othello against him, Iago, the soldier. And, in the final scene, Iago is not Mephistophelian; he is as naturally human as any one of our Capone lads. He is snarling, bitter, and despicable when caught; just as he was arrogant and scheming in working out his revenge on the high born who thwarted his ambition.

Desdemona's only fault lies in the fact that she came of a class which Iago might not enter, she is always in the phrase of Wordsworth: "The gentle Lady married to the Moor." True, she champions Cassio and asks Othello to reinstate him after his groggy brawl, but why should she do otherwise? He was her friend and had often come calling with Othello during courtship days. She must have thought him an old friend much abused, and unwittingly fed Iago's plan by trying to sway her husband's decision. The tragedy of Desdemona, who cannot believe that wives could be unfaithful, is that she was honest but unworldly.

Of Emilia, Shakespeare has made great use, both as a character and as a device to wind up the plot in the final scene. In the novel it is perhaps interesting to note that the wife of the Ensign, as she is called, is sort of an animated dust mop who knows of the plan to dishonor Desdemona but is so afraid of her husband that she keeps silent except for a single veiled statement to Desdemona, "show to him by every means your fidelity and love." In fact, in the novel, not the Ensign's wife, but his little child steals the handkerchief and brings it home to Papa. Shakespeare has made this wife into Emilia, witty companion, and lady-in-waitng of a sort, to Desdemona. She knows the story of the handkerchief, which her husband has snatched from her, but she too has a very natural fault, fear. She is not Cinthio's girl who fears her husband. Emilia not only loves Iago—she has all the faith in him that a good wife should possess. She is a commoner who fears her lord. Were it not for the terror which she feels at watching the almost epileptic fits that jealousy rouses in Othello, she might have

(*Continued on inside back cover*)

"You shall be well desir'd in Cyprus . . ."

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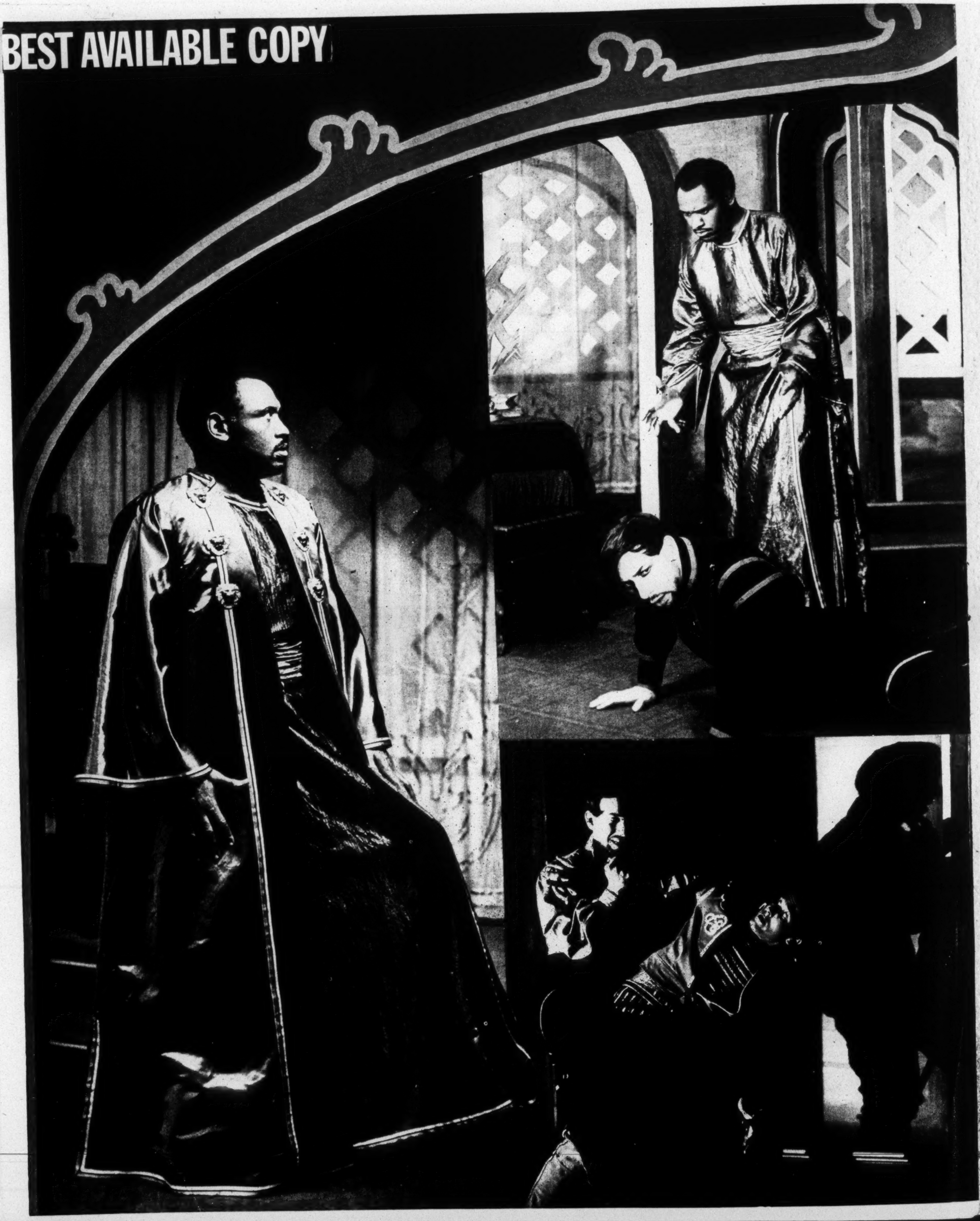

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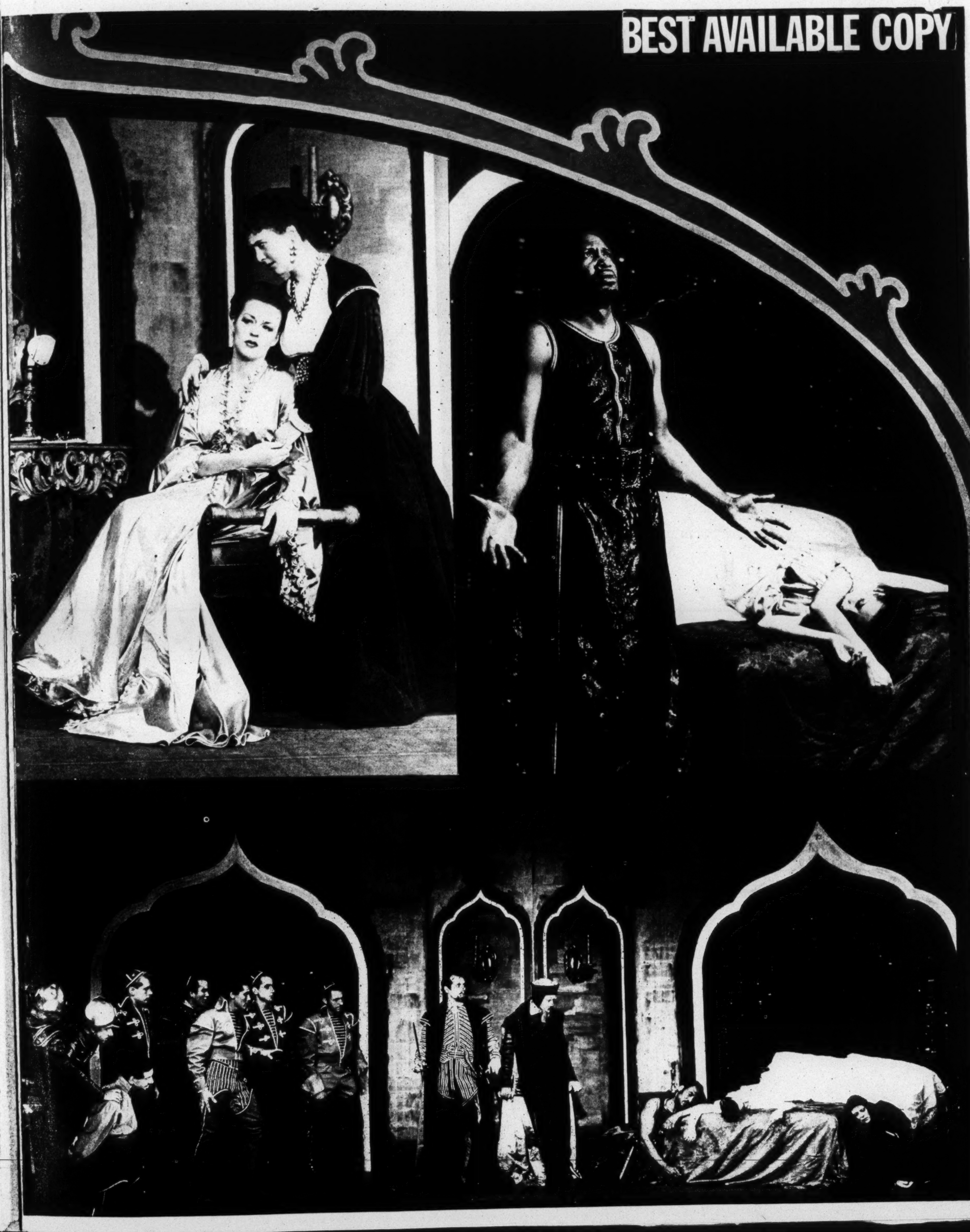


THE ART *of the* THEATRE

by Robert Edmond Jones

Excerpts from "The Dramatic Imagination," by Robert Edmond Jones
Published by Duell, Sloane and Pierce — Price $2.00

There seems to be a wide divergence of opinion today as to what the theatre really is. Some people say it is a temple, some say it is a brothel, some say it is a laboratory, or workshop, or it may be an art, or plaything, or a corporation. But, whatever it is, one thing is true about it. There is too much incompetence in it. The theatre demands of its craftsmen that they know their jobs. The theatre is a school. We shall never have done with studying and learning. In the theatre as in life, we try first of all to free ourselves, as far as we can, from our own limitations. Then we can begin to practice this noble and magical 'art.' Then we may begin to dream.

When the curtain rises, it is the scenery that sets the key of the play. A stage setting is not a background; it is an environment. Players act in a setting, not against it. We say, in the audience, when we look at what the designer has made, before anyone on the stage has time to move or speak. 'Aha, I see! It's going to be like that! Aha!' This is true no matter whether we are looking at a realistic representation of Eliza crossing the ice or at the setting for one of Yeats' *Plays For Dancers,* carried to the limit of abstract symbolism. When I go to the theatre I want to get an eyeful. Why not? I do not want to look at one of the so-called 'suggestive' settings, in which a single Gothic column is made to do duty for a cathedral; it makes me feel as if I had been invited to some important ceremony and had been given a poor seat behind a post. No, I don't like these clever, falsely economical contraptions. And I do not want to look at a setting that is merely smart or novel or *chic,* a setting that tells me that it is the latest fashion, as though its designer had taken a flying trip like a spring buyer and brought back a trunk full of the latest styles in scenery

I want my imagination to be stimulated by what I see on the stage. But the moment I get a sense of ingenuity, a sense of effort, my imagination is not stimulated; it is starved. That play is finished as far as I am concerned. For I have come to the theatre to see a play, not to see the work done on a play.

The sole aim of the arts of scene-designing, costuming, lighting, is, as I have already said, to enhance the natural powers of the actor.

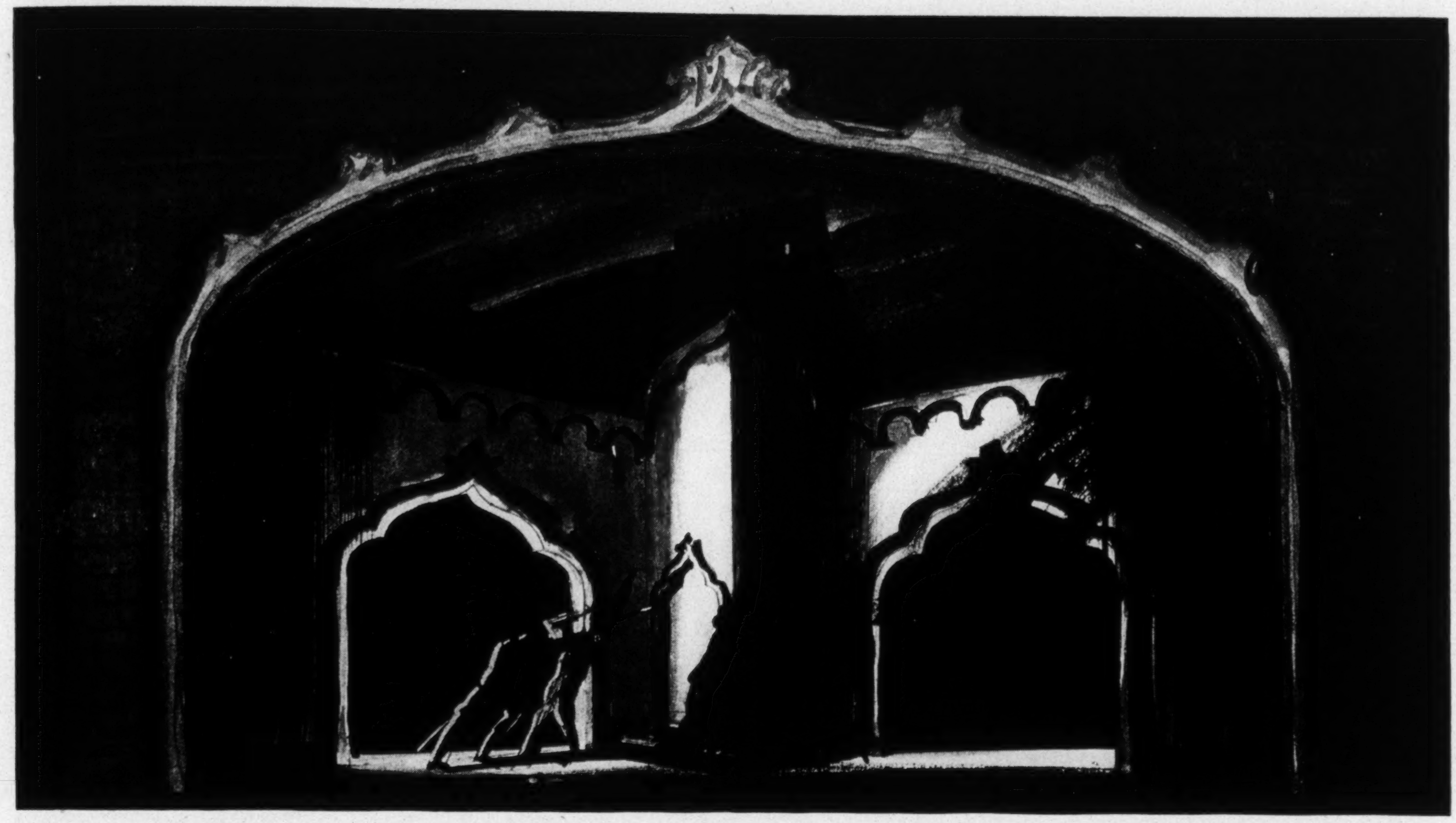
Professor Max Reinhardt once said, I am told, that the art of lighting a stage consists of putting light where you want it and taking it away where you don't want it. I have often had occasion to think of this remark—so often, in fact, that with the passage of time it has taken on for me something of the quality of an old proverb. Put light where you want it and take it away where you don't want it. What could be more simple?

But our real problem in the theatre is to know where to put the light and where to take it away. And this, as Professor Reinhardt very well knows, is not so simple. On the contrary, it demands the knowledge and the application of a lifetime.

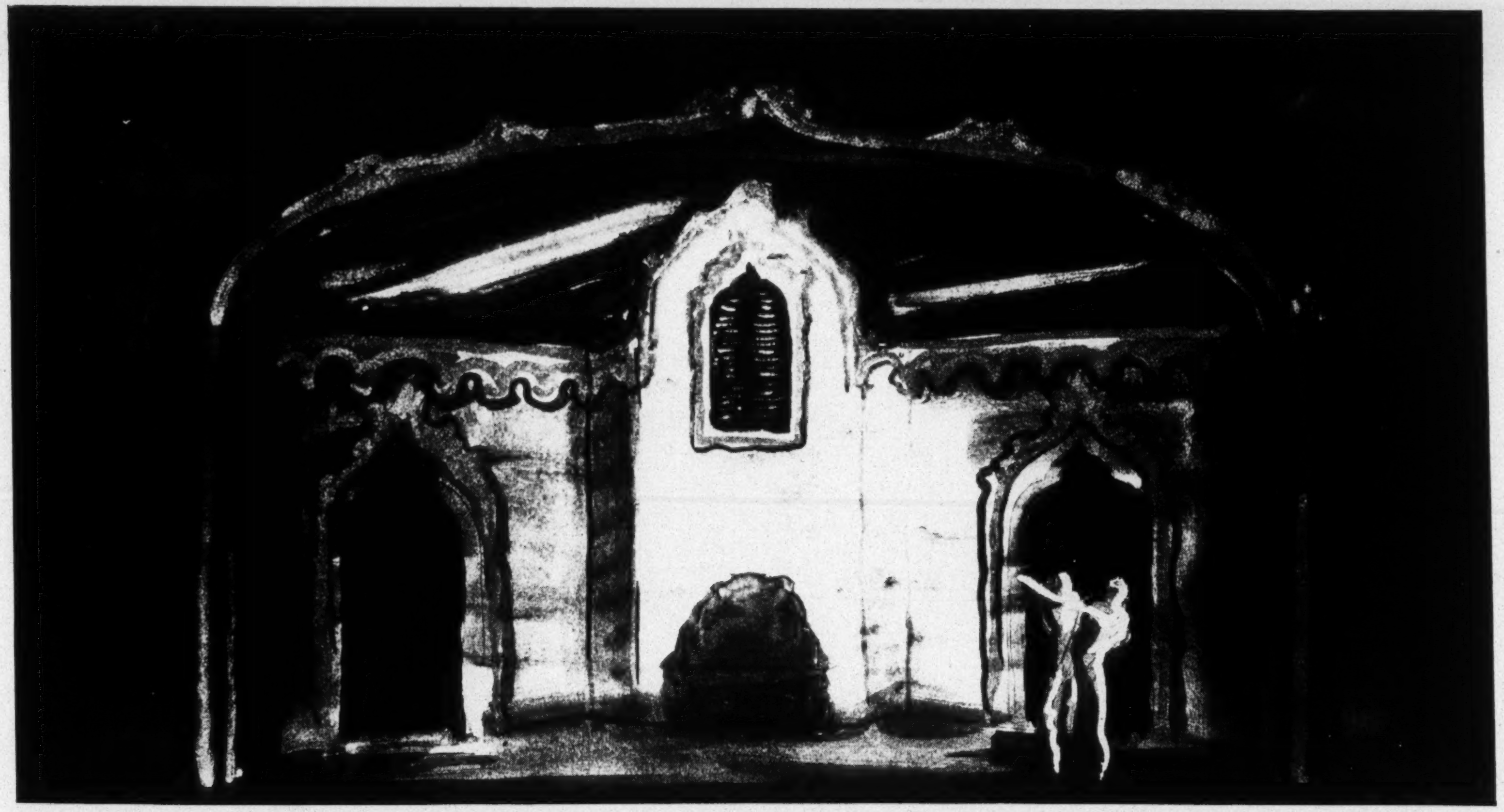
The creative approach to the problem of stage lighting—the art, in other words, of knowing where to put light on the stage and where to take it away—is not a matter of textbooks and precepts. There are no arbitrary rules. There is only a goal and a promise. We have the mechanism with which to create this ideal, exalted, dramatic light in the theatre. Whether we can do so or not is a matter of temperament as well as of technique. The secret lies in our perception of light in the theatre as something alive.

Does this mean that we are to carry images of poetry and vision and high passion in our minds while we are shouting out orders to electricians on ladders in light-rehearsals?

Yes. This is what it means.



Sketches for the Production by Robert Edmond Jones



The influence of Robert Edmond Jones in the contemporary theatre has become a contemporary legend. His production of "The Man Who Married A Dumb Wife," a quarter of a century ago, caused a revolution in design for the stage; and since that time, he has consistently led the field of visual art in the theatre.

JOSE FERRER

as Iago

Jose Ferrer, of Puerto Rico, Princeton and New York, first came to theatrical light as an assistant stage manager in "A Slight Case of Murder." He soon changed his profession to that of actor and has been working at it ever since. "Brother Rat," "How To Get Tough About It," "Missouri Legend" and "Mamba's Daughters" preceded an assignment as director at The Mount Kisco Playhouse, where he conceived the production of "Charley's Aunt" that brought him to stardom in New York.

UTA HAGEN

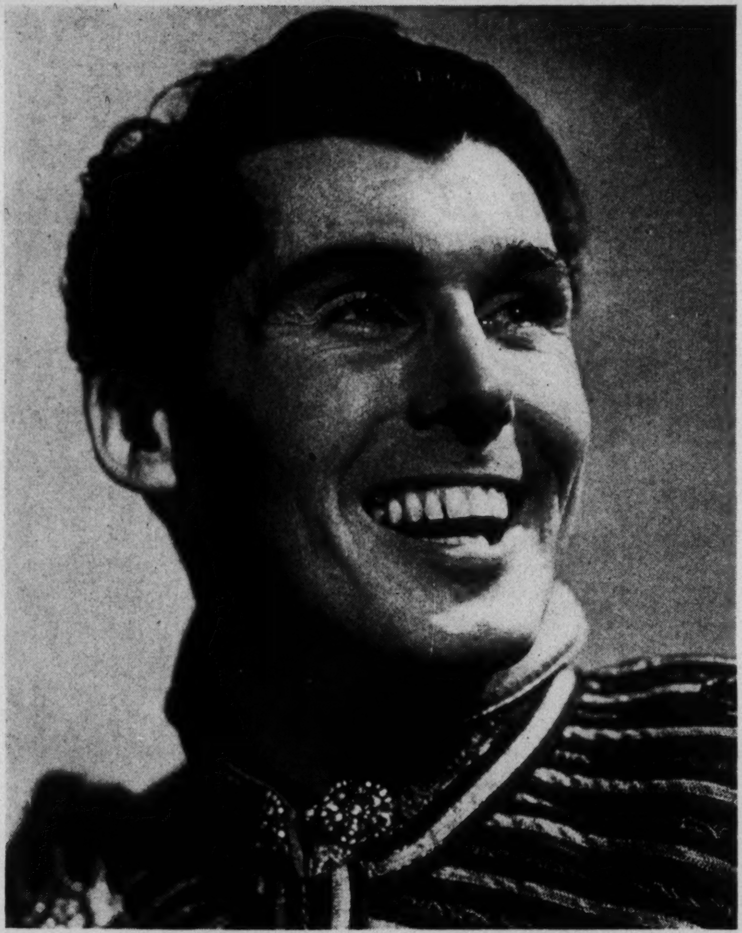
as Desdemona

Daughter of a professor of Fine Arts, Miss Hagen played "Ophelia" in Eva Le Gallienne's production of "Hamlet," and from that went into The Theatre Guild's production of "The Sea Gull," starring Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne. Her appearance in that play set the theatre on its calloused ear, and she followed it with "Key Largo," in which her husband, Jose Ferrer, also played. She then took time out to bring a new Ferrer into the world, and that done is now Desdemona.

EDITH KING

as Emilia

Edith King has appeared in many Theatre Guild productions in recent seasons. She was with the Lunts in "The Taming of the Shrew," "Amphitryon 38" and "The Sea Gull." Then she appeared in "Battle of Angels" and "Hope for a Harvest" with Fredric March and Florence Eldridge. Her career started with David Belasco, for whom she appeared in "The Boomerang," "The Pipes of Pan" and "Daddies," which starred Jeanne Eagels. After only three seasons on the stage, she became Lou Tellegan's leading woman in "Blind Youth," followed that appearance with an important part with Helen Hayes in "Bab" and went on to the feminine lead opposite Harry Davenport in "Thank You."



JAMES MONKS

as Cassio

James Monks went from advertising to the theatre. His brother, John, was a co-author of "Brother Rat," and this play found Jimmy in the cast and also found him meeting Jose Ferrer. After two years of "Brother Rat," he became one of the lesser Foxes in Lillian Hellman's play. Then John Ford brought him to California to play the defiant son, Owen Morgan, in "How Green Was My Valley." He then went into theatrical uniform and was seen as an aviator in "Joan of Paris," came to New York and played a policeman in "Yesterday's Magic," a draftee in "The Eve of Saint Mark," and now a lieutenant in "Othello."

WHO'S WHO

AVERELL HARRIS: (Brabantio) It would take a good many paragraphs, the size of this one, to list accurately Mr. Harris' theatrical past. He played many parts with Eva Le Gallienne's Civic Repertory Company, following which he appeared in "Antony and Cleopatra," with Tallulah Bankhead; "Key Largo," "Pal Joey," and then George Abbott's musical "Beat the Band."

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PHILIP HUSTON: (Lodovico) During the past few years Philip Huston has been one of the most popular leading men in summer stock companies during the summers and has played in Shakespeare in the winters. "Twelfth Night" was followed by "Macbeth" and that in turn by last summer's production of "Othello," in which he played the same part that he has now.

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FRANCES TANNEHILL: (Bianca) is carrying on the tradition of her well-known theatrical family. "Othello" marks her initial appearance in a Shakespearean production. She has been seen in "Anne of England," "Heart of a City," "Counsellor-at-Law," "Murder Without Crime" and most recently in "Right Next to Broadway."

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JACK MANNING: (Roderigo) Jack Manning graduated from the University of Cincinnati and came to New York to make his debut as the young man with the new cigarette case in "Junior Miss." He then played in "The Great Big Doorstep," followed in "Harriet" and now "Othello."

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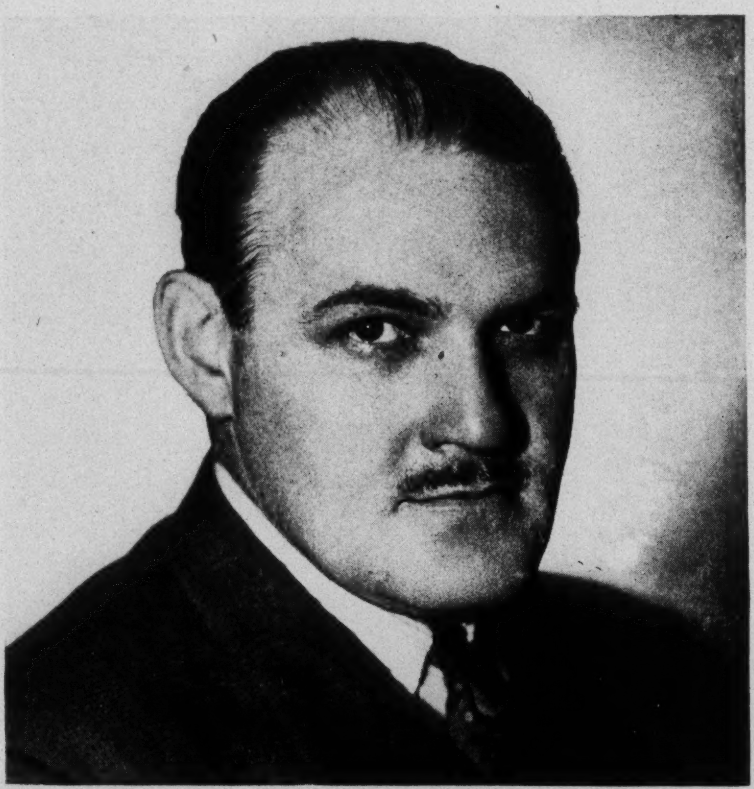
ROBERT E. PERRY: (The Duke and Gratiano) When "Othello" was produced in Cambridge, Mass. two summers ago, Perry was found directing the company there and was persuaded to play the Duke. He was seen last season in "Uncle Harry," spent this last summer playing opposite Constance Bennett in "Without Love" in a great number of places and has now returned to not only his original role but an added one besides.

• • •

WILLIAM WOODSON: (Montano) Woodson arrived at The Guild offices, a fugitive from traveling Shakespeare companies, stock troupes, tent shows and other theatricality on the West Coast. For The Guild he joined Helen Hayes in "Candle In The Wind," did Montano two summers ago, then appeared in Miss Hayes' production of "Harriet" this season, and is now back in his part in "Othello."

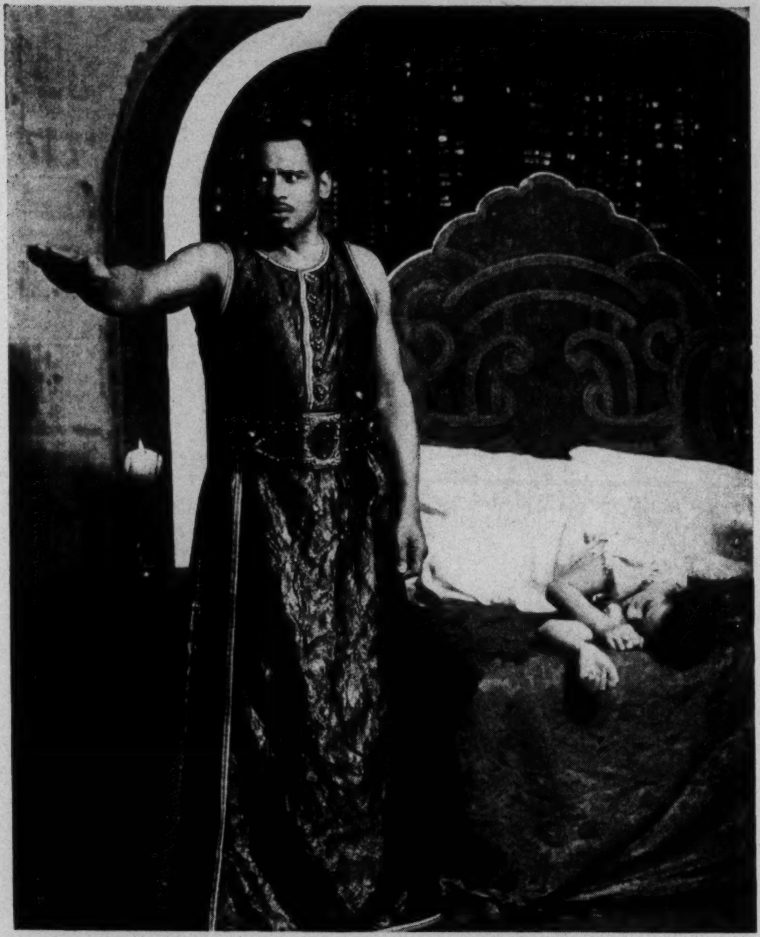
MUSIC

Starting from the time when he was just high enough to push his money over the counter in the pawn shop to buy a highly used trombone, Bennett has learned music the hard way. On the aforementioned trombone he learned to pick out "My Country 'Tis Of Thee"; soon bored with this he went to the aforementioned hock shop and traded it in for a fiddle. This process continued, instrument by instrument; and by the time he was twelve, Tom had acquired knowledge and ambition enough to lead a band for the Girl Scout Troop's dance. He continued to study music through school, but never mastered a particular instrument, instead he studied all of the instruments in the orchestra to find out their qualities. Family interference caused Bennett to go into the furniture business for a short period; the period was ended in October of 1929; for seven years thereafter he studied scores, listened to symphonies, to find out how the conductors achieved their effects, and haunted studios and orchestra rehearsals looking for a job as an arranger. He got it. He became arranger and composer for Ozzie Nelson, then came a similar position with Mark Warnow and later Andre Kostelanetz. He then became Staff Composer for N. B. C. and is now in the talent department. He is the composer of the Ford Ballet that was performed during the World Fair in 1940 and of a Piano Concerto



TOM BENNETT

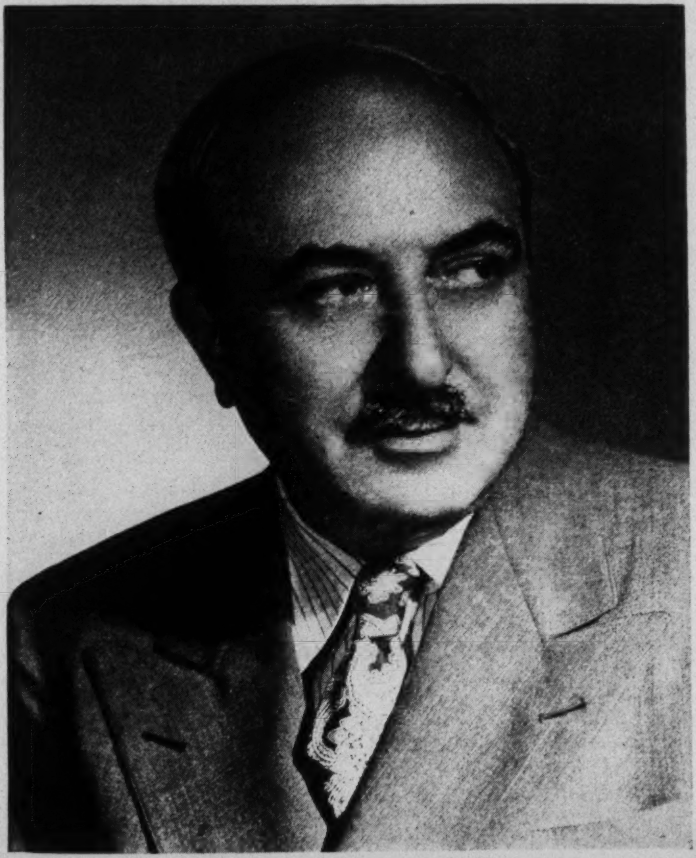
"She lov'd me for the dangers I had pass'd . . ."



"Then you must speak of one—
That lov'd not wisely, but too well . . ."

"Would Thou do such a deed
for all the world . . ."

The Theatre Guild



LAWRENCE LANGNER

THERESA HELBURN

THE THEATRE GUILD this year begins its twenty-sixth season as perhaps the foremost producing organization in the American theatre with the most outstanding and already the most legendary of all Guild hits: "Oklahoma!" Just as with "The Garrick Gaieties" and "Porgy and Bess," The Guild with "Oklahoma!" has proven again its time-honored theory that if artistic achievement rather than box-office reward is the producer's goal, his efforts sometimes win both.

Two factors have been largely responsible for The Theatre Guild's enduring success. First, the Guild is not a local but a national theatre, and its experiments in the field of drama and musical plays are shared by its audiences. From coast to coast, the majority of its audiences attend Guild plays season by season "on subscription." With this subscribing audience as a vital cooperating factor. The Guild has been able to expand and improve its programs steadily, and to experiment where other producers cannot.

The second factor in the Guild's success lies in the fact that the two people solely responsible for the administration of its affairs—Lawrence Langner and Theresa Helburn—have belonged heart and soul to the Guild since its earliest beginnings.

The Theatre Guild, since 1919, has produced more successes, both artistic and financial, than any single organization in the world. It has been the American theatre of George Bernard Shaw since 1920. It has produced four of Eugene O'Neill's finest plays and five of Maxwell Anderson's, including a Pulizer Prize winner in each case—"Ah, Wilderness!" and "Both Your Houses."

In addition to such plays as "Strange Interlude," "Liliom," "He Who Gets Slapped," "Saint Joan," "The Adding Machine," "The Guardsman," "The Silver Cord," "Porgy," "Caprice," "Reunion in Vienna," "Biography," "Mary of Scotland," "Porgy and Bess," "Amphitryon 38," "Call It A Day," "Idiot's Delight," "The Time of Your Life," "The Philadelphia Story" and "Love's Old Sweet Song," all of which The Theatre Guild made famous, it has given memorable productions to such classics as "Volpone," "The Sea Gull" and "The Rivals."

Its success with Shakespeare—the Helen Hayes-Maurice Evans presentation of "Twelfth Night," the Lunts in "The Taming of the Shrew" and now the Margaret Webster-Paul Robeson combination in "Othello"—has prompted the Guild to plan a Theatre Guild Shakespearean Company which each season will appear in one of the bard's comedies or tragedies, both in New York and in its other subscription cities.

This season's combination of "Oklahoma!" and "Othello" sums up the history of the Guild and the reason for its success: the combination of the new and experimental with the classic and proven—the determination to produce plays of artistic merit regardless of financial risk, believing that the public is always ready and eager to support fine plays, finely produced.

As this production of "Othello" begins, we are in the middle of a year and in the middle of a war: and when at war, it may not be out of place to keep other wars, of other times in mind. For, by this means, patterns and directions may be the clearer. We are now engaged in a war to protect a way of life which we feel offers the greatest benefit to the greatest number of people. Venice in the Sixteenth Century was fighting too: her wars were to protect Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In our conflict, all races are allied to fight for common ideals. The Negro pilot of the Army Air Corps may fly under the command of Chiang in China; just as soldiers of other races fought with Venice for the protection of Christianity.

PAUL ROBESON

Robeson is a native of Princeton; he grew up there and then attended Rutgers. His scholastic record there is one of those examples toward which other fathers exhort their sons; and his athletic record is best illustrated by the fact that he was an All-American end for two years. Then came Columbia Law School, and with it a quirk of fate that steered him from law to the theatre. When he was in the middle of Blackstone, he was wheedled and cajoled into taking a part in a production of a play by Ridgeley Torrence called "Simon the Cyrene." The play was about the Negro who carried the cross for Christ and for Robeson was more or less of a declamation. He had never acted very much, but his father had taught him how to be at home speaking before an audience. As Robeson tells it: ". . . How I happened to do that thing, is one of those accidents that make me believe it is all luck the way things come about for me. They were giving this play at a YWCA in Harlem. A woman named Dora Cole was directing it. She had studied dramatics at the Sargent School and she knew Robert Edmond Jones and Kenneth MacGowan from there, and they happened to see me in the play. But how I happened to be on the stage is that I was living next door to the YWCA, so close that it was actually possible for Dora Cole to drag me in there and make me do the part. If it just hadn't happened that I was so close that I couldn't get out of it, I never would have done that thing. I was going to Law School, coaching a football team, I didn't want to go into the theatre, I didn't know what I was doing a play at the YWCA for, only I couldn't get out of it."

"So, I did it, and everybody was excited about it. Then later Jasper Deeter came to see me. I was studying Law, I was very anxious about my life and what I would do, because I was very much concerned with contributing something to my race. And, of course, I was very sensitive to every epithet applied to it. Added to that, I had been brought up to believe that the theatre was an evil place. And this man—Jasper I mean—came up and read me the play, 'Emperor Jones.' You can understand that my reaction was one of such anger that I couldn't breathe. The more he read me that terrible character, the angrier I got. I think I almost threw Deeter out of the house!

"It took a lot of convincing years later to make me believe that this all came under the heading of art and you didn't worry about those things. And so finally I did 'Emperor Jones' for Jones and MacGowan, and then 'Taboo' with Mrs. Patrick Campbell, and I just gradually got to thinking of myself as an actor, and then, later, a singer. But, it was nothing that I planned. Law was what I had planned. It was just luck."

Paul Robeson made the sensation that we all know about in "Emperor Jones," followed it with "Black Boy" and "Showboat." Then he went to England, for he was rapidly gaining as much fame as a singer as he received as an actor, and the interest in him was enormous in England. However, he still managed to continue to act as well as sing, and he did "All God's Chillun Got Wings" with Flora Robson, "The Hairy Ape" and "Othello." Robeson was singing at Albert Hall one night when he got a telephone call from Maurice Browne asking him to do "Othello." The production followed and in one of its audiences sat Margaret Webster She and Robeson had not met at that time, but several years later they did, and with that meeting this production of "Othello" began to form.

The Story of The Play

(Continued)

told him the truth of the little napkin and saved the lives of both master and mistress.

It may be of moment to spend a word on the probable date of the action. It has long been my opinion that academic research about the plays of Shakespeare tends to imply several thousand times the research and information which the author had at his command and that it tends to rob the plays of dramatic impact and substitute a spurious history. However, risking the chance, it is of interest that from the beginning of the Venetian Eastern Empire, which was built up to insure a commerce route to India and the East, Venice had had her troubles.

These troubles came both from her Christian sister states in Italy, who also had the Eastern trade in view, and from the Ottoman Empire which rather naturally disliked the domination of the Eastern Mediterranean by a Christian state. Venice had gotten control of Cyprus in 1488, through protecting the claimant to the throne, one Cattarina Cornaro. The protection of the lady consisted of taking her to Venice, placing her in luxurious but actual imprisonment, and putting a military governor in her place at Cyprus. Venice retained control of this military outpost until 1571 when Selim the Magnificant captured it. There seems to be a tendency on the part of literary scholars to place the probable date of the action of Othello at this later time; but in doing this they skip blithely over two things. First, that Shakespeare finishes the Empire problems with the destruction of the Turkish fleet by the storm which preceded the arrival of the Othello family at the island; and, second, that in 1498 Venice and France formed an alliance to attack the state of Milan, then ruled by Lodovico Sforza. Sforza was well schooled in diplomacy, and stirred up the Turks to attack the Eastern possessions of Venice in order to divert her attention. The diversion was satisfactory and at Sapienza the Venetian fleet was completely defeated on August 25, 1502. Venice was forced to sue for peace.

During this same period an Eastern neighbor of Venice was having a deal of Turkish trouble too, the oldest Christian Empire, Abyssinia, was being attacked. This empire had been such a land of mystery to the Western nations that great legends about its mythical ruler Prester John had grown up, and late in the Fifteenth Century a Portuguese missionary had gone there to investigate. The result of his visit was an alliance of Abyssinia and Portugal against the Turks during the same time when the French and Venetians were fighting Sforza and the Turks. It has even been suggested that the Portuguese-Abyssinian concord might have been allied with Venice at this time and thus have given Venice the services of such an Ethiopian military genius as Othello. I doubt that Shakespeare documented his play of the dusky general to any such extent. But he might have been artistically tempted by the great prowess of the mythical Prester John, ruler of the black empire, and thus have given some of his stature and genius to Othello.

For the Economist, we have a final tragedy in the play, that of Venice, a regal mistress of empire whose glory was very soon to be found only in archives and painting. For during this time the Doge and the Council dismissed consideration of a plan of Far Western exploration proferred by Columbus. Had the Fathers been less interested in Cyprus and the Levant, they and not Spain might have had Empire in the Americas. The tragedy of Venice was analogous with the tragedy wrought by the evil Iago; they, too, were ambitious.

A THEATRE GUILD
The THEATRE GUILD Inc.
NEW YORK
PRODUCTION

Photos by Vandamm
491
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Robeson, Paul

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--IN--

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MURIEL SMITH, Star of "CARMEN JONES,"
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NIXON THEATRE

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WEEK COMMENCING MONDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 6, 1944

Matinees Wednesday and Saturday

THE THEATRE GUILD

Presents

THE MARGARET WEBSTER PRODUCTION

PAUL ROBESON

JOSE FERRER **UTA HAGEN**

. . . in . . .

OTHELLO

By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

. . with . .

EDITH KING **RALPH CLANTON**

Production Designed and Lighted by

ROBERT EDMOND JONES

Music Composed by

TOM BENNETT

Associate Producer

JOHN HAGGOTT

CAST

(In order of speaking)

RODERIOGA	DON KEEFER
IAGO	JOSE FERRER
BRABANTIO	FRANCIS COMPTON
OTHELLO	PAUL ROBESON
CASSIO	RALPH CLANTON
DUKE	LOUIS LYTTON
LODOVICO	ROBERT E. PERRY
A MESSENGER	STOCKMAN BARNER
1ST SENATOR	RONALD BISHOP
2ND SENATOR	TED YARYAN
3RD SENATOR	FRANCIS LETTON
DESDEMONA	UTA HAGEN
MONTANO	FREDERIC DOWNS
1ST SOLDIER AT CYPRUS	JAY BRASSFIELD
2ND SOLDIER AT CYPRUS	WILLIAM BROWDER
3RD SOLDIER AT CYPRUS	RONALD BISHOP
EMILIA	EDITH KING
BIANCA	NAN McFARLAND
GRATIANO	LOUIS LYTTON

Senators, Soldiers, Servants, and Citizens: Barbara Anderson, Virginia Mattis, Angus Cairns, John Gifford, John Granger, Leonard Klein, Robert Leser, Robinson Stone.

(Over)

SYNOPSIS OF SCENES

ACT I

Scene 1. A Street Scene in Venice.
Scene 2. The Council Chamber.
Scene 3. A Seaport in Cyprus.
Scene 4. The Castle in Cyprus.

ACT II

Scene 1. The Castle in Cyprus.
Scene 2. A Room in the Castle.
Scene 3. A Street in Cyprus.
Scene 4. A Bedroom in the Castle.

NOTE: The term "ancient" used as applied to Iago throughout the play is a military term analogous to "Adjutant." The phrase "take out the work" used by Emilia and Cassio about the handkerchief means "to copy."

CREDITS

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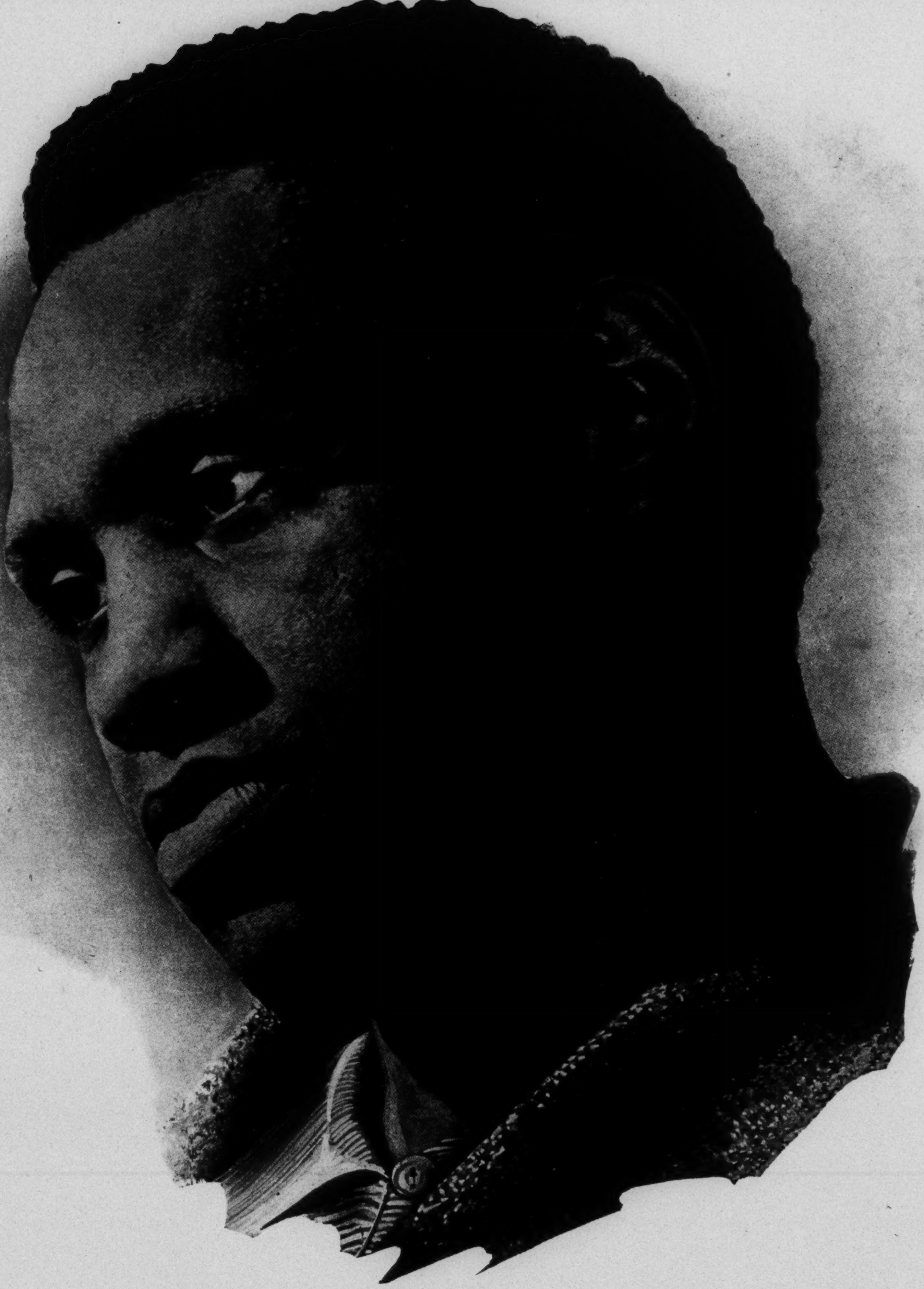

PAUL ROBESON

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PAUL ROBESON

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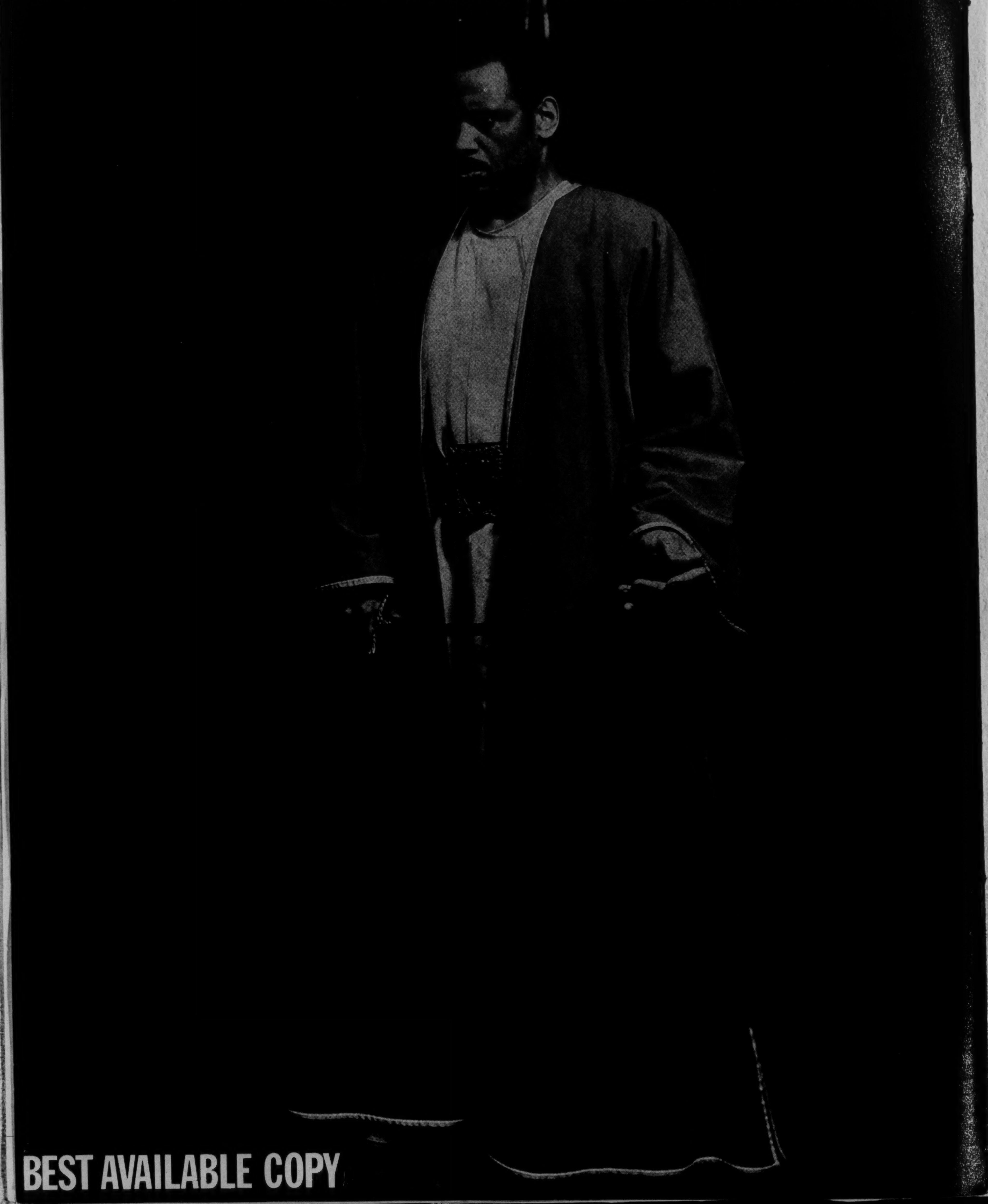

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PAUL ROBESON

Sculpture by Epstein

ONE of the leading vocalists of his race and comparable to the greatest singers and actors of any race or age, Paul Robeson is the popular idol of the American audience in the theatre, concert hall or outdoor stadium.

Robeson's phenomenal drawing power is accounted for by his humanity, his dignity and his artistic integrity. Added to these qualities there is his lofty stature, his noble mien and the majesty of his voice.

But there is something else . . . a deep undercurrent of compassion for the plight of his people, emancipated by words in 1865 but still too often denied in 1945 the simple actualities of that freedom proclaimed eighty years ago.

This omnipresent compassion which gives to appropriate songs sometimes somber fervor and other times a note of exalted protest has moved the heart of masses and bestowed upon Robeson a place high in the leadership of his race.

"Giant of Song" the critic of a Chicago paper has called Robeson. He is, indeed, not only a giant of song, but a giant of a man—just under 6 foot, 4 inches in height, and weighing around 200 pounds.

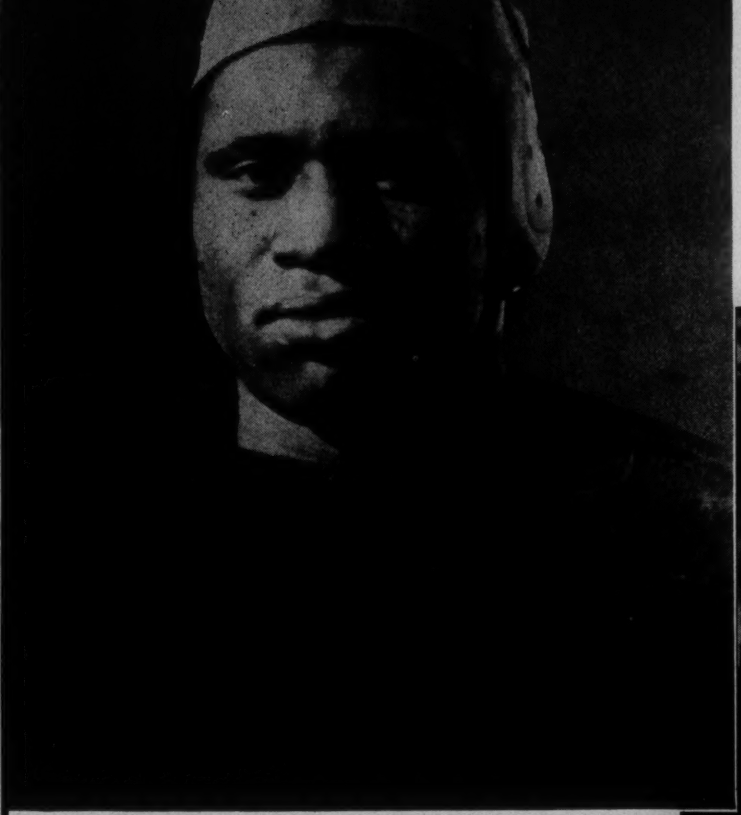
To be actor or singer—that was the question for Paul Robeson to decide early in his career. It was a cast of "How happy could I be with either, were t'other dear charmer away." Not being able to make a definite decision, Robeson accepted both, and as the future proved, has risen to enviable heights of fame.

The son of a Princeton (N. J.) preacher, Robeson attended Rutgers College, winning honors in both the scholastic and athletic fields. Class valedictorian, Phi Beta Kappa, he was 4-letter man as well, and also Walter Camp's choice for All-American End on the football team for 1917 and 1918. After Rutgers came a course in law at Columbia. Mr. Robeson holds degrees from both Universities, as well as honoary degrees from Rutgers, Hamilton, Moorehouse (Atlanta University) and Howard.

Other honors bestowed upon Robeson include

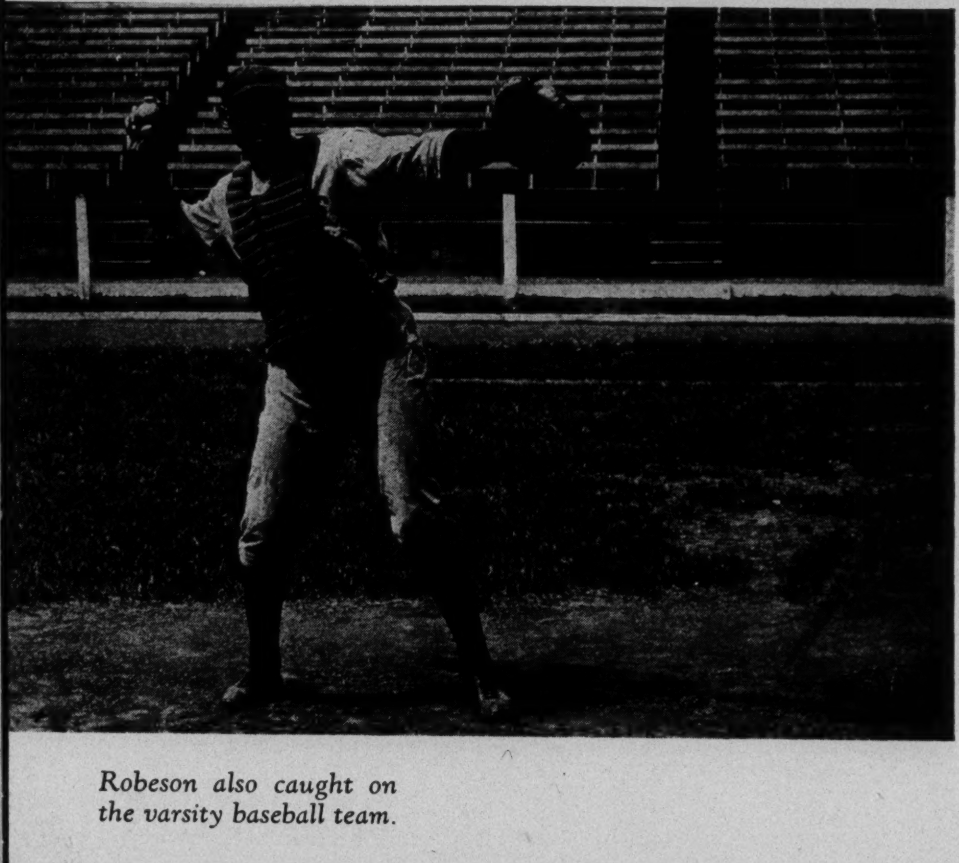
Robeson as the Moor Othello.

Photo Van Damm

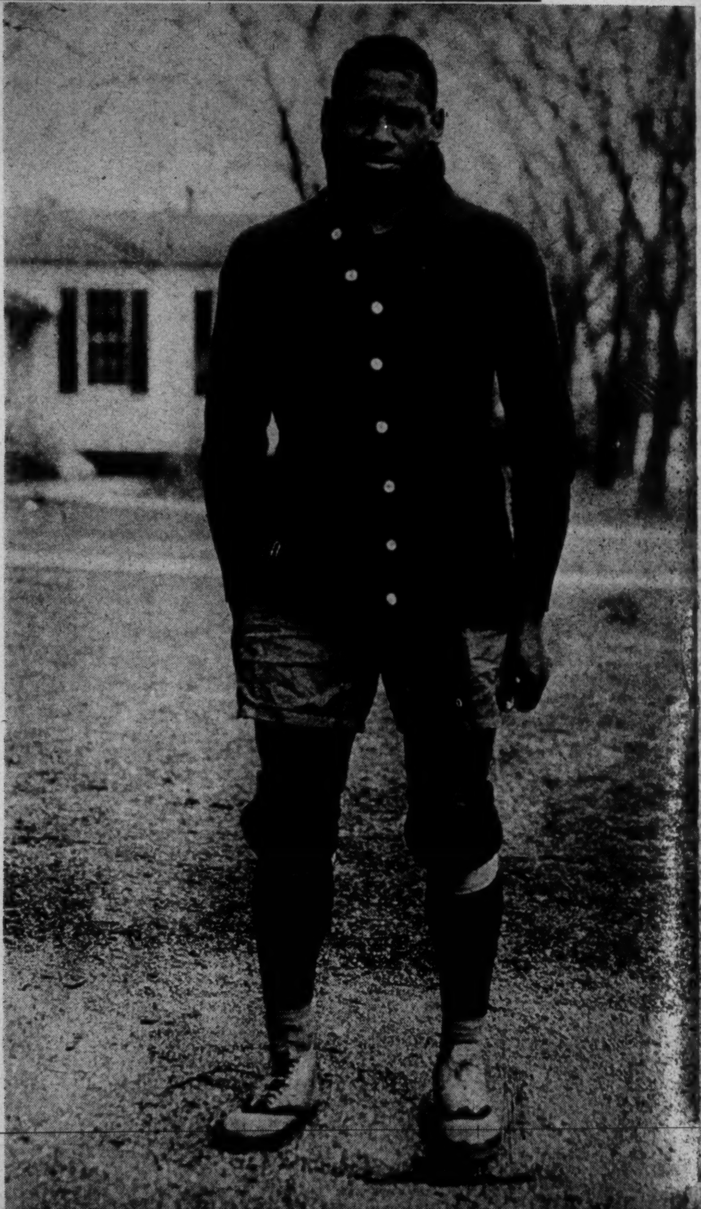


Twice chosen by Walter Camp as All-American End on Rutgers University football team.

His son, Paul, Jr., who has played on the Cornell varsity is following in his father's footsteps.



Robeson also caught on the varsity baseball team.

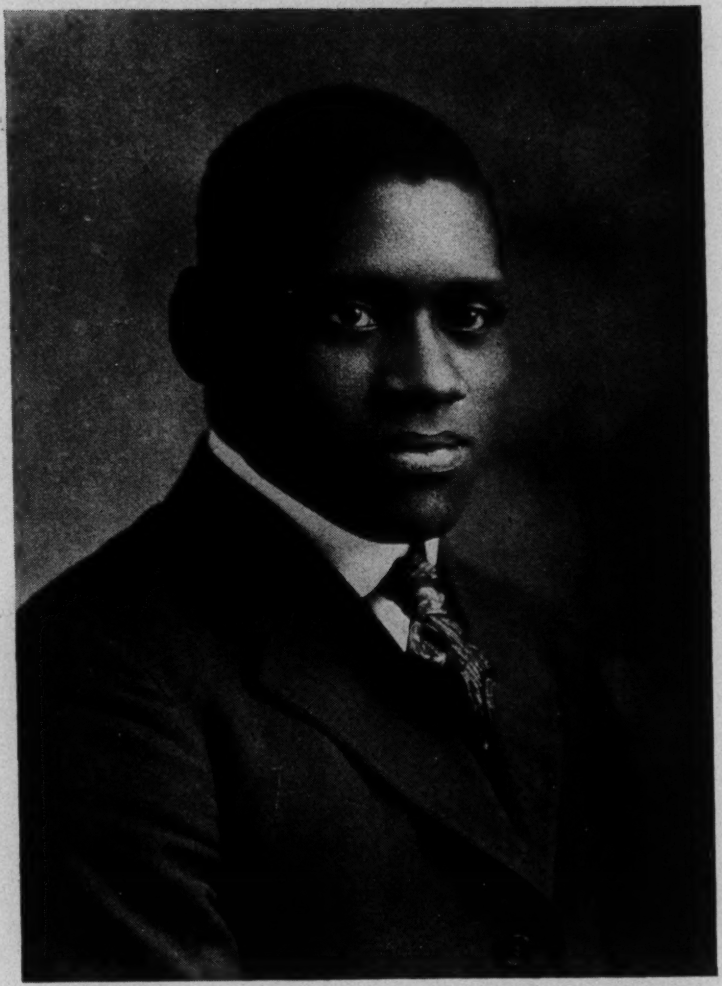


And played center on the varsity basketball team. He also won a letter in track.

the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement, awarded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1945); Gold Medal for best diction in the American Theatre, from th American Academy of Arts and Science (1944); Donaldson Award for best acting performance (1944); Abraham Lincoln Medal for most notable and distinguished services in human relations in New York City (1943).

It was during his course at Columbia that the fair charmers, Drama and Song began their rival claims. As Robeson, himself, relates: "It might never have happened, if I hadn't been living right next door to the YMCA in Harlem, and was easy prey when a substitute was needed, and I was dragged in to take over the part in a play that was being staged. I was going to law school at the time and coaching a football team. I didn't want to act, but I didn't know how to refuse. So before I knew it, I was rehearsing with the others. On the opening night, Robert Edmond Jones and Kenneth MacGowen were in the audience. It seems they spotted me then for 'Emperor Jones' that O'Neill was thinking of reviving. It took plenty of persuasion to get me to consider doing the Emperor, but they broke me down, as you know."

Everyone remembers the tremendous sensation Robeson created in the part of Brutus Jones. It was in this part that the Robeson singing voice was discovered. In the part where Jones is lost in the jungle, he is supposed to whistle to keep up his spirits. Robeson's whistling, however, wasn't anything to write home about; so it was decided he would try singing a spiritual instead. The effect was tremendous—so much so that Robeson found himself acclaimed as both singer and actor.


Rutgers Valedictorian, Class 1917.

Two years later (in 1925) he made his first appearance as a professional concert singer in a recital held in New York's famous Greenwich Village, to an audience of Who's Who in the arts and letters. The emotional splendor of his magnificent bass-baritone held the throng spellbound. First his next concert, a long line waited in a snowstorm, only to find the house sold out. Soon after, he went abroad, and sensational reports of his successes drifted back from London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Budapest, Moscow, and Leningrad.

Meanwhile, in London, Robeson was approached about playing the role of Othello in a contemplated production. He accepted, and in May of that year (1930), the production opened with Robeson in the role of Othello, Peggy Ashcroft as Desdemona, Dame Sybil Thorndike as Emilia, Maurice Brown as Iago, and Ralph Richardson, as Roderigo. In the audience that night was Margaret Webster, but Robeson did not meet her until several years later, when she suggested an American production of Othello.

Robeson remained abroad for several years. His return to this country in 1939 signalized by one of the most exciting radio adventures of the season, with the first performance of Earl Robinson's "Ballad for Americans," broadcast in CBS's Pursuit of Happiness program over a national hookup.

In 1943 the Theatre Guild agreed with Robeson that the time was right for him to revive "Othello" on the American stage and the Margaret Webster production assembled a remarkable cast, including Jose Ferrer, Uta Hagen, Edith King and James Monks, which was presented in New York for a full season followed by an equally full second season on the road. This production enjoyed the extraordinary success of no empty seats for two years, and was a personal triumph for Robeson the actor.

Finishing his long run as Othello, Robeson sandwiched in a USO tour to Europe with Lawrence Brown, appearing before enormous GI crowds in France, and Germany. His present coast-to-coast concert tour is one of the longest he has ever undertaken and includes engagements on the greatest subscription courses in the United States and Canada, with the usual generous sprinkling of college concerts—always favorite audiences to Robeson, the perpetual undergraduate.

Stage, concert, radio and screen have all shared the magnificence of Robeson's voice. Whether in song or speech it exercises the same magic spell. This with the simplicity and friendliness of the man wins all hearts. He is in the words of a Canadian critic "a great personality, a great artist, a great soul."

WORLD PREMIER OF "BALLAD FOR AMERICANS" OVER CBS NETWORK

FAMILY GROUP AT HOME

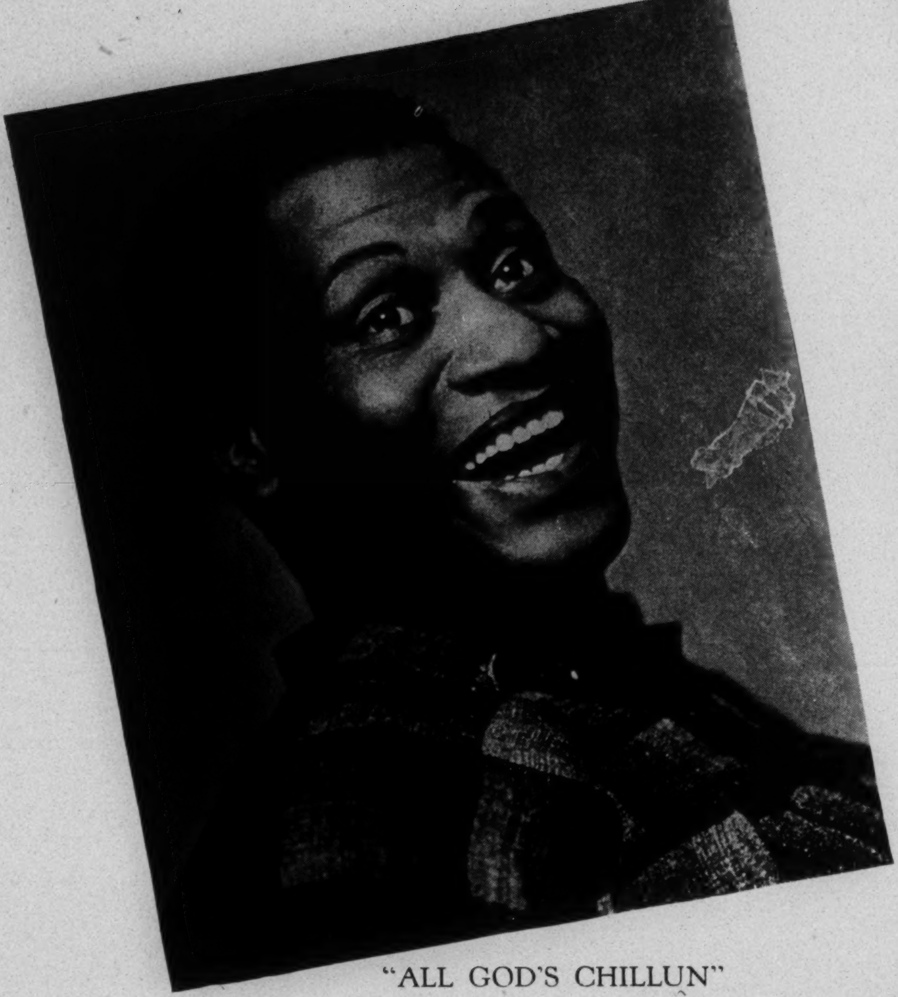
Mr. and Mrs. Paul Robeson and Paul, Jr. are seated on the steps of the Robeson house, at Enfield, Connecticut. The Robesons gave up their Harlem apartment some years ago for this permanent home in the country. The colonial house, which stands back from the road, was selected because it had ceilings high enough and rooms wide enough to house Robeson's huge bulk.

Because sleeping is one of Robeson's biggest problems—he is bothered by the slightest sound—his room is placed in the quietest part of the house and is equipped with a seven-foot bed. This room also houses Robeson's great record collection, which alone contains 300 records of spirituals and folk songs. He also has a large number of songs of the working people of all nations, and uses records to study foreign language diction.

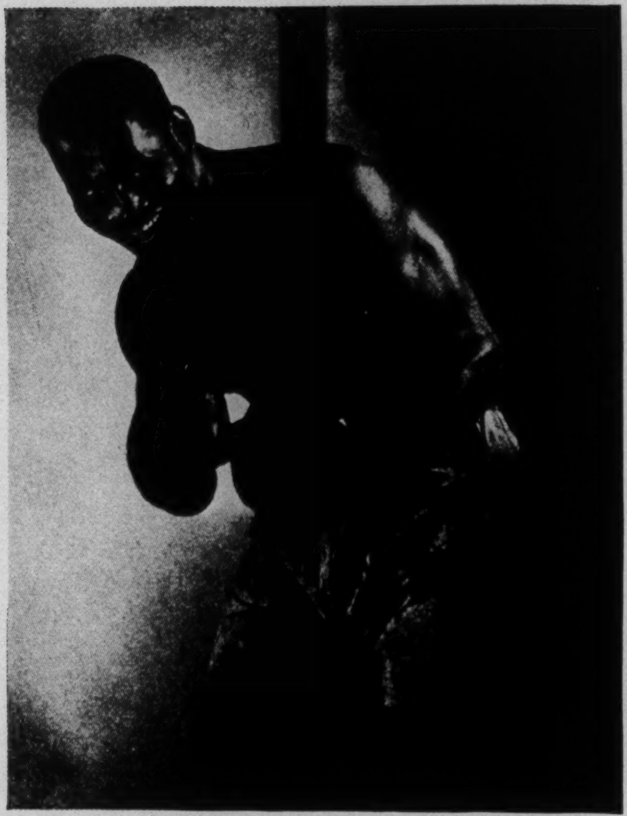
Mrs. Robeson (Eslanda Goode Robeson, called "Essie" by intimates), is an author and lecturer on her own. A graduate of Columbia, she is now studying for her Doctor's degree in anthropology, has just written a book "African Journey" published by John Day. It is an account of a trip she took through Africa in 1936 with Paul, Jr., then eight years old.

Paul, Jr., reaches his eighteenth birthday this year, attends Cornell University where he is studying electrical engineering. He is a big boy with a frame similar to his father's, and has already distinguished himself in football and track, in the latter sport having several times high-jumped better than six feet.

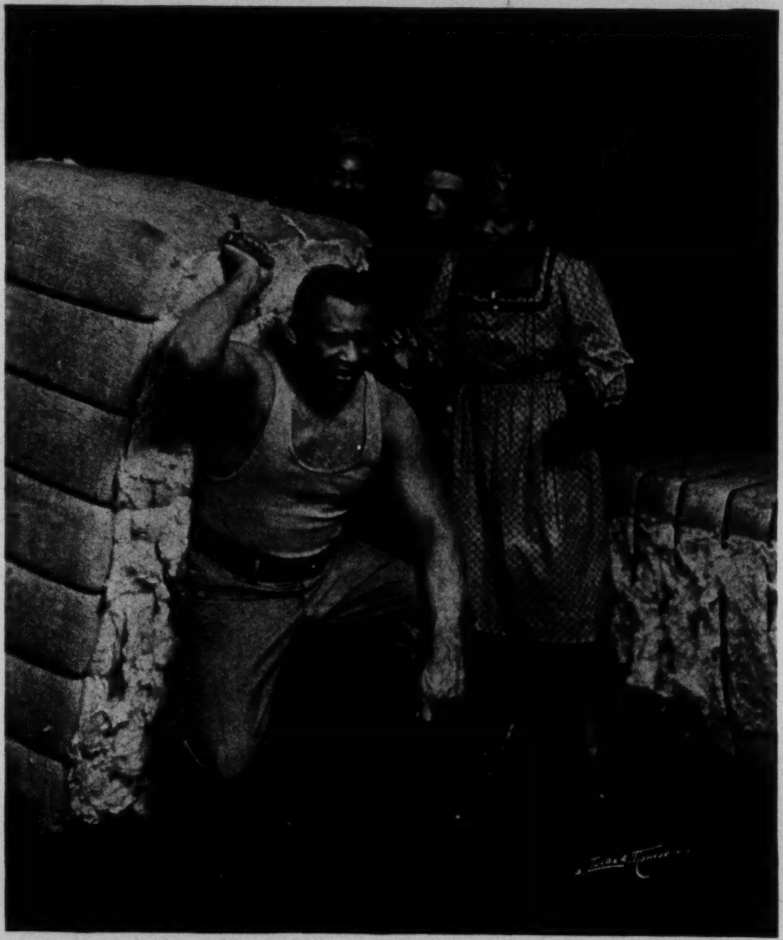
STAGE ROLES MADE FA



"ALL GOD'S CHILLUN"



"BLACK BOY"



ROBESON AND RUBY ELZY
in "JOHN HENRY"

Scene from
In the foregr

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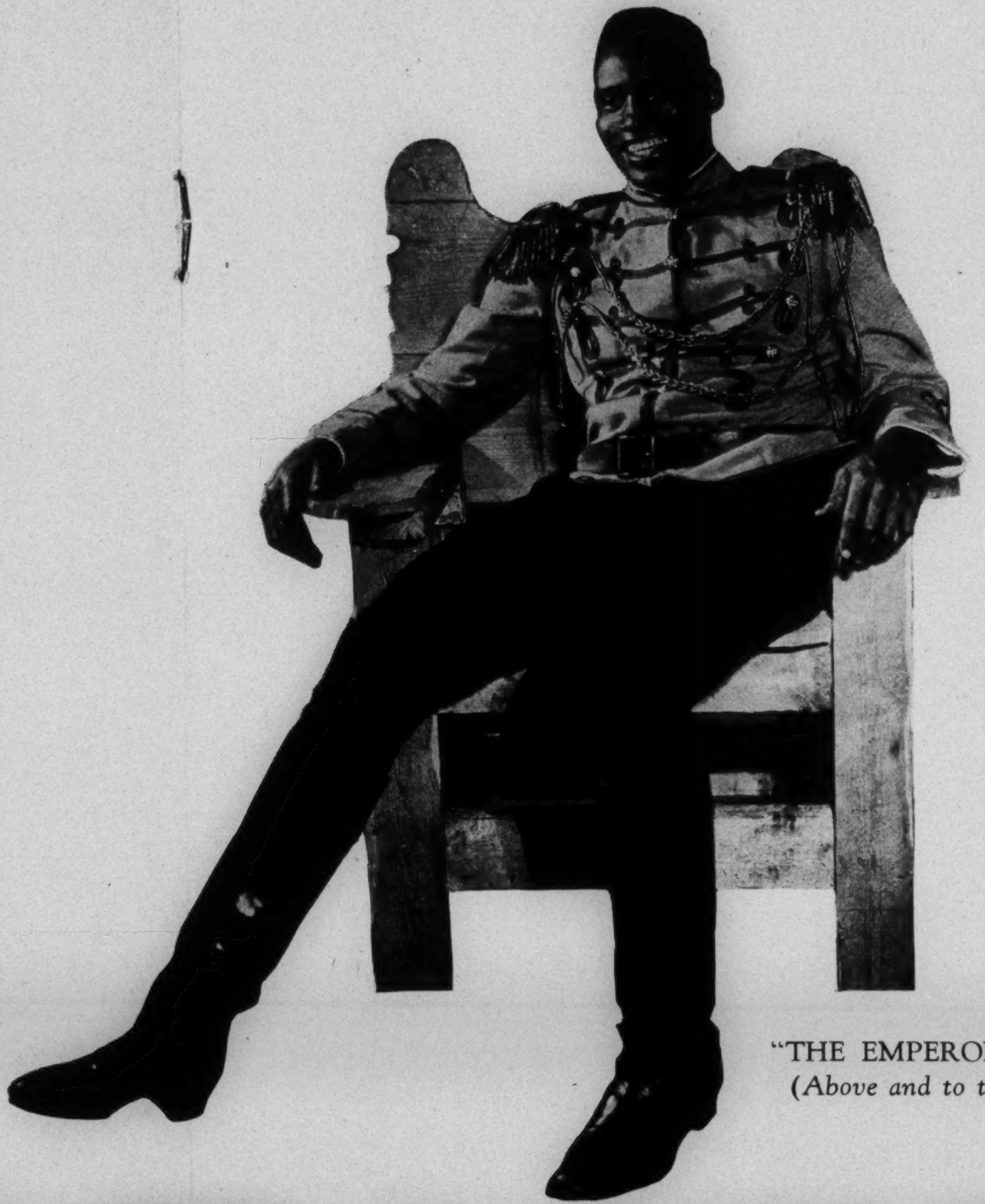
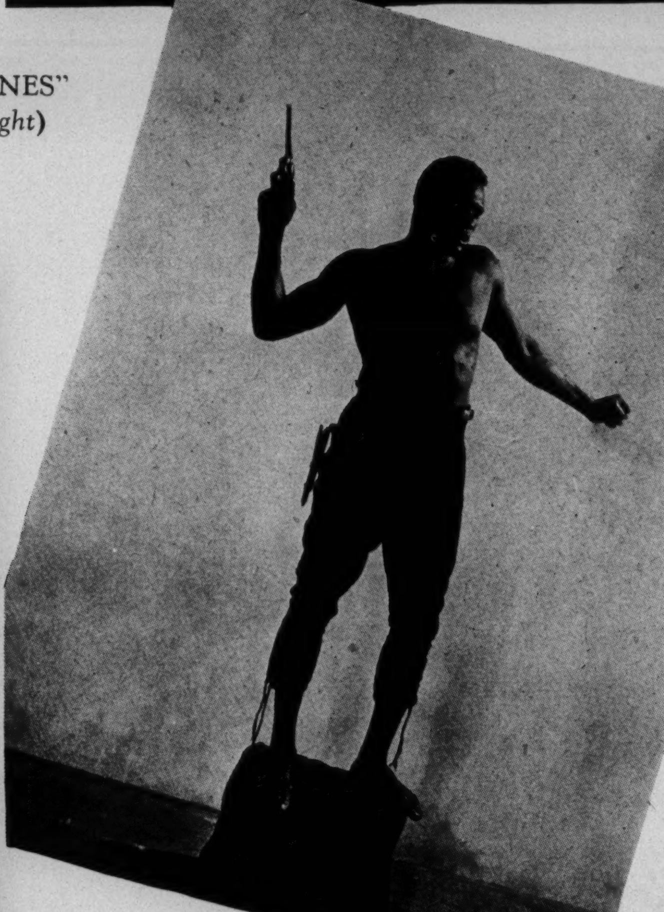
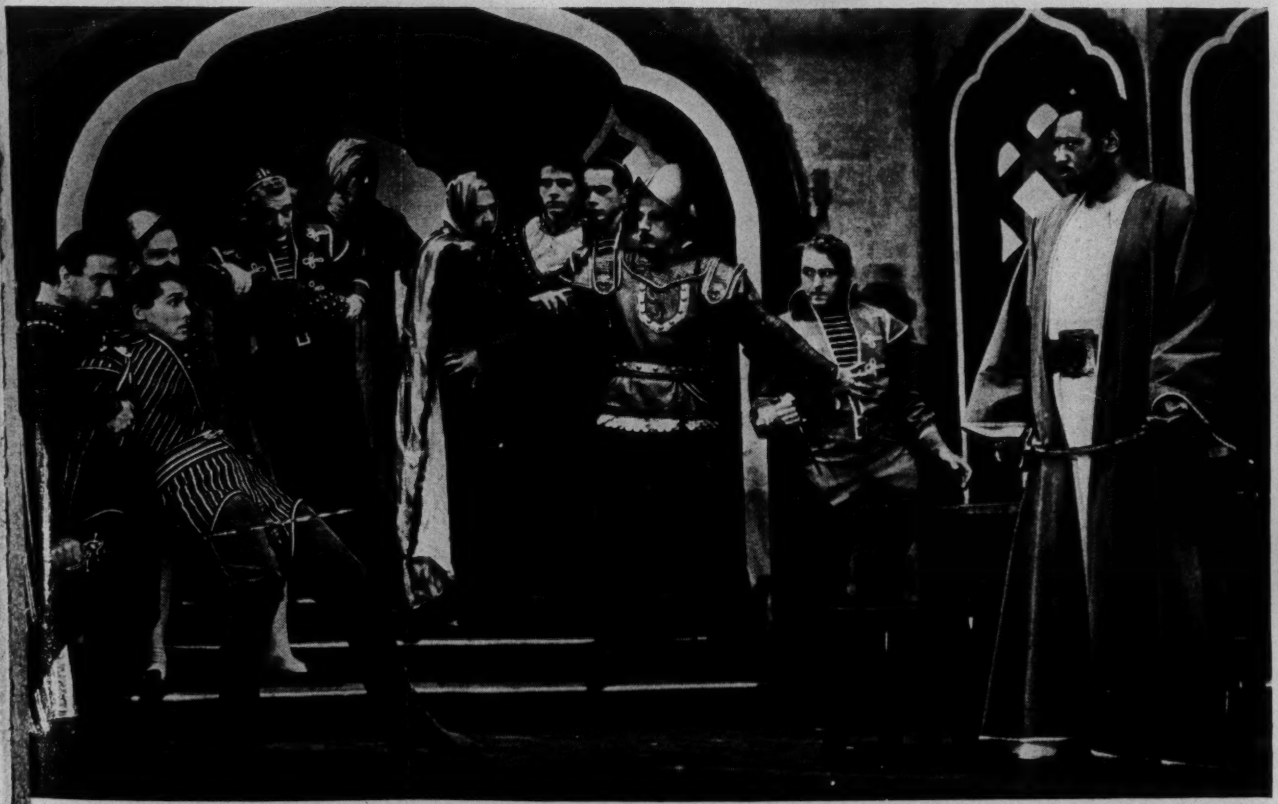


"THE EMPEROR JONES"
(*Above and to the Right*)





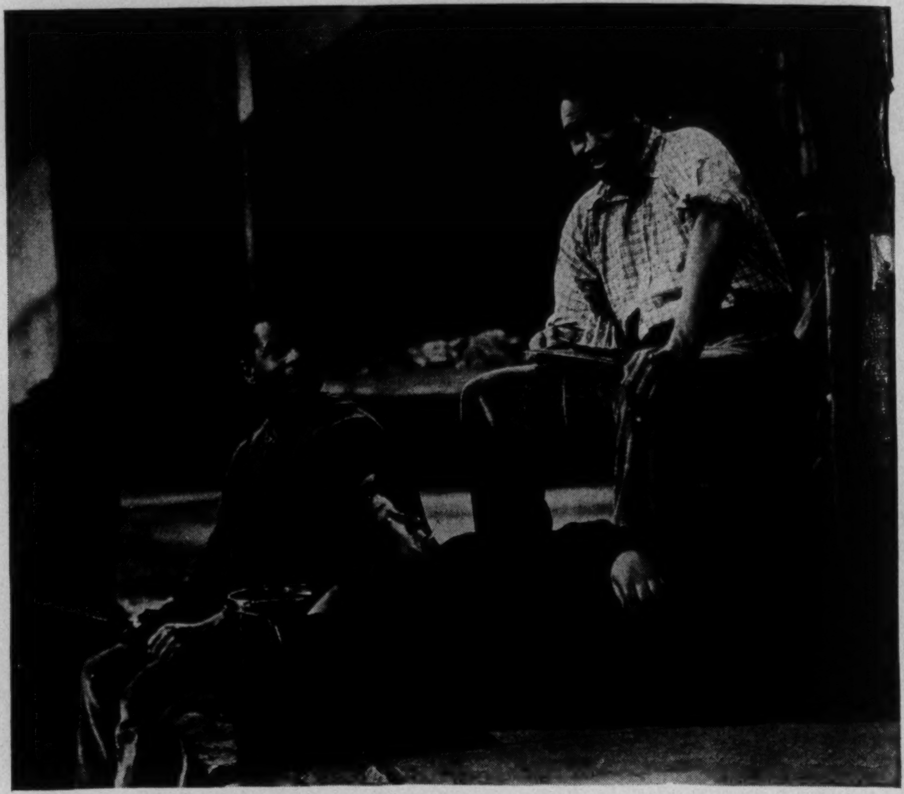
Scene from Act II, Theatre Guild production of "OTHELLO"
In the foreground, Jose Ferrer, James Monks and Paul Robeson.

FOUR FAMOUS FILMS

Starring Paul Robeson

"The Emperor Jones" is American made, the other three having been produced in the British Isles. In "Big Feller" Lawrence Brown became an actor. "Proud Valley" was a Welsh story.

"THE EMPEROR JONES"



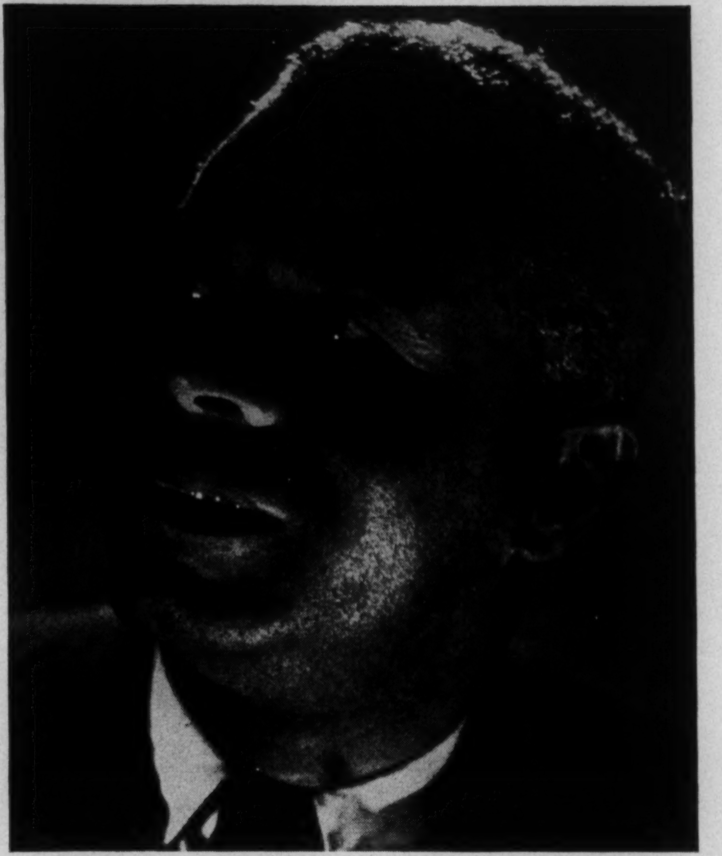
"BIG FELLER"

"DESERT SANDS"

"PROUD VALLEY"

LAWRENCE BROWN

Lawrence Brown, pianist and composer, has been accompanist for Paul Robeson so long that he is a indispensable part of a Robeson concert. In fact, Brown occasionally does more than accompany on the piano, he chimes in some of the vocal refrains.



He was born in Jacksonville, Florida, and in early youth went to Boston to study music. Later he went to London where he was a pupil of Alec Rowley in composition at Trinity College, and Miss Ira Aldridge, pupil of Jennie Lind and daughter of the great negro tragic actor, the first of his race to perform "Othello."

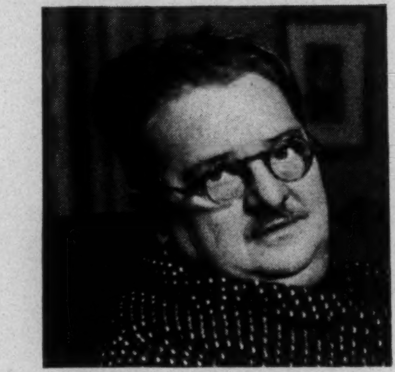
For four years Brown toured as accompanist with Roland Hayes, the tenor, appearing in Great Britain and on the continent. In 1921 he played before Their Majesties The King and Queen at Buckingham Palace.

In 1925 he joined Paul Robeson and has been with him ever since the first recital given by Robeson, in Greenwich Village, New York, in April of that year.

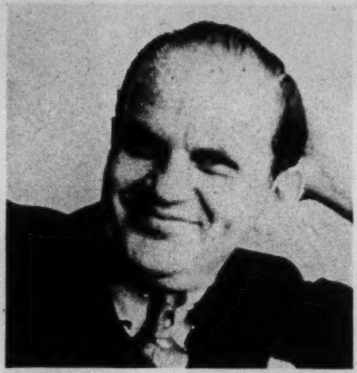
Widely known for his research in negro music, Brown arranged over thirty published negro spirituals — some of which are synonymous with the name of Robeson, such as "Joshua fit de Battle of Jericho," "Steal Away," "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," "Lil' David," "Ezekiel saw de Wheel."

PEOPLE in ROBESON'S LIFE

EUGENE O'NEILL, great playwright, wrote "All God's Chillun Got Wings" especially for Robeson and adapted "The Hairy Ape" for him. Also wrote "The Emperor Jones," often revived by Robeson, which role he has played not only in the United States, but in London and Berlin as well. A prized book of O'Neill's plays presented to Robeson by the playwright, bears this inscription: "In gratitude to Paul Robeson, in whose interpretation of Brutus Jones I have found the most complete satisfaction an author can get — that of seeing his creation born into flesh and blood; and in whose creation of Jim Harris in my "All God's Chillun Got Wings" I found not only complete fidelity to my intent under trying circumstances, but, beyond that, true understanding and racial integrity. Again with gratitude and friendship.—EUGENE O'NEILL, 1925."



ALEXANDER WOOLLCOTT. When Robeson visited Hamilton College several years ago to receive a degree, he found an old-time friend there officiating on the Board of Trustees — the distinguished author and critic, the late Alexander Woollcott. When Woollcott was dramatic critic of the old New York World and Robeson had just graduated from college, he was a frequent caller at Woollcott's apartment in lower Manhattan. Woollcott has written of Robeson: "Of all the countless people I have known in my wanderings about the world, he is one of the few who, I would say, had true greatness."

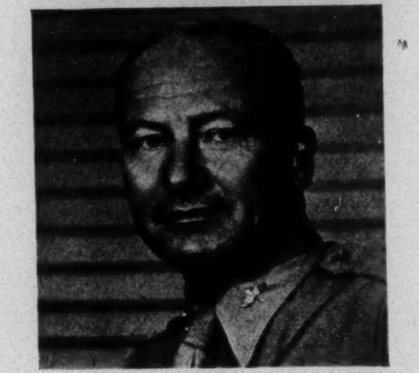


ROBERT ROCKMORE, lawyer, showman and art connoisseur, is one of Robeson's closest friends and represents him in all his business dealings, an arrangement which started in 1930, when both were connected with the Provincetown Playhouse. Rockmore not only handles all of Robeson's contracts and financial and legal affairs, but produced the London production of O'Neill's "The Hairy Ape," which starred Robeson. He has an enormous interest in the theatre, has produced many plays on Broadway, among them "Run, Little Children." He owned a share of the recent Theatre Guild production of "Othello."

CARL VAN VECHTEN, novelist and top-flight music critic, gave advice and written support to Robeson in the crucial years when his career was in its formative state. This writer's opinion not only influenced the general public, but what he had to say was read with respect and attention by fellow critics. It was Van Vechten who likened the art of Robeson to that of Yvette Guilbert and the great Chaliapin.

F. C. COPPICUS, veteran manager of singers, one time General Secretary of the Metropolitan Opera Company and for 28 years a leading concert manager, met Robeson in London and engaged him on the spot for his first concert tour in the United States and Canada. Mr. Coppicus, who has managed such stars as Caruso and Chaliapin and now represents Lily Pons and Andre Kostelanetz, is rated as the top voice discoverer in this country. He is Executive Vice-President of Columbia Concerts, Inc., Robeson's concert management.

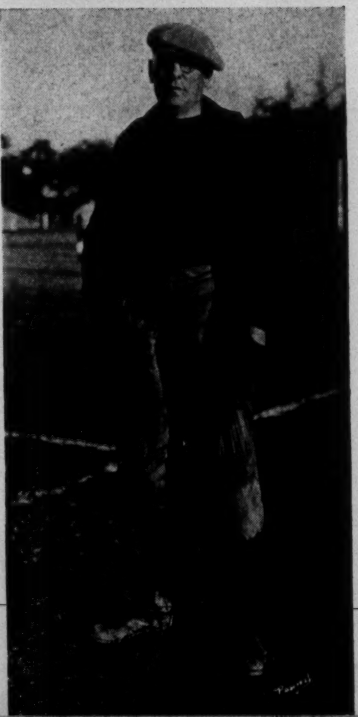
F. C. SCHANG, concert manager, is the man who supervises Robeson's concert and radio appearances, and has booked all of his tours in this country and Canada. During the war, while Robeson's Othello tour was in progress, Schang was a Major in the Army Air Forces. He is an indefatigable scout for new talent, once flew by clipper from New York to Shanghai just to see a tryout of a show. After graduating from the Columbia University School of Journalism, Schang was theatrical reporter on the New York Tribune, advance man for the Diaghileff Ballet Russe, and has since managed many leading concert stars. He is a Vice-President of Columbia Concerts, Inc.



JEROME KERN. Every great popular singer has had one or two songs inseparably linked with his name. Caruso had his Pagliacci aria; McCormack, "I Hear You Calling Me;" and Paul Robeson has "Ole Man River" — a great song by Jerome Kern, which he wrote with Robeson in mind when he composed the score of Show Boat. Robeson has sung this role in both England and America, and rarely gives a concert in which this number is not demanded by the public.

HEYWOOD BROUN. The late Heywood Broun had a literary career which by coincidence was closely coordinated with that of Paul Robeson. When Robeson was a great athlete, Broun was a sports writer; later when he made his stage debut, Broun was a dramatic critic; and when Robeson became a singer, Broun was a columnist whose purview covered all the arts. In each of these fields Broun was a devoted friend and admirer.

FOSTER SANFORD, great Yale football player and Rutgers coach, who made an All-American end out of Robeson. Sanford played football at Yale in the fabulous 1890's as a contemporary of Heffelinger and Hinkey. He graduated from Yale in '94 and from the Law School in '96—but he gave up his law career, as he couldn't keep away from football. He retained an insurance business in New York, and coached Rutgers for ten years without pay—bringing this small college to national prominence in the football world. Actually, Sanford did much more for Robeson than make a great football player out of him—by his friendship and encouragement to a young negro on a white campus, he established in Robeson's mind for all time that character and accomplishment must prevail against any odds. Sanford died in 1938, at the age of 67.



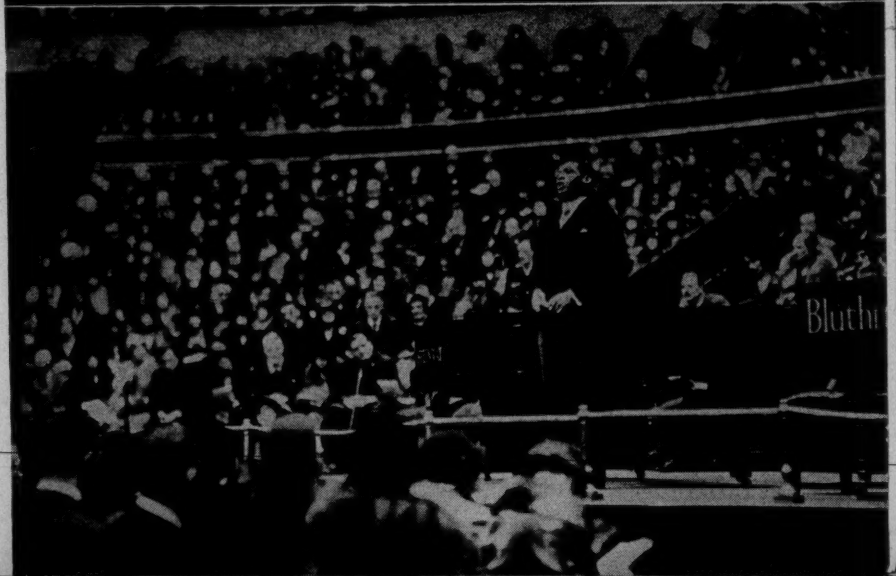
PAUL ROBESON VISITS EUROPE IN USO TOUR TO THREE COUNTRIES

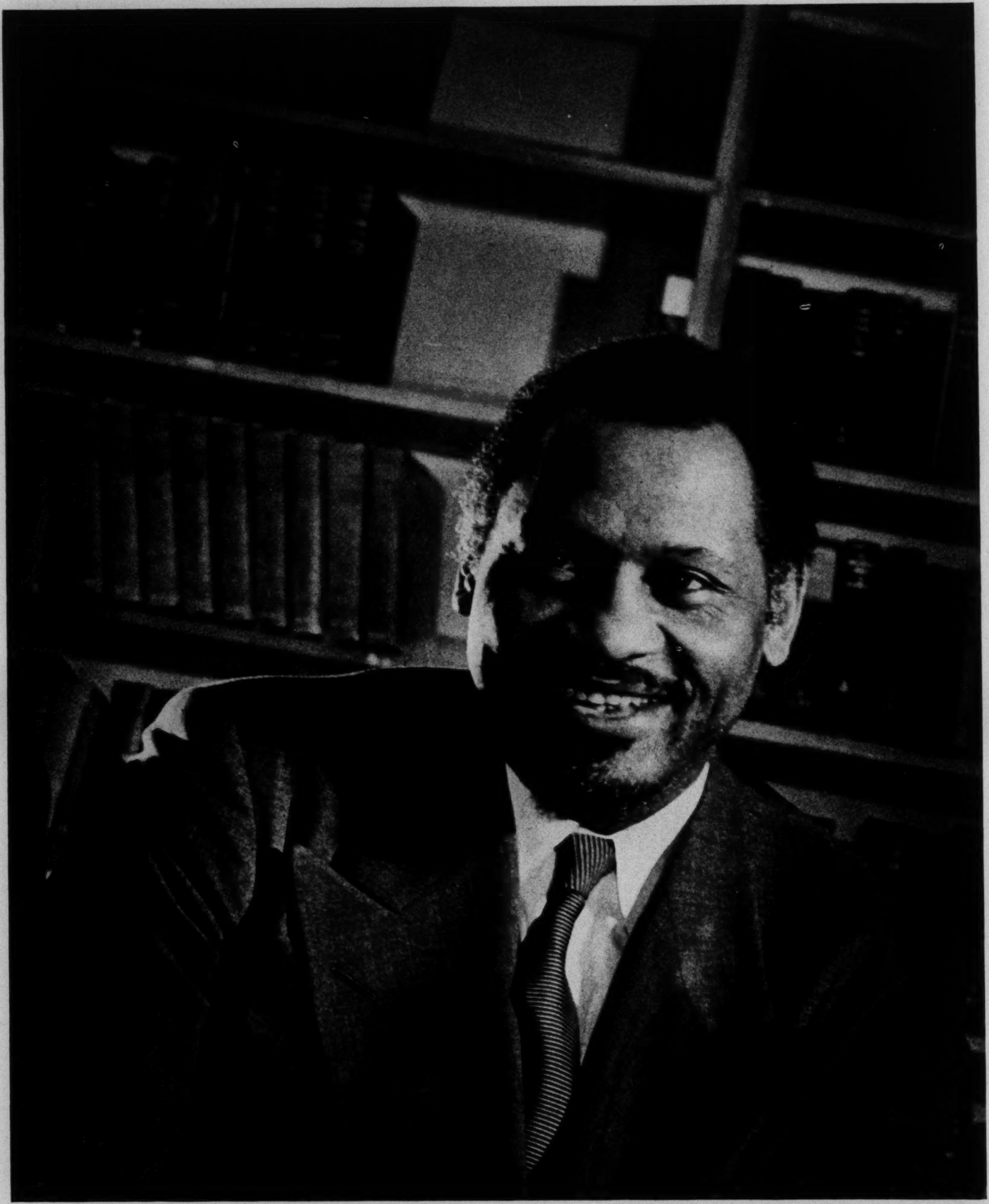
Finishing his long run in "Othello" last June, Paul Robeson took a vacation and then heeded a call from the USO. With Lawrence Brown as pianist, he departed in a giant C-54 and was soon winging across the Atlantic by Air Transport Command. The day after his arrival he gave his first concert, and by plane and staff car squeezed in 32 appearances in Germany, Czechoslovakia and France. He was greeted by some of the largest GI audiences ever assembled in this theatre, as his programs appealed specially to soldiers. Some of the towns visited were Munich, Nuremberg, Berchtesgaden, Garminsch, Pilsen. The favorite GI songs proved to be "Water Boy" and "Ole Man River."

ROBESON IN THE NEWS

The four news photos on the right-hand panel of this page, from top to bottom, show Robeson singing at an RAF Camp in Toronto; receiving his Degree from Howard University in Washington; with other famous members of his race (Joe Louis, Marian Anderson, Bill Robinson); singing before a crowded Albert Hall in London.

It's an outdoor concert at the Dell, Philadelphia. Will Robeson sing tonight before 10,000 excited patrons? Or, will he sit in his room and wait for tomorrow? This question will only be settled by the weather man, and just at the hour of taking this picture, it looks bad.





An excellent recent photo of Paul Robeson in his library, still sporting the hirsute adornment of "Othello."

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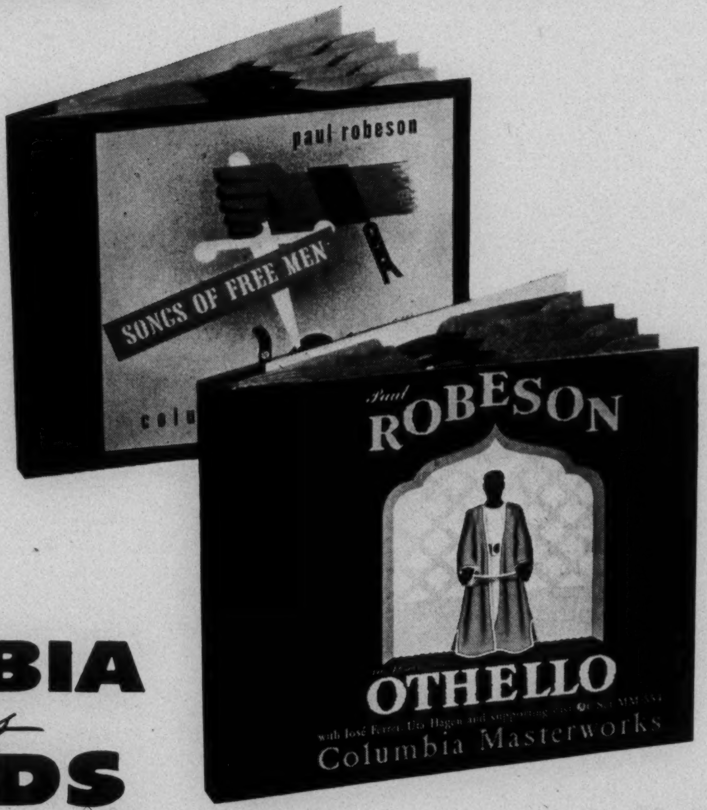
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Invocazione di Orfeo (Old Italian) .... Peri
L'Amour de Moi (Old French) .... Arr. Julien Tiersot
Three Poor Mariners (Old English) .... Arr. Roger Quilter

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II

La Folia .... Corelli
Rondino .... Beethoven-Kreisler

MR. GERREN

III

Organ Prelude in G Major .... Bach-Siloti
Intermezzo E Flat Minor .... Brahms
Hungarian Rhapsodie No. 6 ....Liszt

MR. SCHATZKAMMER

INTERMISSION

IV

Andante, from "Symphonie Espagnole" .... Lalo
Stimmungen .... Achron
Passepied .... Delibes-Elman
Praeludium and Allegro .... (Pugnani) Kreisler

MR. GERREN

V

Lord God of Abraham, from "Elijah" .... Mendelssohn
Except from "Boris Godounoff" .... Moussorgsky
By and By .... Arr. H. T. Burleigh
Swing Low, Sweet Chariot .... Arr. Lawrence Brown
Ev'ry Time I Feel de Spirit .... Arr. Lawrence Brown

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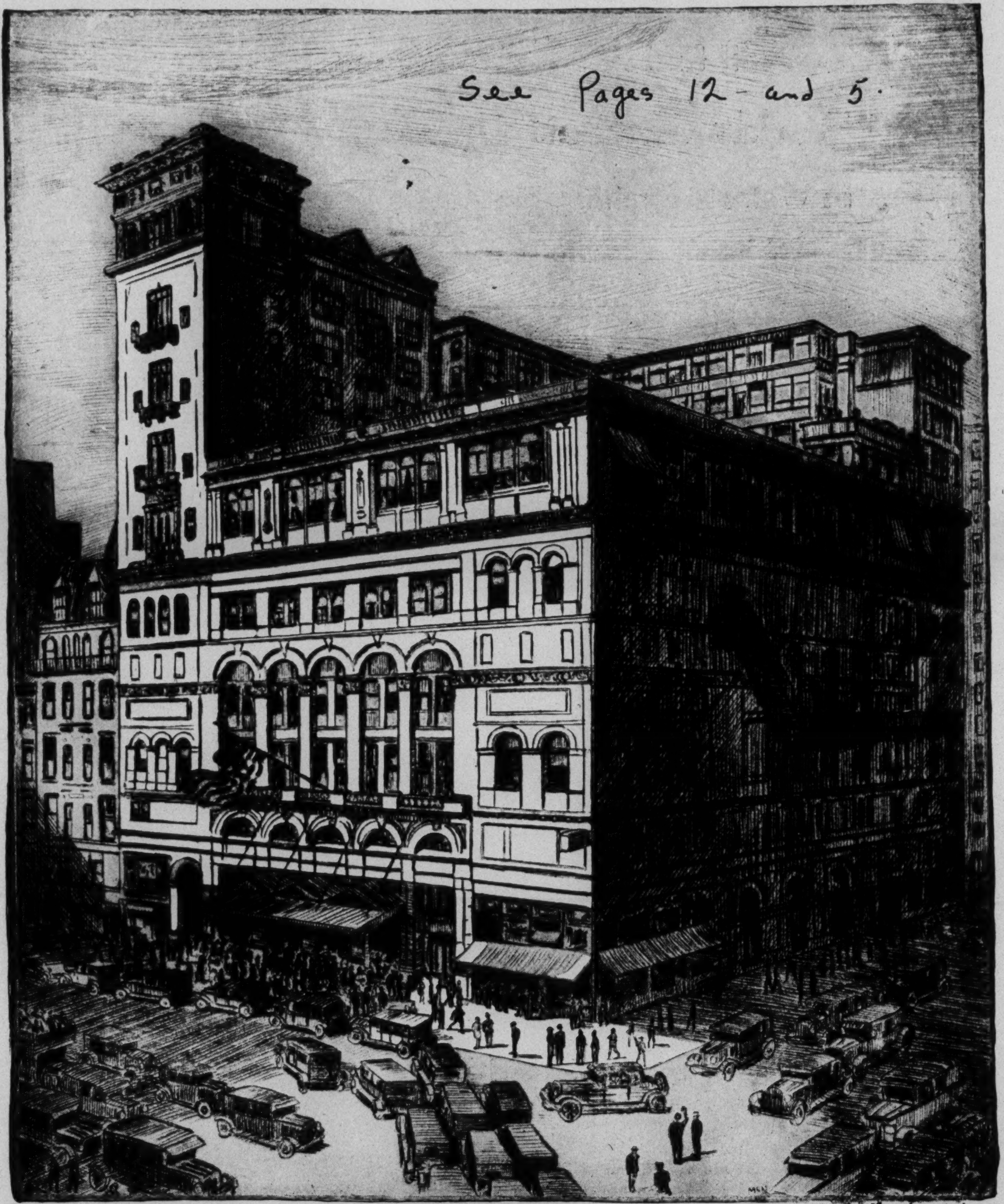

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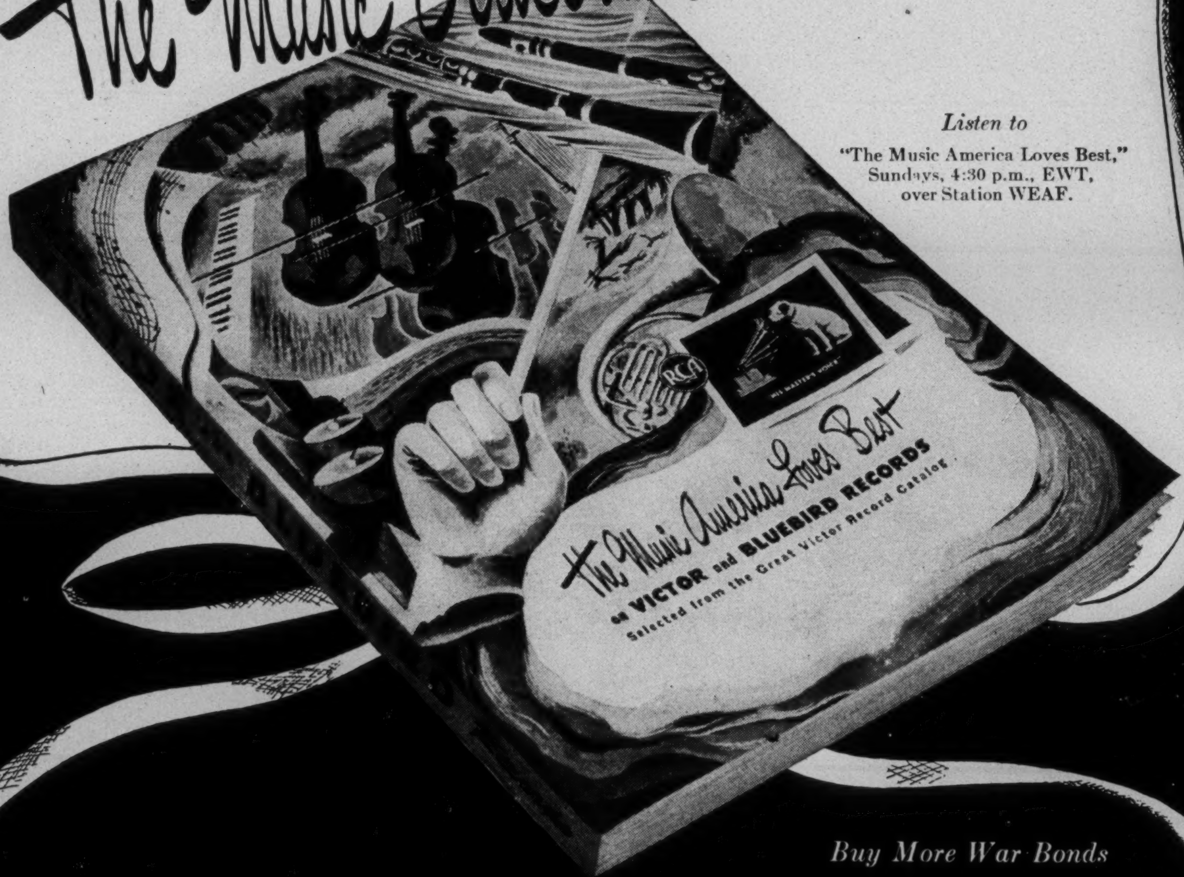
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Sat. Eve.	Mar. 17	Rochester Symphony
Sun. Aft.	Mar. 18	Philharmonic-Symphony Society
Sun. Eve.	Mar. 18	Artur Rubinstein, *Pianist*
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VERA APPLETON and MICHAEL FIELD, Duo-Pianists
AMERICAN NEGRO OPERA COMPANY ENSEMBLE, directed by Frederick Vajda
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*See Page 12.

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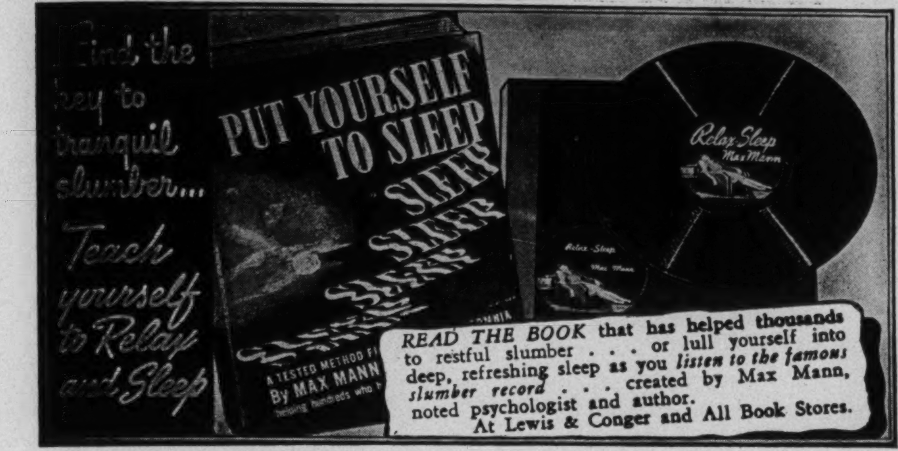

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THE GOOD GREEN ACRES OF HOME

Blue are the skies for the hearts that return to the fold
From the hours of toil that flower the soil with green and gold.
Great is the joy when you've something to have and to hold.
In the land of my humble birth, give me my place on earth.

Let me stand with the grip of the plow in my hand
On the good green acres of home, my land,
Where a friend is treasured—and your wealth is measured
By the strength of heart and hand.
Let me live with the sun and the wind and the rain
While I plant my acres with golden grain.
Let me build my lovenest with the stick and stone!
On the good green acres of home, my home.
The good green acres of home.

Irving Kahal, the author of "I'll Be Seein' You", did not live to see this great song become an outstanding contribution to songs of this war. We print here his last lyric because its text is so timely. It speaks very eloquently for the GI's longing for return to home, as it speaks universally for the longing of a tired world. It will be presented at the Nite of Revelry this evening.

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Bass Baritone

ARPAD SANDOR at the Piano

Tickets: 90¢ to $2.40 (Steinway)

TOWN HALL
Tuesday Evening, MARCH 20
at 8:30 o'clock

BERNARD KUNDELL

Violinist

ARTUR BALSAM at the Piano

Tickets: 90¢ to $2.40 (Steinway)

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Wednesday Evening, MARCH 21
at 8:45 o'clock

Third Concert in the Series

New York Chamber Orchestra

(Composed of 38 members of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony)

F. CHARLES ADLER, Conductor

Soloist: **William Lincer,** Violist

Program: Mozart C major Symphony; 1st perf. John Klenner Fantasia for Viola and Orchestra; Peter Cornelius "Barber of Bagdad" Overture; 1st Amer. perf. Shostakovitch "Hamlet" excerpts; 1st perf. Brueckner Adagio, from the String Quintet; 1st N. Y. perf. Tibor Serly Transylvanian Rhapsody.

Tickets: $1.20 to $3.00

TOWN HALL

Sunday Evening, MARCH 11
at 8:30 o'clock

TOSKA TOLCES

Pianist

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SCHUMANN	Symphony No. 4
TARTINI	Violin Concerto in D minor
PROKOFIEFF	Violin Concerto in D major
WAGNER	Overture to "Die Meistersinger"

Sunday Afternoon, March 18th, at 3:00 o'clock

Assisting Artist:
JOSEPH SZIGETI, *Violinist*

SCHUMANN	Symphony No. 4
BEETHOVEN	Romance, for Violin and Orchestra, in G major
PROKOFIEFF	Violin Concerto in D major
WAGNER	Prelude to "Die Meistersinger"

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TCHAIKOVSKY: SYMPHONY NO. 6 IN B MINOR, Op. 74 ("Pathétique"). PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA OF NEW YORK, ARTUR RODZINSKI, Conductor. Columbia Masterworks Set M-MM-558—$5.50 (exclusive of taxes).

Both Artur Rodzinski and the Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra have been recording for Columbia for some time, but this is the first set that they have made together. The results of this new combination are nothing short of miraculous. Long famous as an interpreter of Russian music, Rodzinski conducts Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* Symphony with a warm glow and fiery brilliance that bring out all the drama and poignancy in the score. Particularly exciting is his interpretation of the flashing, martial third movement. To point up this stirring performance the Columbia engineers have provided reproduction that is remarkable for its fidelity, wide tonal range and perfect balance.

* * *

BEETHOVEN: SYMPHONY NO. 7 IN A MAJOR, Op. 92. THE PHILADELPHIA ORCHESTRA, EUGENE ORMANDY, Conductor. Columbia Masterworks Set M-MM-557—$5.50 (exclusive of taxes).

It is with a great deal of pride that Columbia presents the first Masterworks recording by the great Philadelphia Orchestra. Very appropriately, the first work chosen for recording was one of Beethoven's most popular symphonies, his Seventh. Frequently referred to as the "Dance Symphony", it abounds in lively rhythmic patterns and lovely melodies that are familiar to everyone. The performance by Eugene Ormandy and his virtuoso orchestra is outstanding in every respect, and the startlingly realistic reproduction gives the listener the feeling that he is hearing the symphony at a concert, instead of on records.

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It is suggested that you follow the score as the song is sung.

"Her fiery blue eyes filled with sorrow,
Now glittered with courage and faith.
Her young swiftly flowing blood
Was foaming with vengeance and hate.
Deep as the Volga, and wide as the prairie
Her Russian soul — In the
Face of danger she had no fear
Holding Revenge as her goal.

"Through the mountains she ran, swift as a deer,
To comrade guerillas, through night.
In the blood and the bone of her open hand
They put grenades—and dynamite.
With valor adorned, she sped, as a
Song of the brave she was singing—
And with girlish abandon for land that was dear—
Her song through the mountains was ringing.

"Like an angel of vengeance and glory
She descended on enemy's camp.
She tied the cords—and after a fuse was touched,
The earth soon was gory, and damp.
Smoke, choking the air—spreading
Flames like blood stained the sky.
Then night lay in silence—
A hush—a cry! 'Hold me tight, Mother Russia!'

"Burning and smoldering in ashes,
Then everything crumpled to dust.
'Speak now! Who sent you? And who is your master?
We hold you prisoner—we'll break your trust.'
Through pitiful torture she stood loyal and proud,
Her eyes shining with vengeance, and with hate and defiance
As brave as a goddess, a daughter of Russia
Has paid for a freedom—for love and alliance.

MARCH

"Shoulder your rifles, I fear no pain,
Only the flesh of me will be slain.
So aim at my heart, you beasts, but free my eyes
That I may see past to the Russian skies
And look at my flag—once more, as I stand
Facing death—for my eternal land.
I am a daughter of Russian earth—
I'm proud of my death—I'm proud of my birth."

—From the poem of Mischa Fields.

This song, words and music, the work of an American girl, Miss Bobbs Travis, will have its initial presentation at the "Nite of Revelry" at Carnegie Hall, Sunday evening, March 11st, 1945.

"They convalesce in the warm sun, overlooking the wide beautiful Hudson"

Tonight's show has enabled you to become acquainted with the Jewish Home for Convalescents, a non-sectarian project that offers convalescent care to the needy sick of this city. The efficiency of its program and the humaneness of its service have earned it the highest rating by the State's Department of Social Service. Like all progressive groups its administration is planning the extension of its service to a greater number. For that purpose it is initiating its building campaign. If you are sympathetic with our purposes and believe as we do that Victory is meant to include Good Health, you will extend your encouragement and your help and send your contribution to the Jewish Home for Convalescents at 215 Second Avenue, New York City. Many grateful patients will remember your generosity.

MARKS LEVINE, Director, Concert Division

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ARTUR RUBINSTEIN

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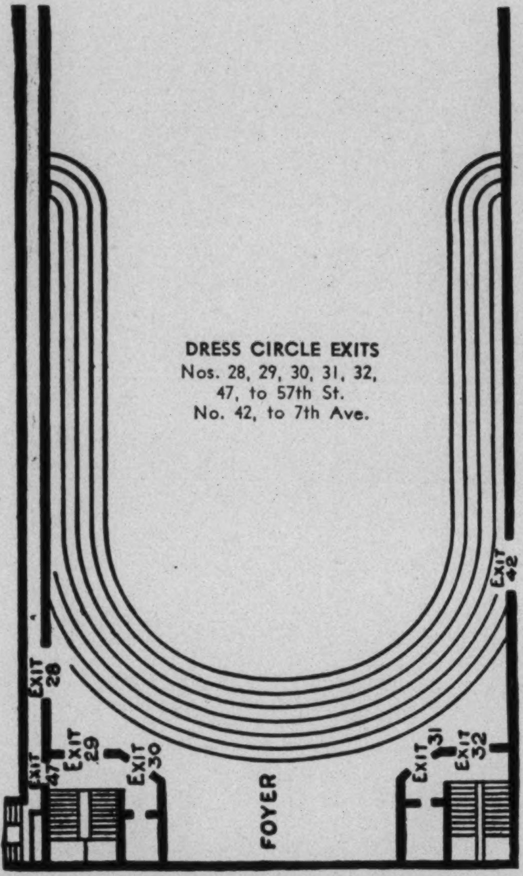

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EXIT 31
EXIT 32
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for Patrons of Carnegie Hall

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BUFFET is located on second tier box floor. Open before, during and after each concert.

◆

ELEVATORS to Dress Circle and Balcony in studio entrances at 154 West 57th Street and 881 Seventh Avenue.

◆

SMOKING is permitted only in the Art Gallery off the east corridor of the Main floor, in the Buffet on the Second Tier Box floor, and on the Balcony and Dress Circle stairway.

◆

TELEPHONES are located in entrance lobby, at right of parquet near Seventh Avenue exit, on west side of Dress Circle, and in the Buffet.

◆

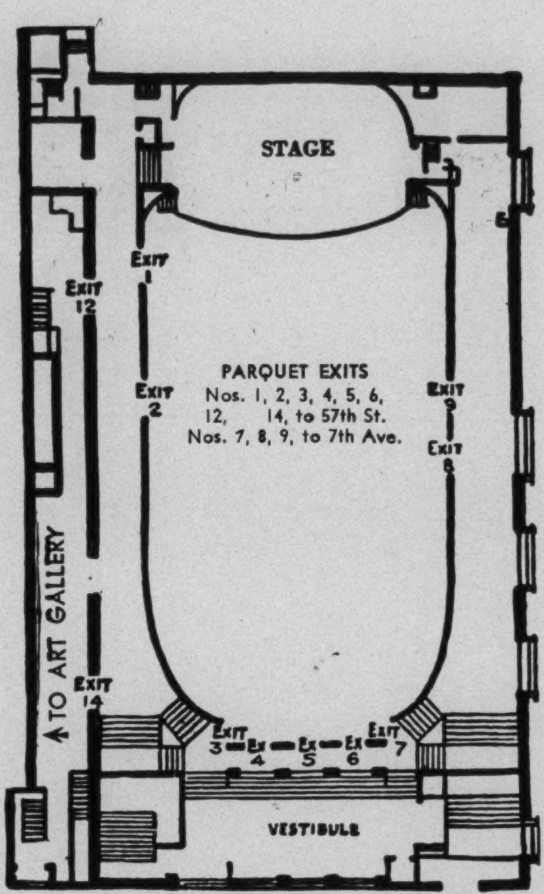
LOST AND FOUND articles at House Manager's Office, 56th St. entrance.

◆

PHYSICIANS and other patrons expecting telephone calls will please leave seat number at House Manager's Office.

◆

EAR-PHONES—A few seats have been wired for the hard-of-hearing. For information, see the House Manager.



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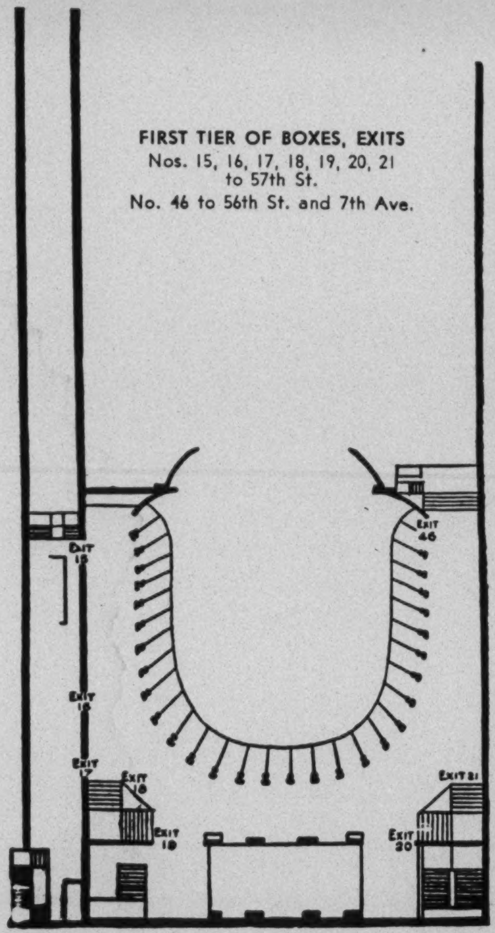

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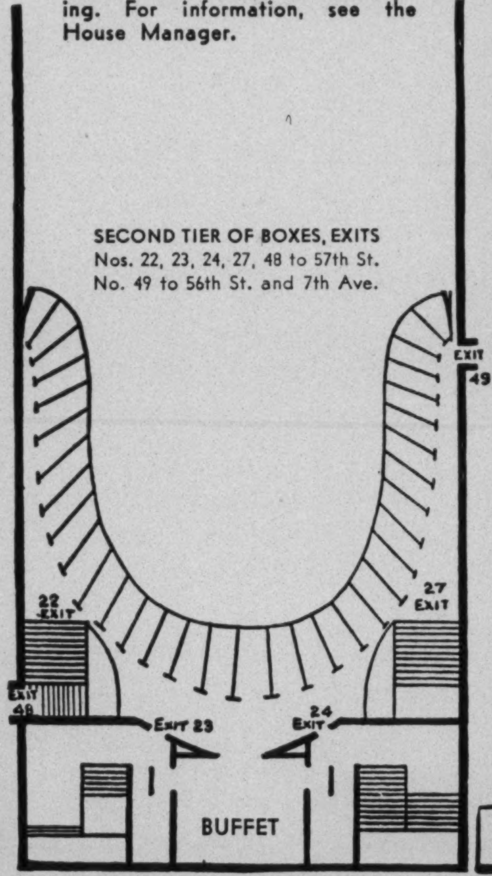

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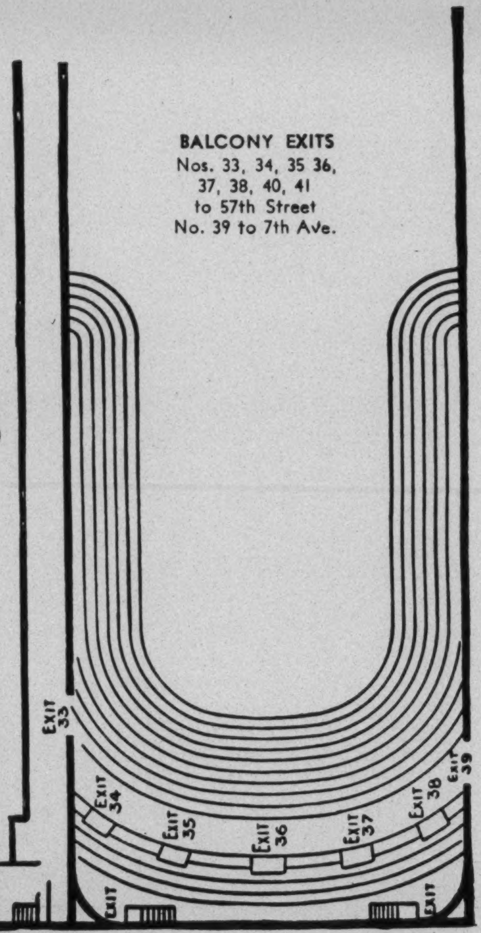

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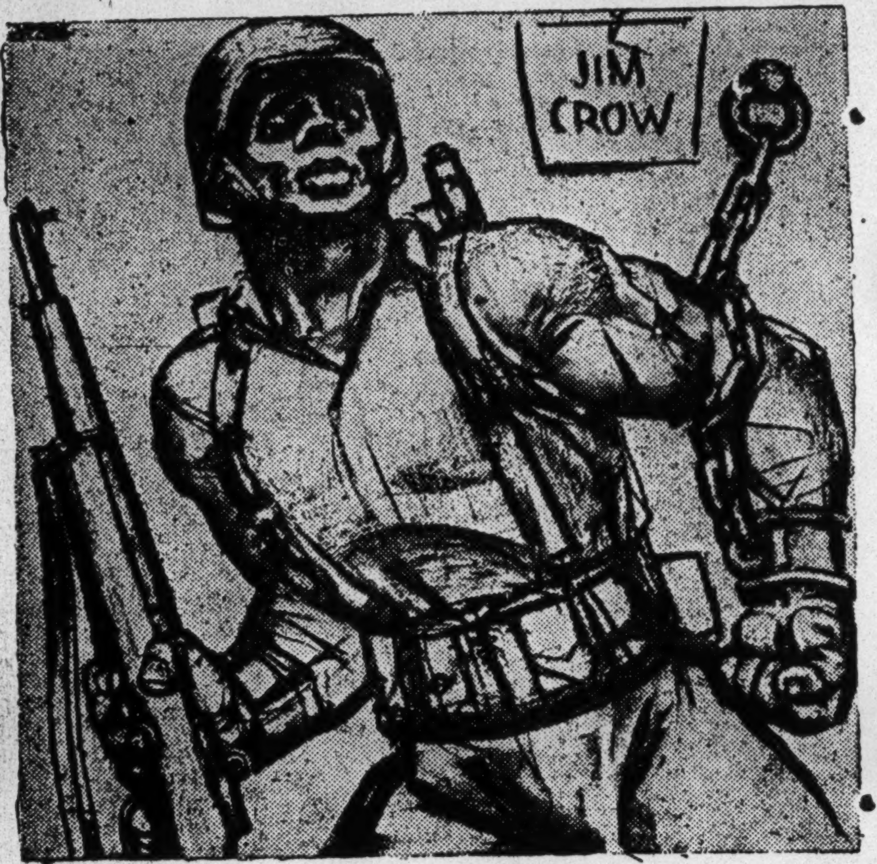

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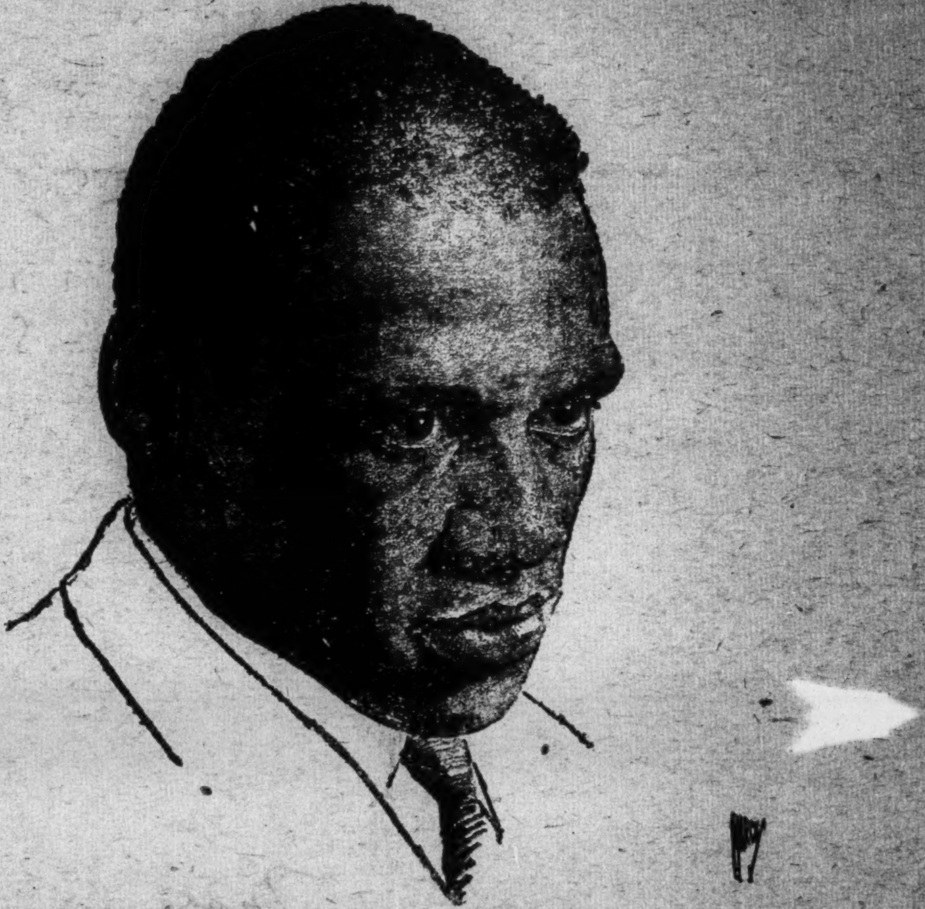

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MASS MEETING

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Butler Hall, 1095 Tremont St.
Admission Free

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Let Robeson Tell You What He Stands For

OTHER PROMINENT SPEAKERS **ENTERTAINMENT**

Sponsored by: Friends of Freedom

1. More leaflets as soon as I get hold of them.
2. See "City News", p. 8, of the "Guardian."
3. Will Mr. Robeson get in early enough for the 3:00 p.m. (Friday) Harvard meeting? It's all set + advertised.
4. Everything is O.K. thus far. Looks like 5/7 of the meetings will be at Butler Hall.

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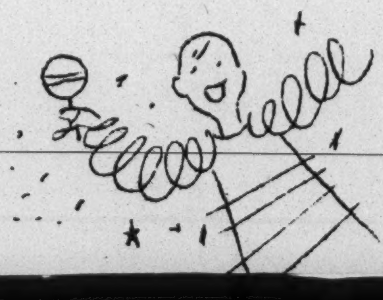

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January 18, 1952

Dear Friend:

Because you were one of the first members of the Freedom Club, we feel you will want to join the list of One Hundred Sponsors of the Cultural Festival which FREEDOM is presenting on Friday, February 29th, at the Golden Gate Ballroom in celebration of Negro History Month and the first anniversary of the paper.

Let me explain further.

During the past two weeks Paul Robeson has been visiting with small gatherings in the homes of people in the Harlem Community. Here, in an informal atmosphere, was an opportunity to hear Paul tell of his daily experiences with the people in the community, of his plans for his career in the coming months, of the important role of FREEDOM in our constant struggles for full freedom, equality, and peace.

These evenings have been an inspiration to all present.

So far fifty men and women who attended these gatherings have signed up as Sponsors for the February 29th Festival. Similar small meetings are planned throughout the month.

We know that in order to pack the Golden Gate Ballroom with an overflow crowd of the people from this community, all of us are going to have to work hard. In order to get started we are calling a meeting of all the Sponsors on Thursday, January 24th at 8:15 PM at the Friendship Baptist Church, 144 West 131st Street. The meeting will begin promptly and should be over by 9:30. We hope you will be able to come and join us.

We look forward to seeing you again and to the opportunity of working with you in putting on an outstanding Cultural Festival on Feb. 29th.

Very sincerely yours,

Margaret McCaden,
FESTIVAL DIRECTOR

FREEDOM

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FIRST YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Presents

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In Celebration of

NEGRO HISTORY MONTH

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At the Piano: **LAWRENCE BROWN**

— CAST —

Actors and Actresses

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DOTS JOHNSON
BILL MARSHALL
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BEULAH RICHARDSON
PAUL ROBESON
ELLSWORTH WRIGHT

Dancers

SHAWNEEQUA BAKER
DONALD McKAYLE
HARLEM DANCE AND THEATRE WORKSHOP

Singers

HARRY BELAFONTE
NADYNE BREWER
HOPE FOYE
MARGUERITE MAIR
MARGARET McCADEN
CHARLES RILEY
PAUL ROBESON
OSBORNE SMITH
UNITED FELLOWSHIP CHORUS

Script	ALICE CHILDRESS
Directed by	ELLSWORTH WRIGHT
Music Director	EVERETT THOMAS

Reference Material and Excerpts from:

The Holy Bible
Paul Laurence Dunbar's "The Colored Soldier"
Herbert Aptheker's "Documentary History of the Negro People"
Lucy Ariel Williams' "Northboun'"
Langston Hughes' "Let America Be America Again"
Philip Foner's "The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass"
Franklin Frazier's "The Negro Family"
Elizabeth Lawson's "Thaddeus Stevens"
"A Call to Negro Women"—issued by Sojourners for Truth and Justice

A New Voice—FREEDOM

"Our People feel themselves sorely aggrieved under the existing state of things." So wrote John Russworm and Samuel Cornish, editors of "Freedom's Journal", the first Negro newspaper in the United States, published in 1827.

Believing that "the calumnies of our enemies should be refuted by forcible arguments", these pioneers set out to provide a "channel of communication between us and the public", and announced that "anything that relates to Africa shall find ready admission to our columns."

That was 125 years ago.

TODAY, the Negro people remain "sorely aggrieved." A pall of repression hangs over the country and pollutes our national life. In this atmosphere all efforts at real liberation are met with the most ruthless attacks of our enemies, and either the distortion or silence of the commercial press.

A hell worse than slavery faces us unless the present drive toward atomic war and fascist dictatorship is halted in its tracks. The need of the hour is for courageous hearts, clear heads and united action.

FREEDOM is born to help that need.

Freedom

Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!

PAUL ROBESON'S PAPER

Brings you an up-to-date, lively view and interpretation of the changing world. A regular column by Paul Robeson . . . news of Africa and the colonial world . . . major trends in Negro life . . . developments in the battle for equality and the world struggle for peace . . . "Conversations from Life" by Alice Childress . . . humor in "Sam Sage Says" . . . and vivid cartooning by Ollie Harrington.

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FREEDOM

Also enclosed find $.............. in support of the program of Freedom Associates.

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The United Freedom Fund

Presents

A Paul Robeson Birthday Concert

on the occasion of

MR. ROBESON'S 54th BIRTHDAY

* * *

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 4, 1952 — 8 O'CLOCK

OTISFIELD HALL, ROXBURY, MASS.

32

ABOUT THE UNITED FREEDOM FUND . . .

The United Freedom Fund is a coordinating committee which includes representatives of the leading organizations that are today fighting most vigorously for full equality and for a peaceful and dignified life for all. These groups, including the Council on African Affairs, the publication **Freedom,** the National Negro Labor Council and a Negro Cultural Organization, will jointly benefit from the funds raised through this concert tour.

Tonight's concert is being held in as small a hall as this **not** because our artists attract only so small an audience as the present hall accomodates, but because these artists have, in the course of their life's work, insisted in every instance on full equality for all. Thus the larger halls were denied to us.

The National Negro Labor Council is presently carrying out a campaign to secure a national FEPC law and a hundred thousand **new** jobs for Negro workers in fields heretofore closed to them by jim crow restraints. And they are making progress.

The **Council on African Affairs** is carrying on a campaign of protest against the vicious racist attempts at **apartheid,** or wholesale segregation of Africans in the Union of South Africa.

The publication, **Freedom,** gives news of the above and other activities of vital importance to the Negro people in its monthly issues.

And, finally, the benefiting cultural organization will carry on its fight against stereotyping in films and other entertainment media; for decent roles for Negro artists in the theatre, the arts; and for the development of Negro artists and Negro culture through a national Negro cultural center.

THESE ARE THE REASONS YOU ARE BEING ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE.

Please consider carefully the amount you can give to these fighting organizations through the United Freedom Fund. Remember the sacrifices which Paul Robeson and others have made in the unceasing struggle to win dignity for all in a society at peace, and then . . . dig deep . . . dig a little deeper, and give till it **stops** hurting!

For information on any of these groups, write:

MR. ROY ATUS, Boston Treasurer, United Freedom Fund

14 Dilworth Street, Boston, Mass.

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PROGRAM

Master of Ceremonies — Mr. Jack Lee

★ ★

1. National Anthem .... Rev. J. E. Jeltz and audience

2. I Viaggiatori (The Travelers)
   Director: Miss Dolores Cobb
   a. "The Heavens Resound" ...... Beethoven-Glen Carle
   b. "Starry Night" (Barcarolle) ...... John H. Densmore

3. Kenneth Scott, Soprano
   a. "Ave Maria" .... Schubert
   b. "Precious Lord" .... Dorsey

4. Dolores Cobb, Soprano
   a. "Bell Song", from Lakme .... Delibes
   b. "Ah, Fors e lui", from La Traviata .... Verdi

5. Birthday greetings to Paul Robeson
   Ode to Paul Robeson .... Beulah Richardson
   Cynthia Belgrave Jones
   Presentation of birthday cake and gifts —
   Mrs. Erma B. Brooks
   Dr. R. A. Simmons

6. Mr. Paul Robeson, Bass
   Lawrence Brown at the Piano

7. Intermission

8. Mr. Paul Robeson, Bass.
   Lawrence Brown at the piano

ABOUT OUR ARTISTS

Paul Robeson's record of achievement is a lengthy one. Mr. Robeson first attracted national attention while a student at Rutgers. In the field of sports, he won letters in football, baseball, basketball and track. As a scholar, Mr. Robeson was distinguished as a winner of the coveted Phi Beta Kappa. For two seasons, he was the choice of the renowned Walter Camp for end on the all-American football team. While studying law at Columbia University, he appeared in amateur theatrical productions at the Harlem YMCA. This first dramatic effort lead to a performance in the leading role in Eugene O'Neill's "Emperor Jones." In 1930, Mr. Robeson played the title role in Shakespeare's "Othello" in London. He was to repeat his magnificent performance in the United States in the Theatre Guild production which also starred Jose Ferrer and Uta Hagen. Mr. Robeson's concert career, begun in 1925, has continued the tradition of perfection which was initiated formally at Rutgers.

Paul Robeson, perhaps more than any other living artist, deserves the characterization of great. In 1943, he won the Abraham Lincoln Medal for most notable and distinguished services in human relations in New York City, the following year, he was awarded the Donaldson Award for best acting performance and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Gold Medal for the best diction in the American theatre; and in 1945, the NAACP presented him with the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement.

Paul Robeson, all-American athlete, Phi Beta Kappa scholar, outstanding actor and baritone, has earned a niche in the halls of fame in all these fields. But it is Paul Robeson the man, unflinching fighter for the rights of his people who has earned for himself a lasting place in the hearts of the "common men" all over the globe.

Lawrence Brown has been the musical associate of Paul Robeson for all of the latter's musical career. Himself a singularly gifted musician, Mr. Brown is a scholar in the field of Negro music and has arranged and published many spirituals. It is rare indeed when the accompanist can qualify as a vocal accompaniment. Lawrence Brown, however, is the happy exception to the rule. His vocal assists to Paul's renditions of spirituals are absolutely appropriate and delightful.

Paul Robeson has said that an artist could not live in some rarified atmosphere far from the problems of the people. Certainly not the interpretive artist like the singer or the actor. By the very nature of his hiring, he serves someone. If he sang in Negro Churches, he served the Negro people. If he sang in the big concert halls, he served the big folks. If he sang in the community picturehouses, on the radio or in pictures, he was a part of the "bread and circus" policy of those who own these media to "keep the people happy." His appearance tonight at a "top" of $1.20 is in keeping with his policy of serving the bulk of the people and of bringing back to the people the music which found its base among the people. For tonight's recital, Mr. Robeson has chosen "those individually composed songs which are rooted in and deeply remindful of the folk tradition."

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PAUL ROBESON

LAWRENCE BROWN *at the Piano*

Paradise Auditorium
2226 East 55th St.

Cultural Program

Tuesday, May 6, 1952
8:00 P.M.

Auspices of Cleveland Negro Labor Council
Call EXpress 1-5529 for tickets and information.

'He is one of our truly great artists, gifted by the gods as musician and actor.'

WALTER DAMROSCH

'The singer who has done more than any other person toward making this the sort of world we want to live in.'

CANADA LEE

'There is, it is to be believed, no living voice which will quite compare with that of Robeson.. In full throat it is mighty to the point of exaltation, and in pianissimo, a deep whisper that is all-pervading.'

DETROIT FREE PRESS

'He is the first among the vocalists of his race, and comparable to the greatest singers of any race.'

HERMAN DEVRIES
Chicago Herald-American

World-famous citizen of the world, scholar, and artist, Paul Robeson stems from and belongs to the common people. The son of a minister in the town of Princeton, N.J., he worked his way through Rutgers College and Columbia Law School, winning highest honors as athlete and student along the way. Since 1926, he has made numerous concert tours in Europe, Russia, and the United States, and acted in a score of plays and motion pictures. His recent role in 'Othello' was an epochal event in the American theatre. Among the many honors bestowed upon Robeson are honorary degrees from two white and two Negro universities, Abraham Lincoln Medal (1943), Donaldson Award (1944), Gold Medal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1944), and Spingarn Medal of the N.A.A.C.P. (1945).

'There are few Negroes who have anything to sacrifice who are willing to make the sacrifice. They may call Paul Robeson a Communist (which he distinctly is not), but this writer knows of no other Negro who has had as much in a material way to sacrifice as Robeson, who has been willing to make the sacrifice.'

P.L. Prattis
Pittsburgh Courier

"Robeson had made for himself a great career, which was worth and was bringing him comparative wealth. He has earned and could have gone on earning as much in a single year as all the twelve Bishops of the A.M.E. Zion Church, which he honored by his love and devotion, and respect for his sainted father, an humble minister of the Church. But he has sacrificed his career and its wealth 'rather than retreat on tiniest measure of space from his beliefs,' beliefs that his native land, 'the Home of the free and the land of the brave,' should guarantee to Negro citizens the same equality it promised to all other citizens. Whatever mistakes we charge to his account, however foolhardy we may think he has been, his courage, his faith, his sheer sacrifice makes sense. Paul Robeson belongs in the same class as John Brown, who had little enough sense to die that men, black men, might be free, and now ''John Brown's body lies mouldering in the ground, but his soul goes marching on'"

Editorial
The Star of Zion

Bx 4
F 80

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL
NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
NLC

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

CONSTITUTION

Preamble

We, the members of the Negro Labor Councils, believe that the struggle of the Negro people for first-class citizenship based on economic, political and social equality is in vain unless we as Negro workers, along with our white allies, are united to protect our people (Negro) against those forces who continue to deny us full citizenship.

Realizing that the old forms of organizations which were dedicated to the fight for first-class citizenship for Negro people have been unable to bring full economic opportunity for the Negro worker in the factory, the mine, the mill, the office, in government; to stop wanton police killings of Negroes throughout the land; to stop mob violence against us; to bring the franchise to our brothers and sisters, in the South, and gain our full say in the political life of our country with proper representation in government on all levels; to buy and rent homes everywhere unrestricted; to use public facilities, restaurants, hotels, and the recreational facilities in town and country, we form the National Negro Labor Council (N.N.L.C.), an organization which unites all Negro workers with other suffering minorities and our allies among the white workers, and base ourselves on rank and file control regardless of age, sex, creed, political beliefs, or union affiliation, and pursue at all times a policy of militant struggle to improve our conditions.

We pledge ourselves to labor unitedly for the principles herein set forth, to perpetuate our councils and work concertedly with other organizations that seek improvement for Negro and other oppressed minorities.

We further pledge ourselves to work unitedly with the trade unions to bring about greater cooperation between all sections of the Negro people and the trade union movement; to bring the principles of trade unionism to the Negro workers everywhere; to aid the trade unions in the great unfinished task of organizing the South on the basis of fraternity, equality and unity; and to further unity between black and white workers everywhere.

For further information, write or phone:
Cleveland Negro Labor Council
5311 Woodland Ave.,
Suite 4
EXpress 1-5529

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THE CLEVELAND NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

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A Cultural Evening

FEATURING

PAUL ROBESON

LAWRENCE BROWN AT THE PIANO

Tuesday Evening, May 6, 1952 — 8:00 o'clock

Paradise Auditorium, 2226 E. 55th Street

Cleveland, Ohio

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PROGRAM

1. **EAST END A CAPELLA CHORUS**
   Charles Wilson, Director
2. **MR. HAROLD MEDLEY—Dramatist**
3. **MR. PAUL ROBESON—Baritone**
4. **GREETINGS TO ROBESON**

INTERMISSION

5. **EAST END A CAPELLA CHORUS**
   Charles Wilson, Director
6. **MR. HAROLD MEDLEY—Dramatist**
7. **MR. PAUL ROBESON**
   Mr Lawrence Brown at the Piano

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PAUL ROBESON

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BIRTHDAY CONCERT

ON THE OCCASION OF MR. ROBESON'S 54TH BIRTHDAY

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 8:00 P. M.

ROCKLAND PALACE
155 Street & 8th Avenue

PERFORMING ARTISTS

The selections will be announced by the Master of Ceremonies.

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MARGARET McCADEN and Choral Ensemble

ALLEN BOOTH, Pianist

NADYNE BREWER, Soprano

LUCY BROWN, Pianist

BEULAH RICHARDSON, Poet

PAUL ROBESON, accompanied by LAWRENCE BROWN

There will be an intermission after the first half of the program.

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WALTER DAMROSCH

"The singer who has done more than any other person toward making this the sort of world we want to live in."

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Presenting

PAUL ROBESON

LAWRENCE BROWN ***at the Piano***

SEATTLE CIVIC AUDITORIUM

8:00 P.M. TUESDAY **MAY 20th, 1952**

ADMISSION

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$ .50 - STUDENTS

(Prices Include Taxes)

AUSPICES: *Seattle Chapter National Negro Labor Council*
1809 Jackson Street, Seattle 44, and

The Robeson Birthday Concert Committee
4008 Arcade Bldg., Seattle 1.

Paul Robeson

san francisco concert

on the occasion of

Mr. Robeson's 54th birthday

Thursday Evening, May 22, 1952, at the
Macedonian Baptist Church

THE UNITED FREEDOM FUND

The United Freedom Fund is a coordinating committe which includes representatives of the leading organizations that are today fighting most vigorously for full equality and for a peaceful and dignified life for all. These groups, including the Council on African Affairs, the publication **FREEDOM,** the National Negro Labor Council and a Negro Cultural Organization, will jointly benefit from the funds raised through this concert tour.

The **National Negro Labor Council** is presently carrying out a campaign to secure a national FEPC law and a hundred thousand new jobs for Negro workers in fields heretofore closed to them by jim crow restraints. And they are making progress.

•

This concert arranged and sponsored by:

San Francisco Chapter of the National Negro Labor Council
1433 Divisadero Street

•

CONCERT COMMITTEE

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The Program

PAUL ROBESON

Associate at the piano—LAWRENCE BROWN

Over the Mountains (Old English)	Arranged by Roger Quilter
Star Vicino (Old Italian)	Salvator Rosa
The Orphan After the Battle Air from Boris	Moussorgsky

INTERMISSION

PAUL ROBESON

Associate at the piano—LAWRENCE BROWN

Folk Songs

I Got a Home in Dat Rock	Arranged by Lawrence Brown
Night	Arranged by Alexandroff
Vi Azoi Lebt Der Keiser	Yiddish Folk Song
Balm in Gilead	Arranged by H. T. Burleigh
Every Time I Feel De Spirit	Arranged by Lawrence Brown

(Any changes in Mr. Robeson's numbers will be announced)

●

Mr. Robeson will be assisted throughout the program by:

MACEDONIA BAPTIST CHURCH SENIOR CHOIR . . . . Albert Fairweather, Director

VICTORY QUINTET, of Sacramento, California

Jessie L. Calloway	Wrewis Swift	Tillery Elder
Levell Calloway		Theotis Swift

GAYNELL McPHERSON (age 13) . . . . Music by DeFalla
"Young David"

Interpretation in Rhythm by Lenore Peters Job

During the Concert, as the action is shifted from one hall to another, there may be slight delays. Your patience and understanding are appreciated.

POSITIVELY NO SMOKING

ABOUT OUR ARTISTS

Paul Robeson's record of achievement is a lengthy one. Mr. Robeson first attracted national attention while a student at Rutgers. In the field of sports, he won letters in football, baseball, basketball and track. As a scholar, Mr. Robeson was distinguished as a winner of the coveted Phi Beta Kappa. For two seasons, he was the choice of the renowned Walter Camp for end on the all-American football team. While studying law at Columbia University, he appeared in amateur theatrical productions at the Harlem YMCA. This first dramatic effort lead to a performance in the leading role in Eugene O'Neill's "Emperor Jones." In 1930, Mr. Robeson played the title role in Shakespeare's "Othello" in London. He was to repeat his magnificent performance in the United States in the Theatre Guild production which also starred Jose Ferrer and Uta Hagen. Mr. Robeson's concert career, begun in 1925, has continued the tradition of perfection which was initiated formally at Rutgers.

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Paul Robeson has said that an artist could not live in some rarified atmosphere far from the problems of the people. Certainly not the interpretive artist like the singer or the actor. By the very nature of his hiring, he serves someone. If he sang in Negro Churches, he served the Negro people. If he sang in the big concert halls, he served the big folks. If he sang in the community picturehouses, on the radio or in pictures, he was a part of the "bread and circus" policy of those who own these media to "keep the people happy."

Greetings to Paul Robeson from his thousands of friends in San Francisco

THE EAST BAY CHAPTER

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

PRESENTS

Paul Robeson

IN CONCERT

PAUL ROBESON

Associate at the piano—LAWRENCE BROWN

Over the Mountains (Old English)	Arranged by Roger Quilter
Star Vicino (Old Italian)	Salvator Rosa
The Orphan After the Battle Air from Boris	Moussorgsky

●

INTERMISSION

PAUL ROBESON

Associate at the piano—LAWRENCE BROWN

Folk Songs

I Got a Home in Dat Rock	Arranged by Lawrence Brown
Night	Arranged by Alexandroff
Vi Azoi Lebt Der Keiser	Yiddish Folk Song
Balm in Gilead	Arranged by H T. Burleigh
Every Time I Feel De Spirit	Arranged by Lawrence Brown

(Any changes in Mr. Robeson's numbers will be announced)

●

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VICTORY QUINTET, of Sacramento, California
Jessie L. Calloway
Levell Calloway
Wrewis Swift
Tillery Elder
Theotis Swift

GAYNELL McPHERSON (age 13) "Young David"	Music by DeFalla

Interpretation in Rhythm by Lenore Peters Job

BERKELEY COMMUNITY THEATRE

FRIDAY EVENING MAY 23, 1952

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL — 619B GIBBS AVENUE, ALAMEDA

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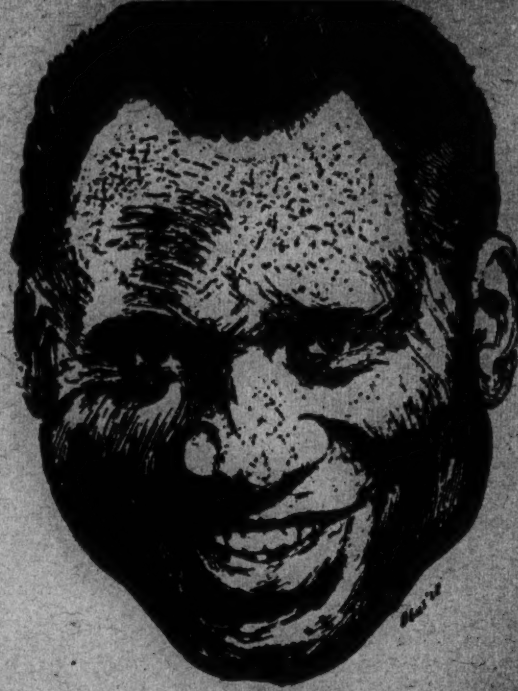

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TUES. MAY 27
8 P. M.

DENVER CITY AUDITORIUM

(Mr. Robeson's appearance in Denver is part of a national concert tour, under auspices of the UNITED FREEDOM FUND.)

The Paul Robeson
Concert Committee

in cooperation with Negro Labor Council

of Denver

PRESENTS

Mr. Paul Robeson

Mr. Lawrence Brown at the Piano

TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 27, 1952, 8:15 O'CLOCK

CITY AUDITORIUM, DENVER, COLORADO

1 4

PROGRAM

National Anthem ....Mr. Edward Riddick and audience

Negro National Anthem ....Mr. Edward Riddick and audience
Mrs. Anne R. Robnett at the Piano

The Alvarado Trio......Mr. Manuel Alvarado, Mr. Ray Alvarado and Mr. Bennie Romero

'Jalisco No Te Rajes"
"Juan Charrasquedo"

Mr. Paul Robeson
Mr. Lawrence Brown at the Piano

"Over the Mountains" (Old English) ....Arranged by Roger Quilter
"Star Vicino" (Old Italian) ....Salvator Rosa
"The Orphan"
"After the Battle"
"Air from Boris" ....Moussorgsky

Mr. Keve Bray
A reading from "Freedom Train," by Langston Hughes

Intermission

Mr. Clinton Irving, Pianist
"Fantasy in B Flat Minor," by Mr. Irving

Mr. Paul Robeson
Mr. Lawrence Brown at the Piano

Folk Songs
"I Got a Home in a Dat Rock" ....Arranged by Lawrence Brown
"Night" ....Arranged by Alexandroff
"Vi Azoi Lebt Der Keiser"..................Yiddish Folk Song
"Balm in Gilead" ....Arranged by H. T. Burleigh
"Every Time I Feel De Spirit"...Arranged by Lawrence Brown

●

(Note: From his rich repertoire of songs of the peoples of all countries, Mr. Robeson will make every effort in his concert this evening to include those most often requested by his friends in Denver and vicinity.)

Steinway Piano — Courtesy Chas. E. Wells Music Co.

The Negro Artist Looks Ahead

We present here some brief excerpts from an address recently delivered by Mr. Paul Robeson in New York City before a Conference for Equal Rights for Negroes in the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Mr. Robeson here set forth the aspirations and the program of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts.

NOT ONLY have the Negro people survived in this America, they have given to these United States almost a new language, given it ways of speech, given it perhaps the only indigenous music.

One great creation, modern popular music, whether it be in theatre, film, radio, records is almost completely based upon the Negro idiom. There is no leading American singer, performer of popular songs, whether it be a Crosby, a Sinatra, a Shore, a Judy Garland, an Ella Logan, who has not listened (and learned) by the hour to Holliday, Waters, Florence Mills, to Bert Williams, to Fitzgerald, and to the greatest of all, Bessie Smith. Without these models, who would ever have heard of a Tucker, a Jolson, a Cantor?

Where could there have come an Astaire, an Eleanor Powell and a James Barton without a Bill Robinson, a Bert Williams, an Eddie Rector, a Florence Mills? How could Artie Shaw and Bennie Goodman have appeared but for a Teddy Wilson, Turner Latan, Johnny Dunn, Hall Johnson, Will Marion Cook? Whence stems even Gershwin? From the music of Negro America joined with the ancient Hebrew idiom. Listen to some of the great melodies. Here again is a great American composer, deeply rooted, whether he knew it or not, in an African tradition, a tradition very close to his own heritage.

I speak very particularly of this popular form. This is very important to the Negro artists, because billions, literally billions of dollars, have been earned and are being earned from their creation, and the Negro people have received almost nothing.

At another stage of the arts there is no question, as one goes about the world, of the contribution of the Negro folk songs, of the music that sprang from my forefathers in their struggle for freedom — not songs of contentment — but songs like "Go Down, Moses" that inspired Harriet Tubman, John Brown and Sojourner Truth to the fight for emancipation.

I think of Larry Brown who went abroad, heard Moussorgsky, heard the great folk music of other lands and dedicated himself, as did Harry Burleigh before him, to showing that this was a great music, not just "plantation songs."

One perhaps forgets my own career, and that for five years I would sing nothing but the music of my people. Later, when it was established as a fine folk music, I began to learn of the folk music of other peoples. This has been one of the bonds that have drawn me so close to the peoples of the world . . .

So we are dealing with a people who come from great roots. There is no need to quote the names of an Anderson or a Hayes and many more; or of the great scientists — of a Julian, of a Carver. No need today for the Negro people to prove any more that they have a right to full equality. They have proven it again and again.

The roots of this great outpouring we are talking about today in the cultural expression of my people, is a great culture from a vast continent. If these origins are somewhat blurred in this America of ours, they are clear in Brazil where Villa-Lobos joins Bach with African rhythms and melodies; in Cuba and Haiti a whole culture, musical and poetic, is very deep in the Africa of its origins — an African culture quite comparable to the ancient culture of the Chinese — similar in religious concepts, in language, in poetry, in its sculpture, in its whole esthetic — a culture which has deeply influenced the great artists of our time — a Picasso, a Modigliani, a Brancusi, an Epstein, a de Falla, a Milhaud. So we are today discussing the problems of a proud people, rich in tradition, a people torn from its ancient homeland but who in 300 years have built anew, have enriched this new continent with its physical power, with its intellect, with its deep, inexhaustible spirit and courage . . .

Let us touch for a moment on radio and television. We all know the difficulties — no major hours with Negro talent, an occasional guest appearance eagerly awaited by the Negro audience. Why this discrimination? Well, these mass media are based on advertising, commercialism at its worst, and the final answer is very simple. It goes to the root of all that has been said. The final answer is "The South won't take it." . . .

So we have allowed the South with its patterns to determine for all America how, when and where the Negro will be denied an opportunity . . .

When we say that we are people's artists, we must mean that. I mean it very deeply. Because, you know, the people created our art in the first place.

Haydn with his folk songs — the people made it up in the first place. The language of Shakespeare — this was the creation of the English-speaking people; the language of Pushkin, the creation of the Russian people . . .

So, in the end, the culture with which we deal comes from the people. We have an obligation to take it back to the people, to make them understand that in fighting for their cultural heritage they fight for peace. They fight for their own rights, for the rights of all in this great land. All of this is dependent so much upon our understanding the power of this people, the power of the Negro people, the power of the masses of America, of a world where we can all walk in complete dignity.

●

THE UNITED FREEDOM FUND

Mr. Robeson's current nationwide concert tour is sponsored by the United Freedom Fund, a coordinating fund-raising organization recently established by four major organizations:

THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS. A research and information center dedicated to strengthening the alliance of progressive Americans, Negro and white, with the peoples of Africa in the common struggle for world peace and freedom.

THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL. A national organization of Negro and white trade unionists, with affiliates in almost every major industrial center in the U. S., which campaigns for the rights of Negroes to jobs, equal pay, no discrimination in seniority, a national Fair Employment Practices Act, and for elimination of Jim Crow in unions.

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE NEGRO IN THE ARTS. A group of nationally-known artists, Negro and white, which presses for full recognition of the tremendous contributions made by Negro artists to all fields of American culture.

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES. Publishers of the monthly newspaper, "Freedom," now in its second year. "Freedom" prints news and comment on the world-wide struggles of oppressed peoples for freedom.

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Mr. Morris Wright

LIFT EV'RY VOICE AND SING

Negro National Anthem

Lift ev'ry voice and sing, till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of liberty; Let our rejoicing rise high as the list'ning skies
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea, and sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod, bitter the chast'ning rod
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat has not our weary feet come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered,
We have come treading our path thro' the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past till now we stand at last where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

Paul

ROBESON

CONCERT

LAWRENCE BROWN

At The Piano

May 29th, 1952

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7. SINGING GROUP .... Led by MRS. WILLIAMSON
8. MR. PAUL ROBESON .... at the piano LAWRENCE BROWN
9. MR. PAUL ROBESON

— INTERMISSION —

10. MR. PAUL ROBESON .... SINGS

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LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING

Lift ev'ry voice and sing, Till earth and heaven ring. Ring with har-monies of Lib-er-ty, - Let our rejoicing rise, high as the list-ning skies, Let it re-sound loud as the roll-ing sea. Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us. Sing a song full of the hope that the pres-ent has brought-us; Facing the ris-ing sun of our new day be-gun, Let us march on till vic-to-ry is won.

God of our weary years, God of our si-lent tears, Thou who hast brought us thus far on - the way; Thou who hast by Thy might, led us into the light, Keep us for-ev-er in the path we pray. Lest our feet stray from the places, our God where we meet Thee, Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the world, we for-get — Thee; Shad-owed be-neath Thy hand, may we for-ever - stand, true to our God, true to our na-tive land.

NATIONAL ANTHEM

Oh say! can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twi-light's last gleaming
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, thro' the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallant-ly streaming?
And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof thro' the night that our flag was still there.
O, say, does that Star-spangled Banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

Freedom Associates of Philadelphia

Presents

A Paul Robeson Birthday Concert

on the occasion of

Mr. Robeson's 54th Birthday

Saturday Evening, June 7, 1952
8:00 o'clock

The MET - - Philadelphia, Pa.

PROGRAMME

1. "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing"...James Weldon Johnson
   Young Adult Choir of Bright Hope Baptist Church
   and Audience

* * * *

2. Young Adult Choir of Bright Hope Baptist Church
   (a) "Inflammatus"
   (b) "Rock My Soul In the Bosom of Abraham"

* * * *

3. Mrs. Mildred Harrington, Soprano
   (a) "My Journey to the Sky".....Dorothy Austin
   (b) "He Lives in Me".....Robert Anderson, Jr.

* * * *

4. Mr. Paul Robeson

   Lawrence Brown at the Piano

* * * *

INTERMISSION

PROGRAMME

5. Young Adult Choir of Bright Hope Baptist Church

(a) "Over My Head"

* * * *

6. Mrs. Sheila Francis, Contralto

Kenneth Goodman at the Piano

(a) "Because" ....Guy D'Hardelot

(b) "Oh, Robert, Robert"............Meyerbeer

* * * *

7. Presentation of Birthday Cake and Gifts............

Mr. Edward W. Robinson, Jr., Master of Ceremonies

* * * *

8. Mr. Paul Robeson
Lawrence Brown at the Piano

B # 4
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1952

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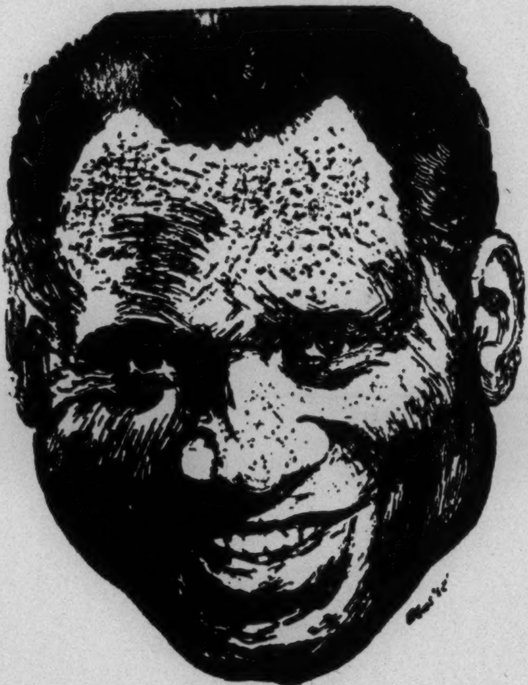
PAUL ROBESON



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CONCERT

on the occasion of
MR. ROBESON'S
54th BIRTHDAY

Sunday Afternoon
June 22, 2:30 p. m.

MADISON BALLROOM
Woodward at Forest

— Program —

NATIONAL ANTHEM

WILLIAM ARMOUR (Baritone)
"None But the Lonely Heart"...............*Tschaikovsky*

HERMAN DAGON AND HIS QUARTETTE
"Maria Elena"
"Mambo No. 5"
"Ritmo"

MR. PAUL ROBESON
Mr. Lawrence Brown at the Piano
"Over the Mountains" (Old English)..*Arr. by Roger Quilter*
"Star Vicino" (Old Italian) ....*Salvator Rosa*
"The Orphan"
"After the Battle"
"Air from Boris" } ....*Moussorgsky*

INTERMISSION AND PRESENTATIONS

WILLIAM ARMOUR (Baritone)
"Land of Degradation" ....*Robert McGimsey*

HERMAN DAGON AND HIS QUARTETTE
"Dolores Santa Cru"
"Cachita"

MR. PAUL ROBESON
Mr. Lawrence Brown at the Piano

FOLK SONGS
"I Got a Home in a Dat Rock"....*Arr. by Lawrence Brown*
"Night" ....*Arr. by Alexandroff*
"Vi Azoi Lebt Der Keiser" ....*Yiddish Folk Song*
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About Our Artists

⁂

The Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council takes great pleasure in presenting to the Detroit people, from all walks of life, the great and renowned artist, Paul Robeson, with Lawrence Brown assisting at the piano.

Along with you we welcome Mr. Robeson's return to the concert stage, to take the art that came from the people "back to the people."

Paul Robeson's record of achievement is a lengthy one. Mr. Robeson first attracted national attention while a student at Rutgers. In the field of sports, he won letters in football, baseball, basketball and track. As a scholar, Mr. Robeson was distinguished as a winner of the coveted Phi Beta Kappa. For two seasons, he was the choice of the renowned Walter Camp for end on the all-American football team. While studying law at Columbia University, he appeared in amateur theatrical productions at the Harlem YMCA. This first dramatic effort led to a performance in the leading role in Eugene O'Neill's *"Emperor Jones."* In 1930, Mr. Robeson played the title role in Shakespeare's *"Othello"* in London. He was to repeat his magnificent performance in the United States in the Theater Guild production which also starred Jose Ferrer and Uta Hagen. Mr. Robeson's concert career, begun in 1925, has continued the tradition of perfection which was initiated formally at Rutgers.

Paul Robeson, perhaps more than any other living artist, deserves the characterization of "great." In 1943, he won the Abraham Lincoln Medal for most notable and distinguished services in human relations in New York City. The following year, he was awarded the Donaldson Award for best acting performance and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Gold Medal for the best diction in the American theater; and in 1945, the NAACP presented him with the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement.

Paul Robeson, all-American athlete, Phi Beta Kappa scholar, outstanding actor and baritone, has earned a niche in the halls of fame in all these fields. But it is Paul Robeson the man, unflinching fighter for the rights of his people who has earned for himself a lasting place in the hearts of the "common men" all over the globe.

⁂

Lawrence Brown has been the musical associate of Paul Robeson for all of the latter's musical career. Himself a singularly gifted musician, Mr. Brown is a scholar in the field of Negro music and has arranged and published many spirituals. It is rare indeed when the accompanist can qualify as a vocal accompaniment. Lawrence Brown, however, is the happy exception to the rule. His vocal assists to Mr. Robeson's renditions of spirituals are absolutely appropriate and delightful.

Bx 4
F 80

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JOE MORGAN, Pres. GERALD BOYD, Exec. Sec'y.

Nocturne

STARRING

PAUL ROBESON

WITH

ARTHUR HARDGE

MOTHER A.M.E. ZION CHURCH

140-6 West 137th Street New York City

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1952 8:30 P.M.

AUSPICES OF CLASS NO. 26

Dr. B. C. Robeson, Pastor

Associate Pastors

Rev. Peter A. Price — Rev. Arthur L. Hardge

THIS is your program. We have attempted to plan it in such a way as to help you relive the pages of yesterday.

I am yesterday, I am gone from you forever. Yet, I am forever with you. Once I was called Tomorrow and was virgin pure. Then I became your bride and was named Today. Now I am yesterday and carry with me the eternal stain of your embrace. I am one of the pages of a growing book. One day you will turn us all over and read us. Then you will know what you are. For we are you, and you cannot escape from yourself.

* * *

Eternal gratitude to Paul Robeson and Lawrence Brown for giving of their time and talents in trying to make a young man's dream a reality.

** PROGRAM **

I.

WORDS:

The Creation	Johnson

MUSIC:

Creations Hymn	Beethoven
On Ma Journey	Boatner
Zog Mit Heimol	Warsaw Ghetto Song

II.

WORDS:

Home	Guest
The Day Is Done	Longfellow

MUSIC:

The Ash Grove	Quilter
Loch Lomond	Lawson
Li'l Gal	Dunbar - Johnson

III.

WORDS:

If	Kipling
Psalm of Life	Longfellow

MUSIC:

Balm In Gilead	Burleigh
A Mighty Fortress	Luther - Bach

INTERMISSION

IV.

WORDS:

Love	Croft
How Do I Love Thee	Browning
Love	Gibran

MUSIC:

Drink To Me Only	Quilter
Oh, No John	Sharp
Over the Mountain	Puilter

V.

WORDS:

Gloomy Sunday	

MUSIC:

Now Sleeps the Crimson Petal	Tennyson - Quilter
Goin' Home (New World Symphony)	Dvorak

(Overleaf)

B-4
F 80

** PROGRAM **

VI.

WORDS:

My Soul Cried Out (Original)	Hardge
I Miss You	

MUSIC:

An Eriskay Love Lilt	Kennedy - Fraser
Ma Curly Headed Baby	Clutsam
Hassidic Chant	Engel

THE MUSIC

Paul Robeson	*Soloist*
Lawrence Brown	*Accompanist*

THE WORDS

Arthur Hardge	*Reader*
Sarah Hardge LeGrand	*Organist*

To the Pastor, assistant Pastor, members, and many friends, a sincere and heartfelt Thank You.

CLASS 26
Mary Brown, President
Josephine Johnson, Sec'y.
Rev. Arthur L. Hardge, Leader

1952

The Los Angeles Negro Labor Council

proudly presents

MR. PAUL ROBESON

in a

Concert Evening

Associate at the piano............LAWRENCE BROWN

* * *

PROGRAM

Over the Mountains (Old English)........*Arranged by Roger Quilter*

Star Vicino (Old Italian)..*Salvator Rosa*

The Orphan)
After the Battle)..*Mussorgsky*
Air From Boris)

FOLK SONGS

I Got a Home in a Dat Rock.................*Arranged by Lawrence Brown*

Night ....*Arranged by Alexandroff*

Vi Azoi Lebt Der Keiser...*Yiddish Folk Song*

Balm in Gilead...*Arranged by H. T. Burleigh*

Every Time I Feel De Spirit................*Arranged by Lawrence Brown*

Contributing artists will be introduced by Mr. Joe Johnson, Chairman. Mr. Johnson will call for a moment of silence in tribute to Canada Lee.

Mr. Robeson will appear in each of the halls. Therefore it is not possible to list the numbers in the order in which they will be presented.

About the United Freedom Fund

The United Freedom Fund is a coordinating committee which includes representatives of the leading organizations which are fighting most vigorously today for full equality and for peaceful and dignified life for all. These groups, including the Council on African Affairs, the publication Freedom, the National Negro Labor Council and a Negro Cultural Organization, will jointly benefit from the funds raised through this concert tour.

That tonight's concert is being held in a comparatively small auditorium plus another, even smaller hall, is tribute, not only to the enormous popularity of these artists, but to their integrity, as well. This audience, plus the hundreds who were turned away, could easily have filed a vast concert hall. But such halls were denied us because the artists have, in their life's work, insisted in every instance on full equality for all.

The National Negro Labor Council is now carrying out a campaign to secure a national FEPC law and a hundred thousand new jobs for Negro workers — women and men — in fields heretofore closed to them by jim crow restraints. And they are making progress.

The Council on African Affairs is carrying on a campaign of protest against the vicious racist attempts at apartheid, or wholesale segregation of Africans in the Union of South Africa.

The publication, Freedom, gives news of the above and other activities of vital importance to the Negro people in its monthly issues.

And finally, the benefiting cultural organization will carry on its fight against stereotyping in films and other entertainment media; for decent roles for Negro artist in the theatre, the arts; and for the development of Negro artists and Negro culture through a national Negro cultural center.

THESE ARE THE REASONS YOU ARE BEING ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE

Please consider carefully the amount you can give to these fighting organizations through the United Freedom Fund. Remember the sacrifices which Paul Robeson and others have made in the unceasing struggle to win dignity for all in a society at peace, and then . . . dig deep . . . dig a little deeper, and give till it stops hurting!

On the walls of our auditorium tonight are portraits of only a few of countless men and women who have contributed to the cultural struggle which Mr. Robeson is carrying forward so nobly. In addition to those pictured here are many, many more — each of whom gave immensurably to this heroic tradition.

BV 4
F 80

A New Voice . . . **Freedom**

"Our People feel themselves sorely aggrieved under the existing state of things." So wrote John Russworm and Samuel Cornish, editors of "Freedom's Journal", the first Negro newspaper in the United States, published in 1827.

Believing that "the columnies of our enemies should be refuted by forcible arguments", these pioneers set out to provide a "channel of communications between us and the public", and announced that "anything that relates to Africa shall find ready admission to our columns."

That was 125 years ago.

TODAY, the Negro people remain "sorely aggrieved." A pall of repression hangs over the country and pollutes our national life. In this atmosphere all efforts at real liberation are met with the most ruthless attacks of our enemies, and either the distortion or silence of the commercial press.

A hell worse than slavery faces us unless the present drive toward atomic war and fascist dictatorship is halted in its tracks. The need of the hour is for courageous hearts, clear heads and united action.

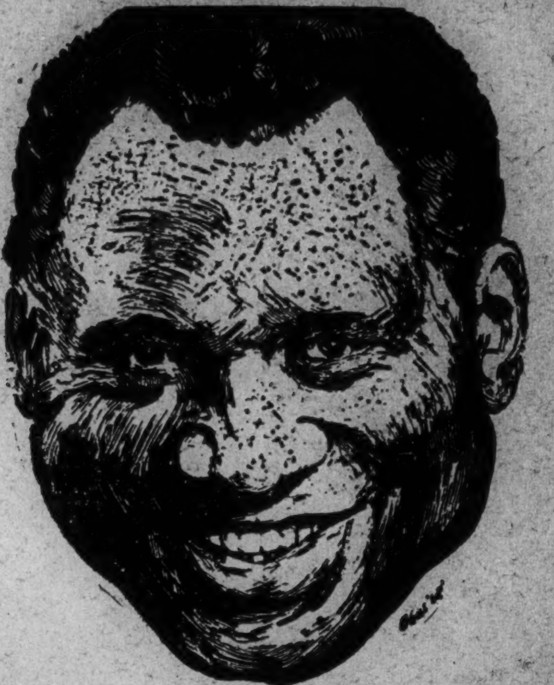
FREEDOM is born to help that need.

Paul Robeson Sings in Hartford!

PAUL ROBESON

▲*IN*▲

CONCERT



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In 1930, MR. ROBESON played the title role in Shakespeare's "Othello" in London. He was to repeat his magnificent performance in the United States in the Theatre Guild production which also starred Jose Ferrer and Uta Hagen.

MR. ROBESON was awarded the Donaldson Award for best acting performance and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Gold Medal for the best diction in the American theatre; and in 1945, the NAACP presented him with the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement.

Lawrence Brown has been the musical associate of Paul Robeson for all of the latter's musical career. Himself a singularly gifted musician, Mr. Brown is a scholar in the field of Negro music and has arranged and published many spirituals.

Hope Foye, born in Hartford, began musical studies in Hartford after winning a scholarship through the Meriden Choral Club. Made appearances at Cafe Society Downtown, at Cafe Society Uptown and Village Vanguard in New York City. Broadway productions "Dance Me A Song", "Green Pastures"—"Just A Little Simple" and "Gold Through the Trees." Just recently returned from a concert and radio appearance in Europe.

★

Jewish Peoples' Chorus singing in Hartford for 25 years, directed by Samuel Goldman noted New York Conductor.

Lawrence Brown, Accompanist

And Featuring

HOPE FOYE, Vocalist

THE JEWISH PEOPLES CHORUS

Saturday, November 15, 1952

8:00 P. M.

Weaver High School Auditorium

Admission $2.40 and $1.20

Auspices: Peoples Party of Hartford

The Macedonia Missionary Baptist Church

Presents

PAUL ROBESON

IN CONCERT

PAUL ROBESON

Associate at the piano—ALLAN BOOTH

Over the Mountains (Old English)	*Arranged by Roger Quilter*
Star Vicino (Old Italian)	*Salvator Rosa*
The Orphan After the Battle Air from Boris	*Moussorgsky*

INTERMISSION

PAUL ROBESON

Associate at the piano—ALLAN BOOTH

Folk Songs

I Got a Home in Dat Rock	*Arranged by Lawrence Brown*
Night	*Arranged by Alexandroff*
Vi Azoi Lebt Der Keiser	*Yiddish Folk Song*
Balm in Gilead	*Arranged by H. T. Burleigh*
Every Time I Feel De Spirit	*Arranged by Lawrence Brown*

(Any changes in Mr. Robeson's numbers will be announced)

Mr. Robeson will be assisted throughout the program by the Inspirational Chorus and Youth Choir

STEAL AWAY
EVERYTIME I FEEL THE SPIRIT
I WILL TRUST IN THE LORD

(Additional numbers will be announced)

Sunday Afternoon, June 7, 1953

BANQUET TO FOLLOW CONCERT IN CHURCH DINING ROOM AT 6 P.M.—$1.50 PER PLATE

100

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL OF THE EAST BAY

INVITES YOU TO MEET

PAUL ROBESON

AT A RECEPTION AT THE

CALIFORNIA HOTEL

3501 SAN PABLO AVENUE, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1953 — 8:00 P. M.

ADMISSION BY INVITATION ONLY

71

JOIN THE GREAT

Cultural Salute
to
PAUL ROBESON

on the occasion of the launching of the campaign for his passport to sing again around the world

Wednesday, May 26, 1954

Renaissance Casino • 138th St. at 7th Ave.
From 8 to 11 p.m. • Admission: $1 plus 10c tax

Tickets may be obtained at
139 West 125th Street, N. Y. 27, • Suite 6 • MO 6-8700

Cultural Tributes
to PAUL ROBESON
by
James T. Powell
Carl Pruitt
Thelonius Monk
Edith Sewell
Selwart Clarke
Marion Cumbo
David Johnson
Carroll Hollister
Herbert Haufrech
Zebedee Collins
Chauncey Northern
Felix Weir
American String
Quartette
AND MANY OTHERS

and the songs and response of PAUL ROBESON

Auspices: Committee To Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

NEW YORK COUNCIL of the ARTS, SCIENCES and PROFESSIONS

presents a

THEATRE
CONCERT

IN HONOR OF
NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1955

8:30 PM

Manhattan Center, 311 West 34th Street, NYC

A THEATER CONCERT

IN HONOR OF NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

Program

Narrator, BILL ROBINSON
Narration written by Waldo Salt

•••••

Side by Side — Music by Earl Robinson
Words by Lee Hays

LEON BIBB, EARL ROBINSON and
JEWISH YOUNG FOLK SINGERS
Conducted by ROBERT DE CORMIER

•••••

En Mi Viejo San Juan
I've Got a Home in That Rock
Oy a Liebe

JEWISH YOUNG FOLK SINGERS

•••••

Dear Dr. Butts — Monologue — by Langston Hughes
RUBY DEE

•••••

Ashcan — by Les Pine

A Street Dance

•••••

Good News — Arranged by Roland Hayes
Yiddish Folk Song
Viva La Quince Brigada — Arr. by Robert Silverman

MARTHA SCHLAMME
TANYA GOULD at the piano

Two Duets from *The Marriage of Figaro* Mozart

MARTHA SCHLAMME and LEON BIBB

•••••

Romeo and Juliet - Balcony Scene Shakespeare

RUBY DEE and JOHN DEVOE

•••••

Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel Arr. by Lawrence Brown

Peace Song based on "Ode to Joy" theme from the
Beethoven Symphony, No. 9
Arr. by Jo Heifetz

Lullaby Schubert

Prayer and Death from "Boris Godounov" Moussorgsky

PAUL ROBESON
ALLAN BOOTH at the piano

•••••

Ballad for Americans by Earl Robinson and
John La Touche

PAUL ROBESON and the JEWISH YOUNG FOLK SINGERS
Conducted by ROBERT DE CORMIER

* * *

Tonight's program is the promise of our country's rich future - heralding a tomorrow of all people living in active oneness --

when Negro History Week will be a year - an integral part of American life;

when all talent and human resource will be used to secure man's hopes and needs.

If you have enjoyed this program and would like to become a member of ASP, please fill out and mail the form on the next page.

* * *

ASP PUBLICATIONS

CONTEMPORARY READER -
A literary quarterly sponsored by the Writing and Publishing Division of the N.Y.Council, ASP
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VENTURE -
A Writers' Workshop quarterly which encourages new and vital writing sponsored by the Writers' Workshop N.Y.Council, ASP
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A progressive journal of film news and opinion sponsored by the Film Division, N.Y.Council, ASP
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NEW YORK COUNCIL of the ARTS, SCIENCES and PROFESSIONS
35 West 64th Street, New York 23, N.Y.

I wish to join with other professionals in the fight for a peaceful and progressive America. Enclosed are Two Dollars ($2.00) for annual dues through December 31, 195____.

Because I know that membership dues alone cannot carry on the vitally important program of the NYCASP, enclosed is my additional contribution of:

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ASP

"... segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws."
—U. S. Supreme Court

Proudly Presents

PAUL ROBESON

and

Ruby Dee
Earl Robinson
Leon Bibb
Martha Schlamme
Bill Robinson
Jewish Young Folk Singers,
Robert DeCormier, *Conductor*

in an evening of Theatre Arts

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1955
8:15 P.M.
MANHATTAN CENTER
34th Street & 8th Avenue

Program Highlights

"BALLAD FOR AMERICANS"

Excerpts from:

"ROMEO AND JULIET"
"BORIS GOUDONOV"
"SIMPLE TAKES A WIFE"
"ASHCAN" — Street Dance

General Admission: $2.30 and $1.50 (Tax included)

Tickets Available: N. Y. Council ASP
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Public School Segregation Outlawed By U.S. Supreme Court

Met Opens Stage To Negro Singers For The First Time

* * *

The New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions hails these headlines as vital steps toward a growing democracy, embracing all peoples. The end of discrimination will stimulate a flowering of culture on all levels of our national life. People will work, create, sing, dance together — solely on the basis of their individual talents. It is with a view to that future that ASP presents this program.

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK 1955

HOME-COMING BARBECUE

IN HONOR OF

New Jersey's Best Known Son

PAUL ROBESON

SUNDAY, JULY 29, 1956

2:00 P. M.

AT THE HOME OF

Ernest & Margaret Thompson

397 Olcott Street, Orange, N. J.

Horseshoe Pitching ● Ping Pong

COME ONE! COME ALL!

WELCOME PAUL HOME AND HAVE FUN

38

PAUL ROBESON'S
NEWSPAPER
'FREEDOM'
presents

HARLEM'S BIG STAR NITE!

Featuring

PAUL ROBESON

	HARRY BELAFONTE
SIDNEY POITIER	ALICE CHILDRESS
BILL MARSHALL	DONALD McKAYLE
HOPE FOYE	BEULAH RICHARDSON
CHARLES RILEY	MARGARET McCADEN
ELLSWORTH WRIGHT	United Fellowship Chorus
DOTS JOHNSON	

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A NEGRO HISTORY FESTIVAL!

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141 W. 125th ST. MO-3-2660

COMMITTEE FOR THE NEGRO IN THE ARTS
261 W. 125th ST. UN-4-4002

FRIDAY
29th
8 P.M.
FEB.

189

THE NEW YORK AGE, Saturday, February 16, 1952

PAUL ROBESON'S

NEWSPAPER 'FREEDOM'

PRESENTS

HARLEM'S

Big Star Nite

Featuring

PAUL ROBESON

Sidney Poitier
Bill Marshall
Hope Foye
Charles Riley
Ellsworth Wright
Dots Johnson
Harry Belafonte
Alice Childress
Donald McKayle
Beulah Richardson
Margaret McCaden
United Fellowship Chorus

Harlem Dance and Theatre Workshop

A Negro History Festival

Golden Gate Ballroom

142ND ST. and LENOX AVE.

Friday, Feb. 29th, 8 P. M.

ADMISSION $1.20

This Includes A Free Subscription To 'Freedom'

Tickets Available At:

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53 W. 125th St. EN 9-3980

Frederick Douglas Book Center
141 W. 125th St. MO 3-2660

Committee For The Negro In The Arts
261 W. 125th St. UN 4-4002

Boston

WE INVITE YOU TO MEET

Mr. Paul Robeson

At An Informal Discussion

On: "Youth Problems in Present Day America"

Special Attention will be paid to:

Equal Rights - War and Peace - Organization of Youth

Your participation will be appreciated

DATE: Friday - February 16

TIME: 7 p.m to 9 p.m.

PLACE: Masonic Temple
(Jackson Hall)
1095 Tremont St., Rox.

ADMISSION: F-R-E-E

S-O-C-I-A-L

F-O-L-L-O-W-I-N-G

Please reply promptly to: "Friends of Freedom" - 32 Crawford St., Roxbury

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S-O-C-I-A-L

F-O-L-L-O-W-I-N-G

Please reply promptly to: "Friends of Freedom" - 32 Crawford St., Roxbury

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

SHALL NEGRO LEADERS BE JAILED FOR FIGHTING BACK?

THE PRESS REPORTS. . . .

●

Louisville Negro Home Burned, Friendly Whites Are Jailed

Georgia Police Shoot Negro Businessman Out of City Council Election Campaign

Chicago Negro Scientist's Home Threatened with Mob Violence

Bryant Bowles, Foe of School Integration, Beats up Negro Postman

Illinois Supreme Court Upholds Rail Segregation

California Bombing Marks Sale of Home to Negroes

Race Riots Shake London

50,000 Negroes Moved from Homes in South Africa

●

MEANWHILE. . . .

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, who has been fighting for Negro rights all his life is again threatened with jail.

He led the fight for the Scottsboro Boys, Willie McGee, the Trenton Six, the Martinsville Seven, Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, and many, many more.

Four years ago a Congressional Committee demanded the names of all financial supporters of the Civil Rights Congress, which Patterson heads. He refused to expose them. Rep. H.L.Lanham, of Georgia, got mad and called him a 'god-damned black s--of a b--.' They tried to convict Patterson for 'contempt', but failed.

Last summer the Treasury department tried to get the names of these CRC supporters. When Patterson could not produce them, they sent him to prison for 90 days.

Now they're trying to put him back in prison---on the same charge. But the REAL reason is that 'Pat' won't give up a militant fight for Negro rights.

They're also trying to jail Alphaeus HUNTON, and they won't let PAUL ROBESON travel--because these leaders of the Council on African Affairs support the freedom struggles of the oppressed peoples of Africa.

Similar persecution faces many other fighting Negro leaders---because they won't 'take low' from the white-supremacist 'Mr. Charleys'. THESE MEN ARE FIGHTING OUR FIGHT: and we have got to defend them!

LET US NOW. . . .

●

SPEAK OUT
AND
DEFEND OUR RIGHT TO
FIGHT FOR NEGRO RIGHTS!

●

Attend the

RALLY

in defense of

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

and all other victims of anti-Negro persecution

●

Monday, November 8th
8 PM

Renaissance Casino
138th St. and 7th Ave.

Admission 50¢

●

HEAR: PAUL ROBESON REV. HARRY F.WARD MARY JANE MELISH
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON ALPHAEUS HUNTON

Sponsors: Committee of 100 Women, Patterson Defense Committee, and National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership

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FREEDOMWAYS ANNUAL W. E. B. DU BOIS CULTURAL EVENING

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and other outstanding Black Americans

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(A Quarterly Review of the Freedom Movement)

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Actress

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BROTHER JOHN SELLERS

Gospel, Blues and Folk Singer

ZAREFAH STOREY

Mezzo-Soprano

THE HON. GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR.

Judge, Recorder's Court, Detroit, Mich.

Guest Speaker

AND OTHERS

FRIDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 16, 1973 — 7:30 P.M.

CARNEGIE HALL

154 WEST 57th STREET • NEW YORK CITY

TICKETS:- First Tier Boxes, $12.50 per seat - Orchestra, $10.25 each - Rows B, C, D, E & F
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Suite 542, New York, N. Y. 10003 (212) GR 7-3985-6

FREEDOM OF SPEECH??

MADISON SQ. GARDEN SAYS "NO!"

The Madison Square Garden Corporation has banned a concert and rally featuring Paul Robeson. This is a disgraceful and dangerous blow at the democratic rights of all Americans.

After agreeing to lease the Garden to the Council on African Affairs for September 14, the Garden management abruptly changed its mind. The excuse given was that because the Council was among the organizations listed as "subversive" by the Attorney General (despite protests and unanswered demands for statement of charges), the meeting would be illegal if any of the police-state bills now before Congress should be passed.

This excuse on its face is nonsensical. Whoever heard of applying a law before it becomes a law?

The Garden's action does one thing, however. It does show the anti-Negro, anti-labor and repressive nature of the Wood-McCarran-Mundt-Kilgore-Truman police-state and concentration camp bills, passage of which would mark the end of the American Bill of Rights.

The Garden's ban is a concrete demonstration of the way in which the current war-madness and red-baiting hysteria are being used to steal away the fundamental democratic rights of all Americans.

The people of New York are denied the right to hold open-air public meetings for peace. Are indoor meetings also to be banned? It's YOUR freedom of political belief, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly that's threatened. The alternative to such freedoms is THOUGHT-CONTROL -- made notorious by Hitler and Hirohito.

The State Department has stopped Paul Robeson from travelling abroad. Now his right to be heard in his own country is threatened. Why? Because the dispensers of war-madness and red-baiting hysteria are fearful of the things Paul Robeson stands for and the people he speaks for. They are fearful of mankind's deep desire for peace. They are fearful of the freedom aspirations of the Negro people in America. They are fearful of the independence demands and struggles of the colonial peoples of Africa and Asia.

That's why they try to silence Paul Robeson. That's why they have banned the Council on African Affairs from Madison Square Garden.

JOIN OUR DEMONSTRATION! SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH AND ASSEMBLY!

PROTEST TO THE GARDEN AGAINST THIS BAN! JOIN THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS!

ACT NOW TO PROTECT YOUR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS:
Write Senators Irving M. Ives, Herbert H. Lehman, Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas and President Truman, urging defeat of all police-state measures now before Congress.

. . . .

Issued by the Council on African Affairs, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York

The Case Of...

PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

A FACT SHEET PREPARED BY THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WANT TO HEAR ROBESON'S VOICE

"We propose to hold an All-India Cultural Conference in November at Calcutta and we request you to make every effort to encourage us by your presence there."

ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

"The Union of Roumanian Composers is inviting you together with the pianist Lawrence Brown to give concerts in our land beginning from September 15th, 1951. Our public is writing for these concerts."

THE UNION OF ROUMANIAN COMPOSERS

"Are you able to accept recital concert tour Great Britain commencing November or January next. Minimum period required eight weeks. State terms."

LONDON, W. I.

ISRAEL

The leading concert agency in Tel-Aviv has offered Paul Robeson a series of ten concerts at an unprecedented fee with the assurance that his appearance in Israel would take on the aspect of a national festival.

SCOTLAND

The executive board of the Scottish area of the National Union of Mine Workers has invited Paul Robeson to sing.

During recent months many additional invitations have been tendered Mr. Robeson to sing, act and speak in many countries throughout the world.

But Paul Robeson cannot fulfill these engagements.

YOU ought to know WHY.

THESE ARE THE FACTS:

1. On July 28, 1950, two agents of the State Department called on Mr. Robeson and demanded that he turn in his lawfully held passport. On the advice of his attorneys, Mr. Robeson refused to do so.

2. On August 4, 1950, the State Department announced to the press that it had cancelled Paul Robeson's passport and had informed all U. S. border officials to detain Mr. Robeson should he attempt to leave the country.

At the time his passport was revoked, Robeson had made arrangements for a trip to Europe to attend several meetings and to fulfill concert and speaking engagements at Prague, Czechoslovakia and Nice, France, and to make a speaking and singing tour of Scandinavia and give several concerts in Italy and the British Isles.

Mr. Robeson has owned a passport continuously since 1922 when he first went abroad at the beginning of his concert career. Never before has a question arisen as to its renewal or the issuance of a new passport to him.

3. In response to written inquiries made by Mr. Robeson through his attorneys, representatives of the State Department stated on August 7, 1950 that the action taken by it was in accordance with "discretionary powers" of the Secretary of State.

During an interview with the State Department on August 23, 1950, Mr. Robeson was told that he could regain his passport if he agreed to refrain from making speeches abroad.

4. After this interview, attorneys for Mr. Robeson instituted suit on December 19, 1950, in the U. S. District Court at Washington, D. C. petitioning the Courts to correct this unwarranted violation of Mr. Robeson's

(OVER)

rights and privileges by the Administrative branch of government.

The suit contended that:

(1) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition and association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

(2) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional right to own and procure property guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

5. The first constitutional violation of Mr. Robeson's rights as a citizen by the Administrative branch of government is clear. If a citizen is to be permitted to travel abroad only when he echos views pleasant to the State Department or any other government agency, his right of freedom of movement and of speech is severely restricted.

The second constitutional violation, that of Mr. Robeson's property right, is based on scheduled concert appearances which had to be cancelled as a result of the State Department's action.

6. On April 20, 1951, the U. S. District Court upheld the State Department in its arbitrary action, by claiming it had no jurisdiction in the case. It also refused to order Mr. Robeson to surrender his passport to the State Department.

7. Notice of appeal from this decision was filed by attorneys for Mr. Robeson on April 23, 1951. The appeal itself was entered in the U. S. District Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C. in August, 1951. The appeal reiterated and elaborated upon the contentions of the original brief.

8. This appeal will be heard in the current fall term of the Court of Appeals at a specific date still to be set.

9. Attorneys for Paul Robeson in the passport suit are Judge James A. Cobb and George E. C. Hayes, 613 F St. N.W., Washington, D. C.; George A. Parker and Barrington D. Parker, 1130 Sixth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., all members of two of the most distinguished Negro law firms in Washington, D. C.; and Nathan Witt, 9 East 40th Street, New York 16, New York.

10. Though Paul Robeson was the first, and remains the most distinguished American, to suffer this infringement of his constitutional rights by the State Department, the number of victims of passport revocation has grown alarmingly in the past year and is steadily increasing.

Among those similarly deprived of the right to travel are two outstanding Negro women leaders: Mrs. Charlotta Bass, former publisher and editor of the (Los Angeles) California Eagle. Mrs. Therese Robinson, Grand Directress of Civil Liberties, Independent Benevolent, Protective, Order of Elks of the World.

Others are: Corliss Lamont, writer and lecturer. Howard Fast and Albert Kahn, writers. John K. Fairbanks, Professor of History, Yale University, and Reverend Richard Morford.

The facts make it clear that upholding the State Department's "right" to take such arbitrary action in the case of Paul Robeson threatens the right of any American citizen to travel abroad for any purpose and to speak freely abroad or at home, if the matter is distasteful to the Administration.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

Action aimed at restoring Paul Robeson's right to travel, therefore, will help preserve the constitutional rights of all. The following actions are urged upon all individuals and organizations:

(1) Send a letter, postal card, or telegram to President Harry S. Truman, the White House, Washington, D. C., and to Dean Acheson, U. S. State Department, Washington, D. C., urging that Mr. Robeson's passport be unconditionally restored.

(2) Have your church club, social, civic or fraternal organization, or trade union discuss the passport case and pass a resolution to be forwarded to the President and to the Secretary of State.

(3) Write letters to the editor of your community newspaper on the case.

(4) Get your organization to prepare a brief amicus curiae (friend of the Court) which may be used to support the arguments of Robeson's attorneys when the case is heard. Such a brief can be submitted by any individual or organization and is in keeping with legal procedure. Send a copy to Mr. Robeson's attorneys as well as copies to the Attorney General's office.

(5) See that the Robeson passport case is presented at all public meetings and that action is taken wherever possible.

(6) Send a contribution to help the work of organizing and coordinating a national campaign.

Miss Margaret McCaden, Secretary
Provisional Committee to Restore Paul
Robeson's Passport
2286 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.
Phone: Au 6-6465

I have written to President Truman and to Dean Acheson.

My Social Club or other Organization has discussed the Paul Robeson Passport Case and passed a Resolution.

Send me _____copies of this Fact Sheet @ 10¢ each.

I wish to support the national campaign to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport. Enclosed is my contribution.

(Name)______________________________

(Organization)______________________

(Address)___________________________

____

Extracts from some of the numerous messages received by the committee.

I certainly hope that it will be possible for Mr. Robeson to be heard in Manchester. It is most unfortunate when the arts are clouded by other considerations, and I hope the time is coming when this can be forgotten. SIR ADRIAN BOULT.

Wishing you every success in your campaign. JOHN MACDONALD, *Secretary, Scottish Paul Robeson Petition Campaign.*

I am a great admirer of Paul Robeson, both of his singing and his political courage and am wholeheartedly with the idea that he should be allowed to travel freely . . . Mr. EMRYS HUGHES, M.P.

I regard it as a privilege to be associated with the meeting. Mr. SIDNEY SILVERMAN, M.P.

Add my name to your campaign for freedom and justice. Rev. Dr. SLOTKI.

Paul Robeson has inspired me and many thousands, and the more who hear him sing the better. Rev. STANLEY BELCHER.

I think the world as a whole should share the talents which such a man has to give it. Mr. L. LEVER, M.P.

All good wishes for the meeting. TOM DRIBERG.

I should only be too pleased to be associated with the meeting. VICKY, *The Daily Mirror.*

My executive committee are enthusiastically in support. With all best wishes for success. A. STEVENSON, *Secretary, Openshaw Labour Party.*

It was our unanimous decision that we be asssociated fully with the objects of your meeting. Wishing the meeting every success in the interest of a great artist. Mr. GREGORY, *Secretary, Wythenshawe Labour Party.*

Throughout the whole of my public life there is one thing above all others which I have always vigorously sought to secure for myself and to safeguard for others—the freedom to believe what I want to believe and to express my beliefs without fear of persecution or oppression. It is because of that elementary article of faith that I fully support the claim that Paul Robeson, and every other Paul, should be free to express his thoughts in prose, in verse or even in song. I would give a lot to hear Robeson's divinely deep and melodious voice once again. Mr. W. R. WILLIAMS, M.P.

Wishing you every success in your mass meeting. Mr. PAYNTER, *President, National Union of Mineworkers, South Wales.*

When the fundamental qualities of Goodness, Truth and Nobility, the foundations of Paul Robeson's art which have endeared him to the heart of his vast public, are put into chains by a section of our civilisation, it is right and proper for voices to be raised in protest. Let these voices be heard not in the wilderness, but in an indignant democratic world, that in time, the voice of one of the few great artists of our day may be heard again. The spirit which has inspired your committee is fitting for the high purpose it has set out to achieve. May the meeting resound for the liberation of art in all lands no matter where they lie. Mr. EMANUEL LEVY.

Printed by The Enco Press, Manchester, 8.

Since the publication of this Brochure, the following have added their name to the list of Sponsors:

Rev. Stanley Belcher	Manchester Unity Theatre
Mr. L. Lever, M.P.	Mr. W. R. Williams, M.P.
Mr. Emanuel Levy, noted Manchester Artist	Withington Divisional Labour Party
Mr. G. Hodges, Fraternal Delegate,	Wythenshawe Divisional Labour Party
Mr. B. Morris, Fraternal Delegate, National Union of Miners, S. Wales	Mr. G. Vaughan Davies, Prominent Member of the Liberal Party
Mr. F. Allaun, M.P.	Mr. F. Lee, M.P.

National Assembly of Women, Manchester.

SONG OF PEACE

Specially recorded by Paul Robeson, for the Meeting at the Lesser Free Trade Hall on March 11th, 1956, to the music of "Ode to Joy" from Beethoven's 9th Symphony, and performed to-night for the first time in this country.

Brothers sing your country's anthem,
Shout your land's undying fame,
Light the wondrous tale of nations
With your people's golden name.
Tell your father's noble story,
Raise on high your country's sign,
Join then in the final glory,
Brothers lift your flag with mine.

Hail the sun of peace new rising,
Hold the war clouds close afurled,
Plant our banner, oh my brothers,
In the rainbow of the world.
Red as blood and blue as heaven,
Wise as age, and proud as youth,
Melt our banner, wonder woven,
In the one great light of truth.

In the road of peace before us,
Build it wide and deep and long,
Speed the slow and check the eager,
Help the weak and curb the strong,
None shall push aside another,
None shall let another fall,
March beside me oh my brothers,
All for one and one for all.

Grateful acknowledgments for their help towards the campaign to: Mr. H. Merril, Mr. P. Higgins, Mr. and Mrs. I. Rose, Mrs. R. Russel and those names which arrived too late for Publication.

PETITION ON THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL

PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

Dear Fellow Americans:

We present for your consideration, an open letter to the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of the United States, on the question of Mr. Paul Robeson's right to travel.

For five years this internationally famed singer and actor has been denied the right to travel outside of the land of his birth. He is the only person in the history of our country who, by order of the Department of State, has been strictly confined to the continental U.S.A., not even permitted to travel in countries where entry is not conditioned by passport or visa.

As an artist, he has been denied the right to fulfill concert and stage contracts abroad. This situation is unchanged although the development of international cultural exchanges was endorsed by President Eisenhower at the first "Big Four" Geneva Conference and millions desire to hear Mr. Robeson.

Our government has charged that Robeson spoke out for the freedom of the African colonies while abroad, and that he also criticized the treatment accorded Negro citizens in the United States. The right to a passport is not determined upon one's conformity to the political views of the existing Administration. Clearly if that were the case, it would be a violation of the First Amendment and extremely prejudicial to any other political views.

Regardless of Mr. Robeson's political views, we do not believe that this artist should be prevented from displaying his creative talents before those desirous of seeing him.

We urge you to study this letter. It is a means of petitioning to end a gross injustice. The right to petition is yours. Please sign the petition. Get your friends and neighbors, in Church and club and elsewhere to sign. This is a way to uphold constitutional liberties.

Sincerely yours,

РУССКАЯ ДЕВУШКА-СНАЙПЕР
(ПАРТИЗАНКА).

Глаза синие полны печали.
В них светилась смелость.
Кипела в крови молодой жажда мести,
Презренье и ненависть в сердце пылали.
Глубока как Волга, как степь широка
Её русская душа молодая
В лицо смерти глядела бесстрашно она,
Пред опасностью страха не зная.

Одна лишь цель была пред нею - Месть.
"Будем мстить за Родину, за Честь"!

По горам, чрез леса, быстро мчалася она,
Точно лань, к товарищам-партизанам.
И там, в темные ночи вручали друзья
В руки верные динамит для пожарища.

И неслась её песня в ночи.
То была песня храбрых о праве,
О родимой земле, о свободной стране,
Призывая к победе и славе.

Но быстрее той песни спешила в тиши
Чтобы выполнить правое дело.

Провода включены...
Взрыв... Взвилось к небу пламя.
Осветилось огнём, стало красным оно
Как великое красное знамя.

Ночь молчала вокруг ... и кругом..

(Марш)

Берите винтовки! Мне смерть не страшна!
Убьёте тело, не душу!
Платок с глаз долой!
Пред смертью я флаг родной увижу, увижу,
Русское небо я снова.
Я тем горда, что умираю.
Горда я тем, что умираю за родину свою
И к смерти готова.

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- U. S. State Department orders Greece to change her electoral system. WHY?
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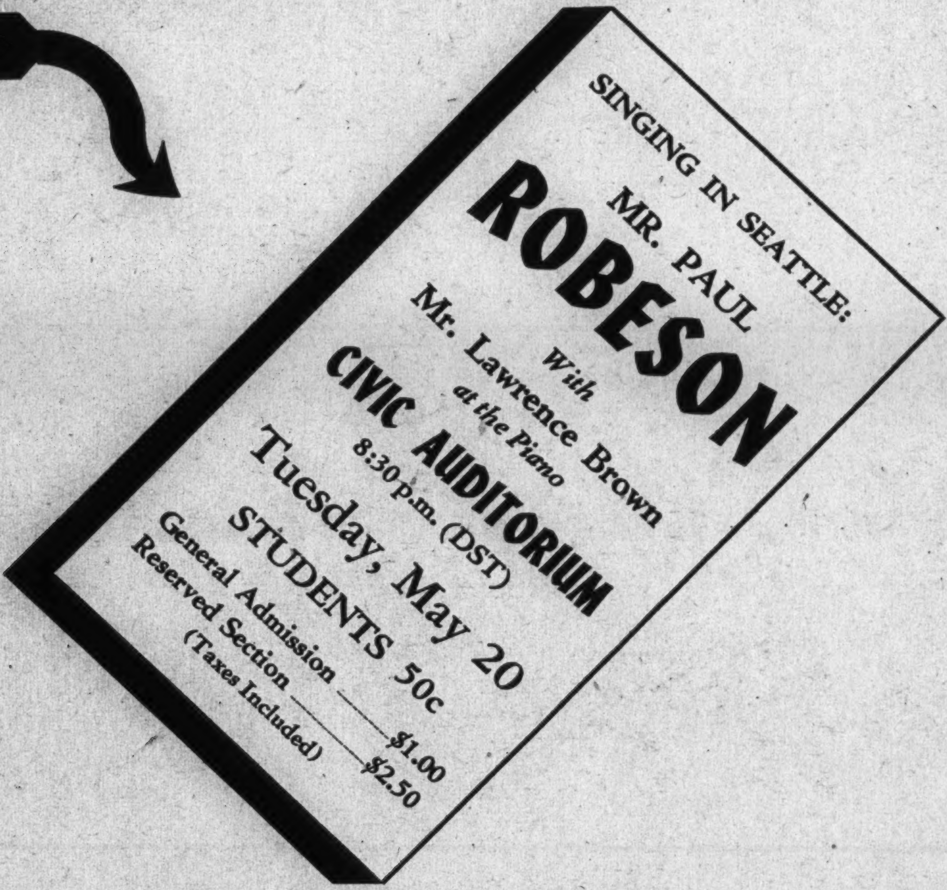

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ROBESON, PAUL

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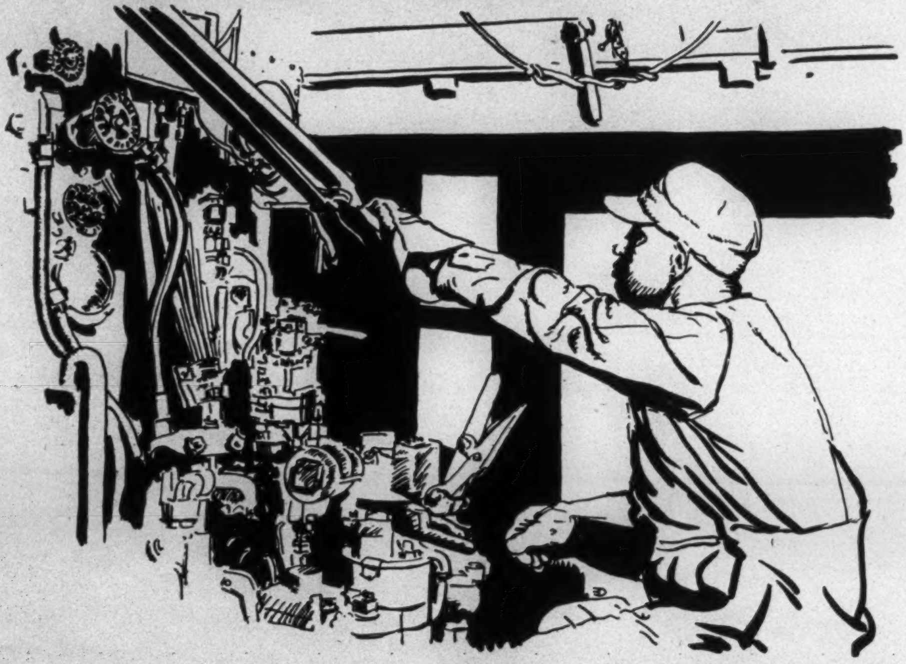

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Robeson, Paul.

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FRIDAY
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FEB.

Let's see this Dora -
I think it's a double
feature.

NEGROES—don't APE the WHITES

by Paul Robeson

SOMETIMES I think I am the only Negro living who would not prefer to be white.

It has been said that I am to leave Europe and go back among my own people. That does not mean that I am to abandon my career. Though I shall visit Africa, and perhaps spend months among the Africans, I shall return to Europe.

Where I live is not important. But I am going back to my people in the sense that for the rest of my life I am going to think and feel as an African—not as a white man.

Perhaps that does not sound a very important decision. To me, it seems the most momentous thing in my life.

Only those who have lived in a state of inequality will understand what I mean—workers,. European Jews, women . . . those who have felt their status, their race, or their sex a bar to a complete share in all that the world has to offer.

All these people will understand what it is that makes most Negroes desire nothing so much as to prove their equality with the white man—*on the white man's own ground.*

All these can feel for the Negro, but only a few will recognise that the very impulse which drives them to copy those with the desired status, is killing what is of most value—the personality which makes them unique.

★ ★ ★

Let us take a concrete example. What would have become of the genius of Marie Lloyd if she had been ashamed of being Cockney? Would Robert Burns have been as great a poet if he had denied his ploughman speech and aped the gentlemen of his day?

Do not misunderstand me. Do not think I am trying to say that those born to inequality cannot become cultured people. I mean exactly the reverse. I am attacking the impulse which drives such people to hide their true value under a false foreign culture, applied from the outside, when, instead, they could encourage a graceful, natural growth from within.

It is not as imitation Europeans, but as Africans, that we have a value.

Yet the brains of the best Negroes have been applied to turning themselves into imperfect imitations of white gentlemen, while it has been left to the astute white man to pick up and profit by what has been cast aside.

Why was it a white man who wrote "Green Pastures" and made a fortune from it?

While Negro musicians have been labouring with Beethoven and Brahms—composers quite foreign to their temperament—Stravinsky has been borrowing from Negro melodies.

In a popular form, Negro music, launched by white men—not Negroes—has swept the world.

While Negro artists attempt pale copies of Western art, Epstein derives inspiration from ancient Negro sculpture. No Negro will leave a permanent mark on the world till he learns to be true to himself. Yet no Negro—nor any other person in a similar position—is going boldly to set a value on his own inherent qualities until something has happened to restore his respect for them.

Frankly, years ago, I would not have said—as I do now—that I am *proud* to be a Negro. I did not know that there was anything to be proud about. Since then I have made many discoveries.

★ ★ ★

They began when I was still a student. I came in contact with Russians at college. I heard them sing their native songs and was struck by their likeness to Negro music. What was wrong with our despised music if it was akin to the revered Russian? Had we a value that had been passed by?

Were the outcast Negroes, who were struggling to assimilate fragments of the unsympathetic cultures of the West, really akin to the great cultures of the East? It was a fascinating thought.

I began to make experiments. I found that I—a Negro—could sing Russian songs like a native. I, who had to make the greatest effort to master French and German, spoke Russian in six months with a perfect accent, and am now finding it almost as easy to master Chinese.

I discovered that this was because the African languages—thought to be primitive because monosyllabic—had exactly the same basic structure as Chinese. I found that Chinese poems which cannot be rendered in English would translate perfectly into African.

I found the African way of thinking in symbols was also the way of the great Chinese thinkers.

I found that scientists had been puzzled by the strange similarity between ancient African and Chinese art.

I found that I, who lacked feeling for the English language later than Shakespeare, met Puschkin, Dostoievsky, Tolstoi, Lao-tsze, and Confucius on common ground. I understood them. I found myself completely at home with their compatriots.

Now there is an important thought here.

★ ★ ★

With the coming of the Renaissance something happened to Europe. Before then the art, the literature, the music were akin to Asiatic cultures.

With the Renaissance reason and intellect were placed above intuition and feeling. The result has been a race which conquered Nature and now rules the world. But the art of that race has paid the price. As science has advanced, the art standards of the West have steadily declined. Intellectualised art grows tenuous, sterile.

This is a serious thought. To what end does the West rule the world if all art dies? Jesus, the Eastern, was right. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

That is what the West has come very near to doing, and the catastrophe may yet come. The price of science's conquest of the world has been the loss of that emotional capacity that alone produces great art. Where are the Westerners now who could paint an Old Master, compose a Gregorian chant, or build a Gothic cathedral?

Is there no one to bring art back to its former level? This, I think, is where the Negroes and the great Eastern races come in. Now that the West has conquered Nature, visionaries dream of a world run by scientists who would live like artists. But the Westerners do not know how to live like artists any more. Consequently, they have brought misery with their machines.

★ ★ ★

The race which first learns to balance equally the intellectual and the emotional—to use the machines and couple them with a life of true intuition and feeling such as the Easterns know—will produce the supermen.

No one can tell from what root that race will come. Probably all will contribute—when he learns to be true to himself the Negro as much as any man.

But the Negro will remain sterile until he recognises his cultural affinity with the East. He must take his technology from the West. But instead of coming to the Sorbonne and Oxford, I would like to see Negro students of culture go to Palestine and Pekin. I would like to watch the flowering of their inherent qualities under sympathetic influences there.

I believe that Negro students who wrestle vainly with Plato would find a spiritual father in Confucius or Lao-tsze. I believe that when they find cultures which command world-wide respect, yet which do not deny the emotional and intuitive approach which is typically Eastern and African, there will not only be world-famous Negro sculptors, writers, and musicians, but you will have a race which understands the whole art of living—fully, deeply and efficiently.

His immense emotional capacity is the Negro's great asset. In the West this is at a discount. Given guidance and an outlet who can say what it might not achieve?

★ ★ ★

So that is what I really mean when I say I return to my people. I return to my spiritual fathers, whither all Negroes can follow me. I intend to visit Russia, China, Africa, Tibet.

I shall study, and talk, and write. . . .

In between, to remind the world that a Negro has something to offer, Paul Robeson will act and sing.

"I return to my spiritual fathers, whither all Negroes can follow me."

Paul Robeson as Bosambo in the British film "Sanders of the River," now being made.

To-day's Thought

Bad men are like each other in all epochs. —Ruskin.

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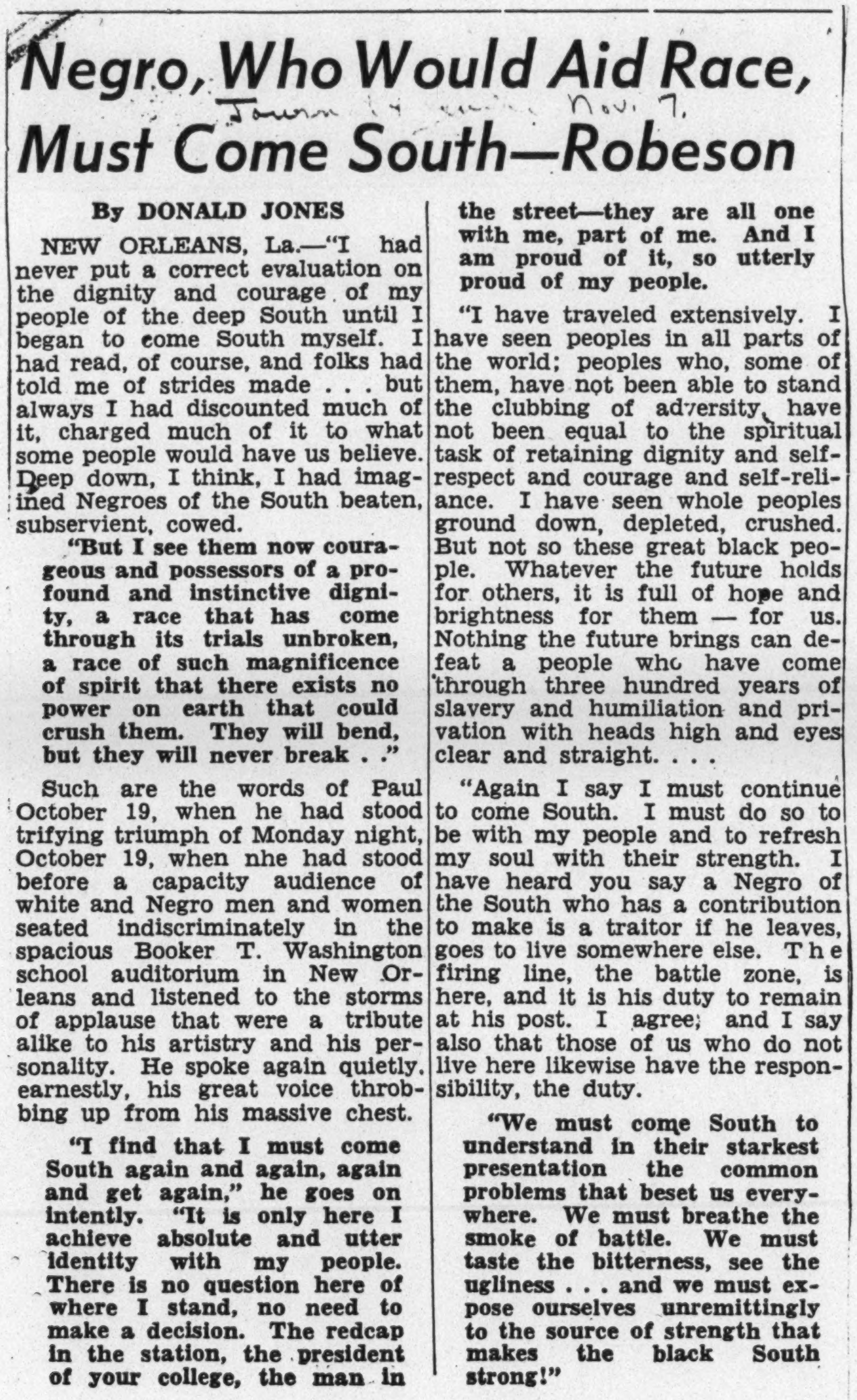
The Journal & Guide November 7, 1942



Negro, Who Would Aid Race, Must Come South—Robeson

Journal & Guide Nov. 7.

By DONALD JONES

NEW ORLEANS, La.—"I had never put a correct evaluation on the dignity and courage of my people of the deep South until I began to come South myself. I had read, of course, and folks had told me of strides made . . . but always I had discounted much of it, charged much of it to what some people would have us believe. Deep down, I think, I had imagined Negroes of the South beaten, subservient, cowed.

"But I see them now courageous and possessors of a profound and instinctive dignity, a race that has come through its trials unbroken, a race of such magnificence of spirit that there exists no power on earth that could crush them. They will bend, but they will never break . ."

Such are the words of Paul October 19, when he had stood trifying triumph of Monday night, October 19, when nhe had stood before a capacity audience of white and Negro men and women seated indiscriminately in the spacious Booker T. Washington school auditorium in New Orleans and listened to the storms of applause that were a tribute alike to his artistry and his personality. He spoke again quietly, earnestly, his great voice throbbing up from his massive chest.

"I find that I must come South again and again, again and get again," he goes on intently. "It is only here I achieve absolute and utter identity with my people. There is no question here of where I stand, no need to make a decision. The redcap in the station, the president of your college, the man in the street—they are all one with me, part of me. And I am proud of it, so utterly proud of my people.

"I have traveled extensively. I have seen peoples in all parts of the world; peoples who, some of them, have not been able to stand the clubbing of adversity, have not been equal to the spiritual task of retaining dignity and self-respect and courage and self-reliance. I have seen whole peoples ground down, depleted, crushed. But not so these great black people. Whatever the future holds for others, it is full of hope and brightness for them — for us. Nothing the future brings can defeat a people who have come through three hundred years of slavery and humiliation and privation with heads high and eyes clear and straight. . . .

"Again I say I must continue to come South. I must do so to be with my people and to refresh my soul with their strength. I have heard you say a Negro of the South who has a contribution to make is a traitor if he leaves, goes to live somewhere else. The firing line, the battle zone, is here, and it is his duty to remain at his post. I agree; and I say also that those of us who do not live here likewise have the responsibility, the duty.

"We must come South to understand in their starkest presentation the common problems that beset us everywhere. We must breathe the smoke of battle. We must taste the bitterness, see the ugliness . . . and we must expose ourselves unremittingly to the source of strength that makes the black South strong!"

Robeson, at CIO Parley, Says Labor Must Back Negro Fight

DAILY WORKER
[28 AUG. 1943]

By Paul Robeson

(At the conference on racial and national minorities held on Aug. 8, in San Francisco, the sponsorship of the minorities committee of the CIO Council, Paul Robeson was one of the principal speakers. Below are excerpts from his address.)

As you know, I feel very deeply about the essential unity of all people. I feel very optimistc about achieving this complete unity in the future. I feel very deeply about the war, about what it means, and what the winning of it will mean to all people.

It seems to me that the conference, in putting forth its essential objectives, has been very sound. I feel, as Mr. Bridges [Harry Bridges, west coast CIO leader] said, that certain very important things should be brought before us for a proper perspective.

We know what is before us, we know the forces that confront us here in America. We know what our struggle means in relation to the whole struggle, but I feel today just as keenly as I can that the message I would like to leave with you is that we cannot take too much for granted.

Those who are our friends must join with us in winning this struggle, for it is a very serious one: namely, whether we shall have a free hand, or perhaps a Fascist America. I do not believe we will have a Fascist Europe, or a Fascist Asia. We may have a Fascist America.

While traveling across the country, I met a man who said he was teaching in the Public Affairs Institute at Princeton University. This man believes in our present kind of system—and in the "great American initiative." It led him to say, therefore, that we cannot have any control or curb on this initiative. Such an attitude. of course, leaves him in the company of Mr. Hearst and Mr. McCormick.

TEMPER HAS CHANGED

Then I was in Portland, and I was shocked there to find that practically within our own group there were conditions that, to say the least, were undesirable. And then, the most serious thing happened. At my point of departure, I met a Negro on the train.

This boy was talking to a soldier——a nice guy—a white soldier on the train. They talked for half an hour. Suddenly the soldier said something about "darkies," and the Negro said, "There are no such things as 'darkies,'' and finally it came to blows. The white soldier hit him. Another white soldier said. "This soldier is in the wrong. He called this fellow a name "nigger." Then the soldier who had offended him. apologized.

But in spite of that the young Negro boy said to me, "I hate them, Robeson. I hate all of them!"

I understand just how this boy felt. Yet I feel we need to get a perspective. I say today, from my experiences throughout America, that we face a very, very dangerous situation. And as a Negro today, I feel it my duty to say, not just what I feel, but what those others feel.

We understand the problem—black and white here—but there are millions of others outside who do not understand. One thing I feel is important, and that is to first realize very quickly that the temper of one tenth of the people of the United States has changed, and it is a very dangerous change.

PERIOD OF CHANGE

Now let us leave that and come back to the first objective of this conference; the question of jobs, and the question of what the unions have to do in integrating different minorities into their work, the question of making enough to live on.

So, today, I talk first to the members of my own special group as Negroes, because I am thinking of this boy. As you all know, I feel that the struggle is completely one struggle. We know we are all one, but we have these specific things we must face today. When I see riots break out in any part of the United States, I must speak what I feel concernng the possible solution, for this concerns our domestic scene in America very deeply.

We must realize what is really behind these riots, and how they affect the part we as Americans play in this whole world conflict. Nothing should be spared in our attempt to understand, it seems to me.

Today, we are living in a period of great change, of great historic change. We have made such advances in our technique of production that it is possible for man to produce all that is needed for everybody. In the days of the depression, we saw the cutting down of production, the misuse of our capacities, when we did not have enough to sustain human life.

Vice-President Wallace pointed out not long ago the changing of this whole picture in our modern society, of how much we can produce. Why should we not do it all the time? Why? Because, at this time, we know these productive capacites and forces are based upon private profit and monopoly economic control.

We have seen all nations face this problem before the war and strive for some solution. We saw the Popular Front in France and we saw an attempt at social security in England. We saw cooperative societies in Scandinavia. We saw the problem in a very important way in the Soviet Union, and we saw our New Deal struggle with the problem.

We see the potentials. We know the solution. On the other hand, we look to Germany, we look to Italy, we look to Japan. How do they solve this vital problem in these Fascist nations? In this conflict with the greed of the few, they decided to go the whole hog and give all to the few, and a few sops to the masses, and then appeal to the worst type of racial superiority.

They solved the problems of production by making slaves of the masses of mankind. In Germany promises were held out that they would live at the expense of the rest of Europe, and the Japanese at the expense of Asia and India.

There are some people in America—the American brand of Fascist—who would lke to do this, at the expense of the American people, and the people of South America, and the people of the West Indies, and even the African people. These are the reactionary forces, and they are here in our land, as well as in others. They want no part of a people's war.

It is quite clear to my mind that they don't want this fascism in Europe which has enslaved the peoples of Europe, to collapse. They want to aid it. Why?

THEIR METHOD

Now, how do these reactionaries work to see that fascism does not collapse? The first thing is to stop helping the war. They stir up these racial animosities. They call the New Deal fascism.

Now I certainly feel that the American people will see through ths. However, this problem faces the American people, Negro and white alike, Mexican, Chinese and all the minority groups. It is perfectly clear, and I include in this the great forces of labor, because this is where fascism strikes first. We suffer most if these forces win.

We can be sure that labor would be crushed first, and labor can be certain that its freedom would disappear.

Now in the light of all this, where do I, as a Negro, stand? This boy of whom I have told you, stands alone. But how can he stand alone, unless two thirds of the American people are crazy? They are not crazy.

In the days of Frederick Douglass, in the days of Booker T. Washington, we were alone. We felt that we had friends of some kind. It would seem to me that today we should think of those who can help us. Their problems are like our own; the problems of labor.

ROBESON, AT CIO PARLEY,
SAYS LABOR MUST BACK
NEGRO FIGHT

Daily Worker

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 28, 1943

Now, as I have said, the same forces that would enslave us would enslave all minorities—the Mexicans and the Chinese people, and they would chain labor. There is no question but that fascism in this country could take this course. But we have one of the greatest organizations in the United States that puts into practice the things you want to see realized. I am talking about the CIO. It is perfectly true that we have actual allies.

I have seen in the Negro press, in recent times, that the great solution of the race problems in America rests largely with the CIO and its power to integrate the forces of labor and to approach this whole problem of minorities properly. It will rally all the progressive forces in this country; so many forces that are our potential allies who do not want to be slaves.

OUR ANSWER

The liberals of this country, our present administration, see the need in this struggle of recognizing all our allies. Our President goes to Mexico. This is a new kind of approach to the Mexican people. He welcomes in the White House the President of Liberia. We remember the Civil War and for a time we said, "Lincoln freed us." But it was not just a struggle between the industrial North and the feudal South. In order that the American nation remain united, the Negro had to be freed. Possibly something like that today also will determine the allies we shall have.

I deeply believe the whole future of America stands or falls with the complete unity of the American people, including the minorities of black, Mexican and Chinese. It will not be able to stand in the world after the war unless we do acheve this unity.

These are the facts. But the Negro boy said, "O. K., those are the facts. But I am still in despair. I still can't see it. I am ready to commit suicide. But I'll take somebody else along with me."

Now we have seen people commit suicide. We saw the French people commit suicde. We have seen labor leaders, ready to commit suicide by fighting against democracy in America. These things are possible. So it is one of the important things I want to say to you, both Negro and white.

I can only say, from what I have seen, that I feel the situation is really very grave. Labor will have to rally and understand these problems. I feel that the leadership must be within the ranks of labor, and especially the progressive section of labor. I heard references to the capacities of Negroes as they go to work and how the workers feel about them.

Maybe they cannot do the work so well. I would say we must remember that it was not so long ago some people were saying that no worker in the world could break a machine faster than the Russian peasant and that no guy would ever be able to teach these Russian peasants to handle anything.

Maybe those of you who understand this colored boy standing here, maybe you will have to go 90 per cent of the way in helping him. He will need a great deal of help. A grave responsibility rests upon the Negro leadership of California.

There is a great responsibility upon labor.

It must say, we shall give all minorities an equal chance to live where they want to, to be free people. We will not have these things imposed upon us from other sections. We must really take the offensive and educate that section of the country which says that Negroes must always "keep their place."

I say again, I was shocked to find in New Mexico that they treat Mexicans as they treat us in other parts of the country. They treat the Chinese people the same way. These ar very important things for us to know. It is for us to tell our fellow Negroes that they treat these people as they treat us.

The most powerful forces that we have are the forces of labor, and the forces of the minority groups who must understand very clearly that no matter how difficult to struggle for our own group, no matter how serious the struggle within labor, no matter how progressive the administration which includes Roosevelt and Wallace, we cannot make the mistake of committing suicide and going over to the guys who will cut our throats and saying "Well, it's too bad, but we are slaves, like everybody else."

And further, if these guys should go a little too far, remember, this is a world war, and I assure you the colonial peoples, the people driven underground in Europe, are determined to live a free life.

But I am confident this will not be our kind of America. We will fight as heroically as the other peoples of the world have fought against fascism. We will go out of here this afternoon, and from our experiences will make everyone understand the need of national unity, and the unity of all minorities, so that we can stamp out quckly these reactionary forces and build the kind of world that you, here in the CIO, and progressive people all over the world, want to build.

THE WORKER, NEW YORK, APRIL 16, 1944

Paul Robeson as an Athlete: Greatest Gridder, Says Columbia Lou Little

By Nat Low

Paul Robeson's fame is no less great in the field of sports than it is on the stage.

Indeed, it can be said that Robeson is one of the greatest athletes in the entire history of our country. If you think this is an over-statement engendered by our love of the man, I would like to put this statement on the record:

"I think there has never been a greater player in the history of football than the Robeson who was named All-American end by Walter Camp."

The man who made that statement is none other than Lou Little, football coach of Columbia University and one of the leading grid experts in the game's history. Little is not given to easy praise and when something like this is said, there can be little doubts about the talent of the man in question.

If Little's ranking of Robeson as the "greatest player in the history of football" needs any support I advance this observation:

"I prefer always to think of Robeson as I saw him that day in the Brooklyn Ball Park when the Great Lakes team was playing against Rutgers in 1918. I DON'T EVER RECALL A DEFENSIVE PERFORMANCE TO EQUAL THAT GIVEN BY ROBESON THAT DAY."

The statement comes from no less a personage than Jimmy Conzelman, another great college and pro football coach who played opposite Robeson in 1918 and later, in the professional ranks, was the coach of the team Robeson played with.

* * *

Elsewhere in this issue of the Worker the reader will find a more complete history of Robeson's life. In that same story you will read that he was a 12 letter man, winning four R's in football, three in baseball, three in basketball and two in track.

I do not pretend to know the records of every athlete in American collegiate history, but I do know of the most prominent ones and I have spoken to many writers and coaches about others and so far as I have been able to ascertain, this record of Robeson's stands as the greatest record ever compiled by any athlete in the history of our country.

Take the football business, for instance. Robeson graduated from Rutgers in four years—which means that he won varsity R in his freshman year. And achievement, especially for those days, of truly titanic proportions.

As a Negro he faced obstacles which would have utterly defeated a lesser man. He was, for instance, the third Negro to enter Rutgers University. For a slight example of what he had to go through before winning his place in the school, I again refer you to the story in today's magazine section.

Robeson was a simply amazing athlete. While he won his greatest fame on the gridiron, he was a terrific catcher on the baseball team, a speedy, high scoring center on the basketball team and the shot-put artist of the track team. While all this was going on he was establishing scholastic records which were among the highest in his class.

* * *

Robeson entered Rutgers in 1915 at the age of 17. He graduated in 1919.

I never did see him play, of course, so I would like to turn over the rest of this column to the accounts of his feats as they appeared in the press of the day, written by my lucky sports writing colleagues who had the great fortune of seeing him in action.

* * *

Beating Fordham in 1917

This account is from the New York Times of October 28, 191 under the headline of, "Fordham Crushed by Rutgers Power. . . Robeson, the Sturdy Negro End, Plays a Stellar Role in the Aeri Attack. . . ."

"It can hardly be said that one player stood out on the Rutgers eleven, unless it was Robeson, the giant Negro, at left end. He was a tower of strength both on the offense and defense, and it was his receiving of forward passes which shattered the hopes of Fordham. Twice the big Rutgers Negro raced down the field after receiving a perfect toss from Whitehill. The first time Robeson was not downed until he had covered 35 yards and placed the ball on Fordham's five-yard line. On the other occasion Robeson raced 24 yards before being brought to earth again close to the Fordham goal line.

". . . Robeson invariably spilled two men and several times three and four were dropped to the ground, even before the play was well under way. . . . The playing of Robeson was costly to Fordham, not only in the outcome of the game but in players, since no less than three Fordham men were sent into the game at different times to take the place of those who had been battered and bruised by Robeson. . . . McGrath, the former Exeter and Yale guard, was the first opposition placed in front of Robeson, but he did not last long. On the very first play of the game time was taken out while McGrath recovered from the effects of a bruised jaw and eye. . . ."

Or this account of a Rutgers-Service game which appeared in the Times of November 5, 1918:

"The Scarlet football which Foster Sanford has developed at Rutgers swept Nielson Field this afternoon with Charley Brickley's Navy eleven and ran up a score of 40-0 with just as much ease as if it had been having an afternoon practice with the scrub.

"Sanford showed a brand-new play yesterday in the form of a double pass. He sent in the regular quarterback, Baker, for this one play, just to try it out. Baker fell far back of the line to take a long direct pass from center. In the meantime, Paul Robeson, the giant end, raced over behind Baker and received a backward pass from him. Standing deep in the backfield, wtih no one near him, Robeson hurled the ball on a 40-yard forward pass through the air to Captain Feitner who was waiting for it. . . . The play is spectacular and worked perfectly. . . .

"The Navy lads had the ball only a few times during the game. Brickley once made five yards through the line, but he was so badly shaken up when big Robeson stopped the play that Charley tarried in the background after trial."

* * *

His Greatest Performance

In November, 1917, Robeson turned in the greatest performance of his glorious career. The World War was raging and most of America's great football players were in the service. As today, magnificent service teams were in the field, playing and beating the best of the college elevens. One of the best of all these service teams was the one which represented the Newport Naval Station.

Robeson was still under the draft age and was by now an established gridiron great. Newport Naval came up to the Dodgers' ball park, Ebbets Field, and the game was played on November 25, 1917.

Rutgers won, 14-0, with Robeson a one man "army." . . . But let a noted sports writer of the time, Louis Lee Arms of the New York Tribune, tell the story:

"A tall-tapering Negro in a faded crimson sweater, moleskins, and a pair of maroon socks ranged hither and yon on a wind-whipped Flatbush field yesterday afternoon. He rode on the wings of the frigid breezes; a grim, silent and compelling figure. Whether it was Charley Barrett, of old Cornell and All-American glory, or Gerrish or Gardner who tried to hurl himself through the gauntlet, he was met and stopped by this blaze of red and black.

> **"The Negro was Paul Robeson, of Rutgers College, and he is a minister's son. He is also nineteen years of age and weighs two hundreds pounds. Of his football capacity you are duly referred to 'Cupid' Black of Newport and Yale. He can tell you. It was Robeson, a veritable Othello of battle, who led the dashing little Rutgers eleven to a 14-0 victory over the widely heralded Newport Naval Reserves.**

". . . The Naval warriors came down from Newport upon victory and added glory bent. They had trimmed Brown and Harvard, and that the smooth-skinned youths from the banks of the Raritan could stop them—well, it was beyond belief.

"But it wasn't. . . . As a thorn in her flesh the tall, tapering Robeson, commanding Rutgers' secondary, dived under and spilled her wide, oblique angled runs, turned back her line plunges, and carried the burden of the defense so splendidly that in exactly forty-four minutes these ex-All-American backs, who are fixed luminaries in the mythology of the gridiron, made precisely two first downs.

"Among the original tactical maneuvers in Rutgers' attack is the calling in of Robeson to open holes for the backfield. He is shifted by signal from left end to whatever spot along the line had been pre-selected. Thus considerable of Rutgers' line drives were put upon the basis of Robeson's superiority over Black, Schlacter, Callahan or whomever he faced."

* * *

We already have the New York Times account of Robeson's play against Fordham's great team in 1917. . . . Here's another story about the same game which reveals even more of Robeson's genius. . . . It appeared in the New York Tribune of October 28, 1917. . . . Written by Charles A. Taylor and headlined: **RUTGERS BLANKS FORDHAM . . . ROBESON, GIANT NEGRO, PLAYS LEADING ROLE,"** it goes on to say:

"A dark cloud upset the hopes of the Fordham eleven yesterday. Its name was Robeson, and it travelled all the way across the Jersey meadows from the banks of the old Raritan to the Bronx. There was no semblance of a silver lining to this cloud, and the maroon football warriors were completely smothered by it. The score was 28-0 in favor of the dark cloud.

> **Robeson, the giant Negro, appeared in the line-up as left end, but he did not confine himself to this particular post. He played in turn practically every position in the Rutgers team before the battle was ended.**

"With his team on the offensive, Robeson was wont to leap high into the air to grap forward passes wherever he saw that the man they were intended for was in another sector of the field. On the defense he was kept busy on the few occasions when Fordham appeared likely to make a score.

"Robeson was supposed to play fullback on the defensive, and he did, but never did a fullback range so widely as he. If there was a gap in the line Robeson filled it. If the Rutgers ends were the least bit remiss in stopping the dashes of Erwig and Frankie Frisch, Robeson was on hand to prevent any substantial progress. . . . The dark cloud was ominpresent." . . .

* * *

'A Football Genius'

On November 28, 1917, one of the leading football writers of the day, George Daley of the New York World, wrote a lead article in which he called Robeson one of the all-time great athletes of history.

This article, which summed up all of Robeson's achievements on the grid, received wide publicity and established Robeson's fame more firmly than ever.

The story was headlined:

> **"ROBESON TAKES A PLACE WITH ELECT OF FOOTBALL. . . . ALL-AROUND ABILITY OF RUTGERS END PUTS HIM WITH GREATEST AND BEST OF GAME."**

We reprint the story in its entirety:

"Paul Robeson, the big Negro end of Rutgers, is a football genius. Two or three weeks ago George Foster Sanford, Rutgers coach, speaking with the conviction born of long experience in the game, said:

" 'Robeson is the best all-around player on the gridiron this season and the most valuable man on the team.'

"After seeing his play at Ebbets Field on Saturday against 'Cupid' Black's Naval Reserve team the disposition is to go Sanford one better and say that Robeson must be ranked with such men as Tack Hardwick and Eddie Mahan of Harvard, Charley Barrett of Cornell, Jim Thorpe of Carlisle Indian, Elmer Oliphant of West Point and Ted Coy of Yale for all-around ability.

"It is seldom indeed that a lineman can develop such a versatility. Robeson does about everything except carry the ball, and everything he does may be marked 'sterling. It seems a pity that Sanford did not go a step further, and out of the man duties assigned to Robeson add one which would give him the ball on a running play.

It is quite possible that such a play is or was included in his wide repertoire, but that the need for it did not arise on Saturday. In any case, here are some of the duties imposed on this super-man of the game:

> **"Opening up holes for his backs on line plays; providing remarkable interference for his back on end runs; going downfield under punts; taking forward passes, in which, by the way, he handles the pigskin with almost the same sureness as a baseball; supporting the center of the line on defense, or, as some have it, playing 'defensive quarterback'; plugging up holes from one end of the line to the other; tackling here, there and everywhere; kicking off and diagnosing.**

"And the greatest of his accomplishments is accurate diagnosing. His ability to size up plays and quickly get to the point of danger is almost uncanny. He is so rarely at fault that he is at the center of practically every play, and therein lies his greatest value, and therein is the truest measure of his all-around ability."

* * *

A Happy, Glorious Life, Paul

We could go on for many more pages—but you have gotten the picture no doubt. This is the people's Paul Robeson, one of the great citizens of the world.

On this, his 46th birthday, we join with all other decent people to say to him:

"A happy, glorious life, Paul Robeson."

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The Worker Magazine Section

The Story of Paul Robeson

By NAT LOW

THE scene is universal. Whether in Prague or London, Vienna or Moscow, New York or Madrid, Dublin or Oslo—it is the same. The great throng of people sits enthralled by a man who captivates them, inspiring them with a magical charm and a loftiness of spirit that defies description.

The man is Paul Robeson, as towering a symbol of human freedom as has ever trod the earth.

Who is this man, Robeson, whose 46th birthday we so joyously celebrate today.

Where does his greatness spring from? What were the elements which brought into being this genius who has embraced the entire world?

Let us pick up the thread of the story by going back some eight decades.

• • •

It is the historic year of 1860. A gaunt, tall man named Abraham Lincoln has been elected President of the United States.

A 15-year-old slave, whose father had been brought from Africa in chains, has just escaped from a plantation in Martin County, North Carolina. He has taken upon himself the name of his former master, William Drew Robeson, and now begins the grim, terrible trek to the north with the aid of the Underground Railroad. After long bitter weeks of travel by night, he arrives in Pennsylvania where he sets to work on a farm, a free man. In subsequent years he returns to his former plantation three times, on each occasion defying immediate death, to bring to his deeply beloved mother money which he has earned as a free man. Each time he again escapes via the Underground Railroad.

The years pass swiftly and this ex-slave enters, and graduates from, Lincoln University near Philadelphia. Now the boy has grown into a powerfully-built man with an awe-inspiring voice and a dream of freedom for all his people. Towards the end of the 19th century he becomes the minister of the Witherspoon Presbyterian Church which still stands today in Princeton, New Jersey.

This man is the father of Paul Robeson.

• • •

The genesis of Paul Robeson does not end here. On the maternal side it winds through almost all of American history. . . . But let us pick up the thread once again.

• • •

General George Washington's army is huddled around small camp-fires in the unrelenting cold. Men are hungry and weary, yearning desperately for home. But then, from out of the darkness, comes a cheerful, friendly voice: "Come up boys, come and get it." They gather 'round a Negro baker who hands them hot bread, imparting with each slice gracious words of hope and cheer to the "Winter Soldiers."

This man, Cyrus Bustill, was born a slave in New Jersey but had been allowed to purchase his freedom. Later he was taught the trade of

(Continued on Page 2)

The Story of Paul Robeson

Robeson singing to soldiers of the Spanish Republic at Madrid barracks in 1938.

(Continued from Page 1)

a baker. He became one of the leaders of the Negro people in the North and in 1787 helped found the "Free Africa Society" which was the first beneficial society organized by Negroes in America. Cyrus Bustill, who traced his ancestry directly to a powerful Indian tribe, was a man of great intellect and leadership ability and is mentioned by name in the Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin. From this man came many generations of highly cultured school teachers and scholars, one of whom was a great-granddaughter named Maria Louisa Bustill who was born in Philadelphia on Nov. 8, 1853.

This woman is the mother of Paul Robeson.

• • •

In the year 1878 William Drew Robeson married Maria Louisa Bustill in Philadelphia. Louisa Robeson bore her husband eight children, the last coming in Princeton, N. J., on April 9, 1898 when she was 45 and her husband 55 years of age.

The child was a boy and was named Paul Bustill Robeson.

This, then, is how Paul Robeson came to be.

• • •

Paul Robeson is a tremendously busy man, engaged in innumerable activities besides playing the lead in "Othello," which has already broken every record for Shakespearean plays in our country. So when you finally catch him long enough for an interview you hang on his every word.. his every gesture.

The interview was originally scheduled to last only 30 minutes or so—but it went into several hours at his office at the Council for African Affairs on 23 W. 26th St.

On the stage he is impressive enough, but close up he presents a sight you are sure to remember all your life. He stands 6 feet 3 inches tall, carrying 245 pounds of bone and muscle on the tremendous frame. He alternately sits and stands as he talks, warming up slowly as he tells of his life, his parents, his art, his beloved son, Pauli.

His speaking voice is even more wondrous than his singing voice, possessing the quality of an organ with none of its monotony. It keeps its timbre equally on high notes as well as low ones and when he smiles and laughs the room suddenly becomes animated and electric. That famous Robeson smile is twice as infectious in a small room.

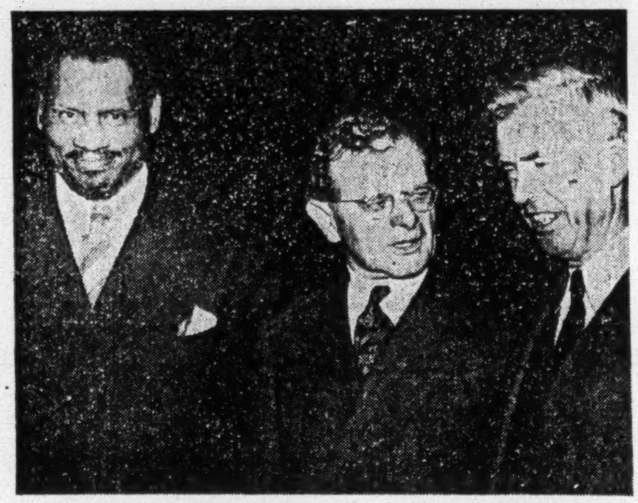
As he speaks, his positions change; he is rubbing his chin, or stroking his high forehead or slapping his thigh. Now he is pointing his immense hand at you, his face serious, his brows drawn together, making an important point.

Robeson's Herculean head is an artist's dream and has fascinated such sculptors as Jo Davidson and England's Jacob Epstein.

The Othello beard makes hir face even more striking and as you watch him you wonder what Shakespeare would have thought of his Othello came to life.

He speaks rapidly and as he tells of his father his eyes shine and he is obviously deeply moved.

When you express amazement at the fact that his 16-year-old son Pauli has broken the high school record for the high jump with a leap of 6 feet 3 inches, he breaks out into a happy roar, thundering, **"Yessir, yessir, look at you! Amazed, eh? . . . And that's not all. . . . The boy also does . . ."** and the words pour out as he tells of Pauli's extraordinary exploits.



VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE (left) and Sidney Hillman share the platform with Mr. Robeson at Chicago's United Nations Day meeting last September.

Robeson is highly objective about himself. He knows his strength and talent and is keenly aware of his social obligations, his responsibility to his people. He is extremely modest and his modesty stems from his very being. It is no theatrical affectation. Indeed, there are times when his humility is so great he becomes embarrassingly bashful.

Entering his 47th year he is at the height of his creative powers and is in magnificant health, although his physician attempts in vain to limit his tremendous activity to a minimum, a minimum which is a maximum for most men.

• • •

How can one explain Paul Robeson't talents? It is impossible to do so simply because one cannot EXPLAIN genius. Mankind joyously and gratefully accepts it. . . . But it can and should be recorded, for all men to see.

• • •

The child Robeson was a well-adjusted, happy youngster who immediately became the favorite of the family as well as his father's congregation. He romped along the streets of Princeton, his long legs eating up the yards, while his father preached the gospel of human brotherhood.

The Reverend Robeson poured all his great love into this youngest child and there sprang up between father and son a union and common understanding which lasted to the very day of the death of the elder Robeson in 1918. This affinity between them became even greater following the sudden, tragic death of Louisa Robeson in 1904 — an accident which to this day is fresh in the mind of Paul Robeson and which so seered his consciousness that he has never been able to remember anything prior to that tragedy.

For some years his mother had been an invalid, rapidly going blind. On the fatal morning of Jan. 19, 1904, with her customary thoroughness, she attempted to clean the carpet in the living room. Unable to see more than a few inches before her, she bent too close to the stove, her apron catching fire. In a few terrible seconds Louisa Robeson was a fiery torch, her body enveloped in flames. Her screams brought all the children to the room—including the horror-stricken Paul. But it was too late.

Thus, she passed away, leaving a family of grown children with the exception of Paul, who was only six.

• • •

As a growing boy Paul worked on the farms in and around Princeton, growing rapidly into a sturdy oak of a man. Under the loving guidance of his father he began the adventure into the world of ideas and thoughts.

Public speaking and reading became a ritual in the Robeson household and from his father Paul developed the wonderful diction and delivery which today is unequalled on the stage.

"My father had the greatest speaking voice I have ever heard," Robeson says today, **"It was a deep, sonorous basso, so melodic and refined as to take the breath away. When I was four he was already preparing me for public speaking. It was he who instilled in me the desire to seek the truth, to search and fight for human equality and freedom. It is to this wonderful man that I owe everything."**

It didn't take long for the young Robeson to establish himself as a scholar. With the reassuring hand of his father upon his shoulder he learned to grasp the essence of problems, tackling them with vigor and completely solving them.

His father was a stickler for perfection. One day Paul came home from high school with a report card showing seven A's and one B. **"Son, what's that B doing here?"** querried his dad. Paul rectified the situation quickly.

It was sports, though, that most interested Robeson at the time. The gangling boy was now standing well over six feet and weighing close to 200 pounds. He was swift, strong and agile and his high school athletic and scholastic record was such that he received a state scholarship to Rutgers University in 1915. He became the third Negro ever to enter that school.

His first great fame was achieved here. To this very day his feats remain unequalled. He was a 12-letter man, winning 4 R's in football, 3 in baseball, 3 in basketball and 2 in track. In 1918 he became the first Negro ever to be named to Walter Camp's All - America football team, Camp declaring, **"There never was a more serviceable end, both on attack and defense, than Robeson, the 200-pound giant of Rutgers."**

His feats on the gridiron are still legendary and to this very day I meet athletes, coaches and writers who speak of "that greatest of all ends, Robeson."

But busy as he was with athletics—he went all through the year playing one sport after another—Robeson did not neglect his studies. He was captain of the debating team, was elected Phi Beta Kappa and received among the highest marks ever achieved by a student at the school. He was the idol of the campus and was known far and wide as "Robeson of Rutgers." Of him, the director of athletics at the University writes: **"Paul Robeson is regarded as the greatest living All-American football player. In the opinion of most people, he, of all All-Americans, has gained the greatest and m merited fame since his gradu tion."**

Besides his football play was center of the basketb team, catcher of the baseb team and heaved the shot-p for the track team.

Strangely enough, he nev sang on the college glee club f it wasn't until years later that discovered he possessed a voi which was destined to thrill m lions of people on three cont nents.

Despite his phenomenal succ in college, it did not come witho harsh and bitter setbacks. one stage of the game he w ready to call it quits; but l father strengthened his con dence and he returned to scho after an attempt to make t varsity football team had resul ed in a dislocated shoulder, broken nose, bruises and welts over his body and all the finge nails of his right hand ripp off. All this, mind you, in o practice session.

After he had regained h strength he went out for footb practice again and got more the same. This was about all t 17-year-old freshman could stan **"I saw red," he says today, "a broke right through the lin heading for the first man I sa who happened to be a sweet k named Kelly. I lifted him abo my head and was about to das him to pieces on the groun when, through the fog, I hear the voice of my coach, an hone and fair man, crying 'Robe Robey, stop, stop you're on t varsity' . . . I managed to com to and suddenly realized that had been accepted, that I w one of the boys, that my test w over and done with.**

"Later I became fast frien with Kelly even though I w never able to forget that exp rience."

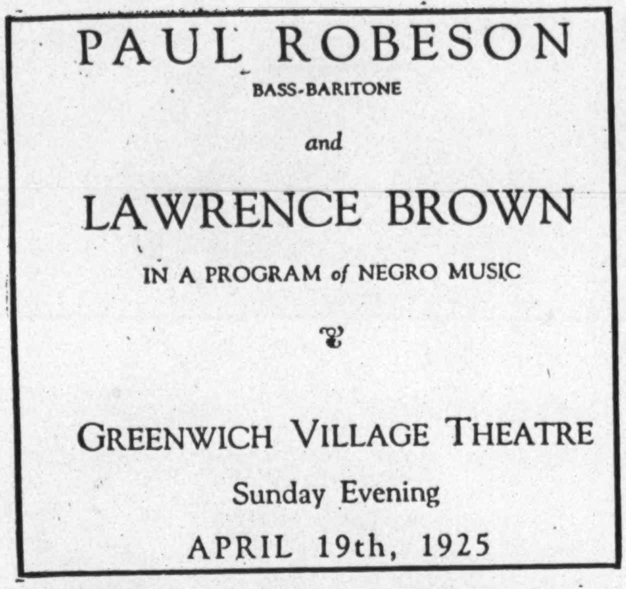
Upon graduation from Rutger Robeson entered Columbia La School and it was there that h met and married a Spanish-Ne gro, Eslanda Cardoza Goode, wh received the degree of Bachel of Science and Chemistry an who to this very day is a sour of great inspiration to him.

There followed a brief carre as a lawyer but Robeson kne that a Negro member of the ba was severely limited, and so h quit.

The theatre came next and i was a logical choice. Possessin a fine physique, a wonderfu speaking voice, tremendous emo tional intensity and an impellin personality, Robeson joined Ne York's Providence Players an later became fast friends wit such men as Heywood Brou Eugene O'Neill Alexander Wool

(Continued on page 3)

JOSEPH CURRAN, National Maritime Union president, presents Mr. Robeson with a seamen's union membership book at the union's 1941 convention.



PAUL ROBESON
BASS-BARITONE
and
LAWRENCE BROWN
IN A PROGRAM *of* NEGRO MUSIC

GREENWICH VILLAGE THEATRE
Sunday Evening
APRIL 19th, 1925

ROBESON'S FIRST CONCERT was on April 19, 1925. This is the program cover.

MOST RECENT of his many honors was on April 2 when Mr. Robeson received this award for his contributions to national racial unity from George Marshall, chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The Story of Paul Robeson

(Continued from Page 2)

cott and others. Rapid appearances in "All God's Children Have Wings" and a revival of "Emperor Jones" were smash hits. But after a while the limited supply of vehicles for a Negro actor was used up and Robeson fell upon hard days.

It was then that he discovered he could sing. This came in 1925 when he was 27 years old. True he had sung for small informal gatherings of friends, but never before on a concert stage. He had never dreamed of becoming a concert singer. For one thing he couldn't even read music and then again he didn't have a repertoire of songs.

But he did know hundreds of Negro folk songs and spirituals and, as it later turned out, that was more than enough. His first public concert took place on West 8th Street in Greenwich Village on April 19, 1925. It was a tremendous success and thus was launched one of the most remarkable careers in the history of the concert stage.

It was in the folk song and Negro spiritual that Robeson came to understand things about social forces. The folk song became a message of solidarity for all people. It became a weapon which he brandished as a means of bringing people together, of fighting inequality and reaction.

Success followed success and in the late twenties he made the first of many trips to England, during the course of which he was to become one of the most beloved artists in the history of the British Isles.

He broke all records at London's historic King Albert Hall. He was worshipped and hailed in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. His folk songs, although sung in many languages, were understood by the people of the Isles. To them he brought a new form of international people's solidarity.

The British people fell head over heels in love with him and his fame was established on a rock-solid foundation. He not only sang; he played his first Othello in London and was the star of many dramatic productions as well as motion pictures. With him all this time, in fact from his very first concert, was his beloved and inseparable friend and accompianist, Lawrence (Larry) Brown who, perhaps, more than any other living man, knows Robeson most intimately.

He became the favorite of the British Royal Family. His fame was such that no royal party was considered a success if it did not list Robeson as the guest of honor. He sang innumerable concerts for the Prince of Wales, Winston Churchill, Lord Beaverbrook and others, but it is for one particular concert that he had a special fondness.

He was invited to St. James Palace by the Prince of Wales. Present were Lord Beaverbrook, Churchill, various lords and their ladies and all in all about a billion dollars worth of royalty including King Alphonse of Spain who had an American blonde with him that night. The music had begun and Robeson was about to sing when he heard Alphonse talking to the blonde in the rear of the hall. He stopped and stared at the King. An uneasy silence followed, punctuated only by the King's inane chatter, when suddenly, the Prince of Wales, in a fury, strode over, hushed him and made him sit up front where he could be watched. Robeson looked at him disdainfully for a few moments and then began to sing.

"You see," he says now, with his broad smile, "King or no King, I just wasn't going to sing until he got quiet."

• • •

It is 1934 now. Fascism has already taken Germany in its cancerous grip. The threat of war and reaction hangs grimly over Europe and the world. Robeson, now internationally famous, is nevertheless troubled, and seeks an answer to his questions.

He seeks a world of equality for the Negro people. As a colored man he has learned through his own experiences that he must ally himself with others fighting for democracy, and despite his wholesome instincts his ideas have not yet been crystallized into scientific thought.

Then, at a meeting of African princes and princesses in London, he meets a Negro worker who tells him to go to the masses, the laboring folks, for his answer. He tells Paul of the new experiment in Russia and Robeson says, **"Russia, yes, I've heard of it. I'll be there shortly."** Six days later he is in the Soviet Union.

"How can I describe my feelings upon crossing the Soviet border?" he says, "All I can is that the moment I came there I realized that I had found what I had been seeking all my life. It was a new planet—a new constellation. It filled me with such happiness as I have never before known in my life."

Inspired by what he saw there, Robeson determined to help bring about such complete equality and human happiness everywhere in the world.

And then Spain. The struggle of the Spanish people for a free and decent life moved Robeson to his very core. He left Russia to go to Spain in 1938. Using his great songs, he urged, exhorted, inspired the Republicans to resist, to fight fascism. Once, outside imperilled Madrid, a loud speaker system was set up and Robeson sang his songs to the men in the fighting lines. They listened with lumps in their throats and for weeks, inspired by the great Negro fighter, they held off the fascists.

Now his ideas are coming into sharp focus. Robeson clearly sees his purpose in life. He lives with one idea, **"Defend democracy, fight fascism."** He becomes a singer of democracy, bringing a message of courage and hope to the peoples of Europe. In 1939 he visits the Scandinavian countries and in Oslo, Copenhagen and Stockholm he receives tumultous, unprecedented receptions which become anti-fascist demonstrations. In Oslo, after a concert in which 10,000 people were **outside** of the hall, the Nordic patriots fall to their hands and knees, kissing his hands.

No fight for democracy, no matter how small and seemingly insignificant, fails to get his support in money, songs or speeches.

And he says: **"I cannot believe in art for art's sake. My art must be a weapon to fight for freedom. I must remain true to my conscience and my people. I must never betray them."**

• • •

Paul Robeson's two all-consuming loves right now are Othello and his only child, 16-year-old Paul, Jr., who bears a simply phenomenal resemblance to his father.

He lives Othello and breaths Othello. To him it means everything, at once both great art and a mighty social weapon.

His son Pauli will enter Dartmouth this fall. Standing 6 feet tall and weighing 186 pounds, he has been labelled one of the greatest high school football players ever developed in New England. He goes to Springfield Tech, in Mass. . . . Pauli is the center of the basketball team, plays baseball, and has already broken three records in track. He is an amazing scholar, speaks five languages, and has received his license as a pilot.

Robeson has the same kind of affinity with his son as he had with his father and will love you if you will only sit and listen to him speak of Pauli's feats.

Robeson has a remarkable memory for music, names and faces but is at a loss when dealing with workaday details. He will absentmindedly wear two different socks or wear a blue jacket to a black pair of trousers, never matching them. He is always forgetting to carry along money and will approach Diane Summers, his secretary at the Council for African Affairs, with a sheepish grin, saying: **"Diane, I need some money, the cabbie is waiting outside."** With a boyish smile he will accept Diane's admonition to be careful.

He is a prodigious reader, going through six and seven books a week. When he walks down the street with an armload of packages, harassed Diane will say, "Paul's passed a bookshop again." He is a noted linguist, speaking nine languages, including the rare African tongue of Swahili. Currently he is studying Yiddish—by way of a schoolboy's primer. He teaches himself, having devised an ingenious method whereby he breaks down a language into something like basic English. He "broke the back of Chinese in three months."

He is glad he doesn't have to make train trips because in all his many travels in many countries he has never been able to find a berth large enough for him, with the result that he rarely ever has gotten sleep on his tours. He is an avid chess player but admits to constant defeats at the hands of his son Pauli. His one real weakness is ice cream which he devours by the quart.

He intends taking Othello on tour next season. **"We must go to Detroit and St. Louis and Chicago with our message. And we'll play Washington and Baltimore in the public parks, if necessary."** Robeson owns the only theater contract in stage history which allows him to walk out on a performance if there has been **"any discrimination against, or segregation of, Negroes in the audience."** . . . He wants badly to dispel any fears people may have about his voice being injured by the strain of playing Othello. **"I intend to renew my concert tours after we finish with Othello and my voice is better than it has been in the past ten years."** He is an honorary member of three great trade unions, the National Maritime Union, the State, County and Municipal Workers and Harry Bridges' International Longshoreman and Warehouseman's Union. . . . Also a full-fledged member of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Of his family only his brother, Reverend Ben Robeson, and a sister, Marian, a Philadelphia schoolteacher, are alive.

• • •

To Robeson, Teheran is the turning point of world history. **"It shows the way to a new period of human happiness, but we must still fight in order to guarantee it."**

• • •

This, in small part, is the man Robeson. There can be no better way to bring this short biography to a close than to quote the end the fiery, impassioned speech he made three weeks ago at the dinner of the Federation of Constitutional Liberties.

"I hate fascism with all my being and would murder it as it would murder me."

MAYOR MAURICE TOBIN of Boston looks on while Mr. Robeson signs the historic visitors' book in City Hall. The signing took place after Mayor Tobin presented Mr. Robeson with the keys to the city.

Artist of the People

By SAMUEL PUTNAM

IT WAS in the mid-nineteen-twenties, in the heart of the Harding-Coolidge "presperity era," that Paul Robeson made his first definitive impact upon American theatre and concert-going audiences. This chronological setting is, I believe, important in any consideration of the growth and development of Robeson's art, which cannot be divorced—he, I am certain, is the last who would want it to be—from the American social scene and the struggle of his people, in that great national drama which is still unfolding before our eyes.

His first serious work on the stage had been done in an indifferent play called "Voodoo," an all but forgotten vehicle to be resurrected now only by the historiographer of the theatre for the reason that Robeson was in it. He had played with Mrs. Patrick Campbell in London, where his work had been compared with that of Gilpin, and where he was pronounced to be a "foredestined Othello."

Great Actor and A Great Singer

It was, however, as New York audiences sat breathless before his performance in Eugene O'Neill's "All God's Chillun Got Wings," in 1924, that they first realized the presence of a new and powerful force beyond the Broadway footlights. The following year, 1925, Robeson made his first concert appearance, and with it the wonder grew; for here was a finished artist who was at once a great actor and a great singer—and the rather pointless controversy as to whether he is greater as a singer or as an actor is one that continues to this day.

Those who saw him as the bronzed giant on the auction-block in "The Emperor Jones," or in that unforgettable forest scene, would assert that his gift was essentially histrionic; and then those same ones, it might be, would later hear him rendering, with so fine an art that it appeared to be artlessness, the folk-songs of his people, the old freedom-chanting spirituals, the work-songs of a people enslaved; they would listen to that "aboriginal voice," which has been compared to "organ notes," to a "deep bell," to "wind in the treetops," etc., etc. — and they would be once more undecided.

The truth of the matter is, Robeson's genius is indivisible. I personally cannot believe that he is conscious of any vital separation between his singing and his acting. His tremendous talent, at once innate and cultivated (but not over-cultivated), lies in the profound, deep-smoldering passion that is his, as a man, as a Negro, and as an American; it lies in his perfect artistic mastery of that passion and his controlled ability to express it through the medium of voice, bodily movement, gesture, and facial expression.

This it is which gives him what the discerning critic of the Morning Freiheit, Nathaniel Buchwald, has aptly termed his "dynamite and defiance." We see this expressed in the role of Othello, of which Buchwald was speaking; but the dynamite and the defiance are there, whether he is portraying the Moor of Venice—at once **being** and **acting** the Moor—or is throwing himself into the deep, inexpressible pathos of "Water Boy."

It comes out, too, the dynamite flares, when he refuses to sing before jimcrow audience or declines to render a song which is an insult to his people. It is in evidence when he addresses an anti-fascist meeting or lends his name to a progressive petition. For all this—the Negro's age - old battle for freedom and human dignity, now rightly seen by Robeson as a part of the larger struggle for American and for world democracy—all this is intimately, inextricably bound up with that passion which inspires and informs his art, which molds it and in turn is molded by it.

* * *

The era in which Robeson made his appearance upon the American scene holds a significance for one who would understand the man and his art. "Silent Cal" was in the White House. Mencken and Nathan in the Smart Set, and later Mencken in the American Mercury, were the college sophomore's favorite reading. George Jean Nathan was the critical big-shot on Broadway. Sinclair Lewis in the novel and certain others in the field of history and biography were engaged in "debunking" (a favorite word of the epoch) our great American tradition. Our hyper-sensitive aesthetes had already fled to Paris' Left Bank, and the expatriate Eliot had published his "Waste Land."

Here at home, the Dial, under the editorship first of Marianne Moore and then of Gilbert Seldes of "Seven Lively Arts" fame, was undecided whether to be modernistic and exotic or patronizingly American. The painfully sincere attempt at a probing of native roots, represented by the short-lived Seven Arts Magazine during the period of the imperialist war, had long since been abondoned, it seemed.

It was, in short, in the domain of literature and the arts as in other provinces of life, a gaudy, raucous, superficial era, with only a few lonesome voices like Mike Gold's calling forlornly from the Left, in a wilderness of sham, hypocrisy, and false prosperity. As the decade drew to a close, with that fateful year, 1929, in the offing, these characteristics became more pronounced. It was a time of fads, cults, and pretended interests; and one of the most popular of the fads was the comparatively recent "discovery" of the Negro in art, in London and Paris, and then, around 1928-1929, in our own Harlem.

Title Was An Insult

The "Harlem Renaissance" was on; Carl Van Vechten wrote a book about it, the very title of which was an insult; slumming parties were the fashion, and Negro actors, singers, and theatrical productions were the rage on Broadway. It was not all bad, by any means; that would be an erroneous impression; but there was in it, undoubtedly, much that was cheap and shoddy and degrading to the Negro.

On the other hand, there was also the germ of something infinitely better to come—the germ of that real Negro Renascence which, after the intensive struggles and the terrible lessons of the 1930's, is only beginning to flower today. And if this new and veritable renaissance is looming above the horizon now, this is in good part—very large part—owing to the gigantic figure of a Robeson, who, eschewing the playboys and their condescending patronage, took his stand from the first with his people, on his own dignity as an artist and as an individual, and on his rights as an American citizen.

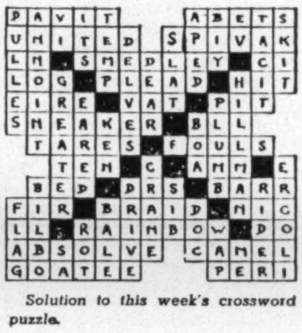
Back in the blaring twenties, he was a disconcerting phenomenon. He refused to be a mere entertainer. With an astonishing range of abilities and a rich cultural background, he might have made a success in any one of half a dozen careers. If, after studying for the law, he finally chose the theater and the concert stage, it was with a stern, high purpose in view. Endowed with a remarkable capacity of vision and of growth, he has grown with the times, and his vision has broadened, his purpose has deepened accordingly.

Like a Leonardo da Vinci, or a modern Picasso, Paul Robeson might (in Leonardo's words) have "done a little of everything"—and done it well. Instead, he has lost in breadth he has gained in depth. Today, with each fresh appearance in theatre or concert hall, his art has new and still more dazzling facets to show, and at the same time an ever new new profundity of meaning and intensity of social passion.

This, I believe, is what really accounts for his present superb Othello, the greatest of our generation, one of the greatest ever. He is the Moor, the Moor of Venice as Shakespeare conceived him **for his age**; but he is also Paul Robeson, who puts into the part a passion that Shakespeare never knew, one that is of our own time, one that holds the hope of human brotherhood for the bright-dawning world of tomorrow.

MR. ROBESON AS OTHELLO

Paul Robeson sings the National Anthem and the employes of the Moore Drydock Co., at Oakland, Calif., join in the chorus.



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Solution to this week's crossword puzzle.

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Robeson on Soviet Culture

(Paul Robeson has written the following foreword to a collection of 15 "Favorite Songs of the Red Army" soon to be published by Russian-American Music Publishers, Inc., New York.

In many lands the Arts, and especially Music, have been cut off from the general life of the nation. They have become the source of enjoyment for a comparatively few so-called elite—who feel that culture should be somewhat unapproachable — except to their own understanding—and at times, completely non-understanding—selves.

One of the great problems of our time is the making of the great creations of mind and spirit available to all. We in America had some idea of this cultural sharing in the finest days of the New Deal.

But those forces that even today refuse to make the slightest sacrifice for the advancement of the good life—that do not really want an enlightened and sensitive citizenry—those same forces made impossible, at that time, the continuance of this important social contribution.

LIVING ART

What a revelation when first I went to the Soviet Union, to see that all forms of culture—the pictorial and plastic arts, the art of the theater, poetry, music belonged to the highest sense to the people. They crowded the galleries, the theaters, realistic and poetic, the opera houses, the concert halls. Here art was closely wedded to life.

In music all the masterworks were performed by worthy interpreters before eager and enthusiastic audiences. Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, Debussy, Moussorgsky, Tchaikovsky, Prokofieff, Shostakovitch, Gershwin—all were daily bread and wine.

But also (in a land famed for the beauty of its folk melodies) these burst forth anew wonderful sources of folk material (always the real foundation of any great music) from the many truly free nationalities of the Soviet Federated Republics. This material found new uses—opera ("Quiet Flows the Don"), ballet, folk choruses, folk orchestras (balalaika), folk dramas (Gypsy and Uzbek Theaters). One sensed a folk art-form serving as a constant source for more complex (not necessarily superior) forms.

OUT OF LIFE

Our American Negro folk songs sprang directly out of our lives—our working lives — e.g., John Henry ballads and countless others so superbly sung by Leadbetter and Josh White. Songs of protest, songs of faith in a better world, songs slow and rhythmic, tender and gay.

So it was not surprising to find composers gathering these new and old melodies—a Shostakovitch using them as symphonic material, as did Moussorgsky and Dvorak, others setting them to lyrics of fine poets—true creations of and for the people—expressing their joy in the new life, in the new society, in a new conception of human liberty, of human aspiration, of human possibilities of achievement.

These songs were sung in the factories, in the mines, at Youth Day celebrations, at festivals, and especially by the soldier choruses of the Red Army, trained by a great director—Alexandroff.

No need to tell of the great part played by these songs in today's epic struggle. We have heard the phonograph records of the Red Army — we have seen many Soviet films—have listened to the singing of these brave soldiers marching to victorious battle—singing that has already become legendary.

For through them we clearly understand why today the Soviet armies stand ready for the final blow at the heart of Nazi-scourged Europe—why the heroism—the readiness and joy of sacrifice for a new world in birth—why the firm faith in the present and the future which characterizes this brave people, who can with our deep and lasting gratitude accept, the honor of having (in great part) saved our civilization.

FRIENDSHIP THROUGH MUSIC

Here in this collection are many of these songs—old and contemporary—familiar and new. Here is a rich source of direct contact with the Soviet spirit. We must know this ally well. We in America, together with our Russian and other friends, have a great responsibility to our future generations. We must understand and, yes, treasure each other.

One of the quickest ways to this understanding, friendship and mutual affection, is through music (the Russians have published and perform much of ours) and most of all through the idiom of the folk song, like the common expression of a people that is so immediate in its communication to all others. I am privileged to have the opportunity of writing this brief foreword. For I have long deeply admired and loved the Soviet people as I do my own.

I sincerely hope that these songs will help inspire a deep understanding of, and an admiration and affection for, a people who, I know, have the progress of all humanity so deeply at heart.

AMERICAN COMPOSES DEDICATES MARCHING SONG TO USSR WOMEN

Will Be Heard Sunday At Carnegie Hall

The celebration last week of the birthday of the Red Army brings to mind the story of an American girl who wrote the marching song dedicated to the women of the USSR. She undertook to pay tribute to the gallant and courageous sniper girls who fought by the side of their menfolk to preserve freedom, and called it the Red Sister. The song, seen by Ambassador Gromyko and Ambassador Davies evoked great praise and was sent to Moscow. VOKS, the cultural department of the government became very much interested and requested a recording of an American performance. In America it has been acclaimed by Robeson, Swarthout, Melanov, Terassova and Novotna and has been included in the music division of the Library of Congress.

Bobbs Travis

The young American in question is Bobbs Travis ,a niece of the late Dr. Bernard Revel of Yeshiva College. Born in Marietta, Ohio, she studied at the Kansas City Conservatory of Music, the American Conservatory of Music in Chicago and received her B.A. in music at the Chicago Musical College. Felix Borowsky and the late Adolph Weidig were her teachers. She has since been listed as one of our national composers by the Library of Congress and has had her Indian Dances and Toyshop Melodies published.

The American performance of the Red Sister referred to, will take place on Sunday evening, March 11 at Carnegie Hall

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JEWISH HOME FOR CONVALESCENTS WILL HOLD ANNUAL NIGHT OF REVELRY SUNDAY

Featuring Outstanding Screen, Stage, Radio Stars

Convalescent soldiers and sailors of the Halloran General and the St. Albans Naval Hospitals will be the guests of the tenth annual "Night of Revelry" sponsored by the Jewish Home for Convalescents this Sunday evening, March 11 at the Carnegie Hall. The nations outstanding personalities of the stage and radio will be featured.

Aaron Fishman

Peter Donald

The home which is located at Grandview on the Hudson is non-sectarian in its policy and serves an average of 2,000 cases a year. Each patient's stay is from two to three weeks depending on the need. A kosher kitchen, a synagogue, library and sun-porch with individual chairs are provided. Morton Berk is the superintendent.

The Night of Revelry will present for the first time in America, with a ballet and orchestra, "The Red Sister", the marching song whch has been recently composed by Bobbs Travis and is dedicated to the women of the USSR.

The program as announced by Aaron Fishman prominent attorney and chairman of the committee for the past several years includes such stallar performers as Peter Donald of "Can You Top This' 'radio program who will be the master of ceremonies. Mr. Donald will introduce such luminaries as Anna Roselle of the Metropolitan Opera Company, Bill Robinson, world renowned tap dancer and now at the Zanzibar, Juanita Hall of "Sing Out Sweet Land" the Hungarian Folk Dances, the Radischev Russian Folk Dance Group, Canada Lee, the noted duo pianists Vera Appelton and Michael Field, Jackie Kelk of the Aldrich Family, The American Negro Opera Company Ensemble and many other stars whose names are familiarly known. Joe Morse and his society orchestra will be featured in the musical program.

Isaac Lippman has been the president of the home for the past 20 years and under his administration the institution has received recognition for its service to humanity regardless of race, creed or origin. Morris D. Reiss is Honorary President. Maurice Schwartz is the First Vice President, and Tillie Siegel, Tillie Cohen, Anna Seltzer, Sarah Rosenbloom, Lillan Segall ,Rose Edenstein and Dorothy Schept are Vice Presidents representing auxiliaries. Harry D. Cohen and Samuel Koenig are Treasurer and Comptroller respectively and Dorothy Ofsevit is the Secretary.

Jewish Review
N.Y.C. March 8, 1945.

Bobbs Travis
2-Horatio st Apt. 5-C
N.Y. 14, N.Y.
CH 2-6947

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Jewish Review
N.Y.C. March 8, 1945.

May 12

PAUL ROBESON'S MESSAGE

Great Negro's View of the War

PAUL ROBESON, the great Negro, whose voice has made him world-famous, is also a great democrat. He fully understands the struggle of the oppressed peoples of all races in whatever part of the world they may be. Recently, speaking to a Negro community in Toronto, Canada, he recalled the struggles and poverty of his own family. Clearly he defined what should be the attitude of non-European peoples to the present war. We give an extract from his statement:—

Led by my sympathies with my father and his people, even in my early days, when my struggle was very bitter, I was on the side of the oppressed and ignorant.

In London I was interested in the working people of America, the West Indies, India, Africa, in opposition to the English ruling classes, on purely a class basis. I took a stand on the side of British Labour, and though that Labour was not clear even in its treatment of the West Indians, I feel that the essential labour problems are the same for all the labouring masses.

The workers must look for their allies not to the top, but to the bottom. I feel that is so in America, in England, the West Indies, Africa, in all the nations of Europe, where a struggle is going on which has to-day crystallised.

We know about this struggle. I was in England when it crystallised. We know what oppression means. We have all experienced it. I was in Spain. I saw the people's struggle against Fascism. I was in Germany. I know that Hitler would make me a slave for ever.

But all these forces of Fascism, not only in Germany, Italy, Japan, but in Canada, the United States, the West Indies, Africa, are crystallised to-day to a point where they may be smashed.

If they are smashed it will mean quite a different world, not only for the peoples of Europe, but also for us. I feel it is a struggle which we must enter.

I have related the Coloured people to that struggle. I have been in many parts of the world. I have not been afraid to say what I have seen and felt. I have been very proud to express it. I was on the side of Loyalist Spain because I saw the forces that would enslave not only Spain but all of mankind. I said at the time that if the Fascist forces were given their way in Spain, there would be civil war in England. I saw great rays of light at different times in England itself, coming from the very Liberal fo

[illegible] very fortunat at one period

another problem. There is no doubt Hitler can only be defeated by all nations who stand with Britain against Hitler, but who also stand with the Soviet Union. I find great hesitation among many on this side to even bring up the matter. This is asking for sudden death. This is courting suicide. The Archbishop of York was not afraid to admit it. That must be the most important point I could stress if we really want to rid the world of Hitler and Fascism. I must stress this point because I refuse to live in a world of slavery.

PAUL ROBESON

There must be an all-out effort to see that we win. We as Coloured people must act very clearly, and must not help those very forces in Canada, England, the United States and Africa that would play upon certain of our prejudices and in the end confine us all to complete slavery.

We can be with the forces of progress. Let us see that we are.

COMMUNISTS

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An Honest Approach to Africa, Says Robeson of Dubois Book

By Paul Robeson

As far back as the early thirties, some very important Englishmen told me in public and in private that the future of the British Empire was on the continent of Africa.

They conceded that India, as an area of expanding exploitation, was gone, though they still thought, perhaps, of trying to hold it for military purposes. It is clear that if the British withdraw from India and are forced out of the Mediterranean and Middle East, they must view Africa as the base of operations in any future defense of the Empire.

In any sort of consideration of the world today, therefore, obviously this continent now becomes a very key point. This is a truth that W. E. Burghardt DuBois clearly recognizes in his new book, **The World and Africa.**

TWISTED BACKGROUND

To me, the heart of the book is the light it sheds on the people who inhabit this continent, on the background of African civilization, and on the change in the Western concept of Africa and her people.

DuBois points out in his first chapter that there is a twisted background to our whole education about Africa. He develops very clearly the idea that here is a great continent that has been subjected to rape, and that the whole recording of her history and peoples has been distorted to justify her ensalvement.

In the beginning, there was a sort of vague idea that this was a fabulous continent of princes and mysteries and wonders (in the early days before slavery. Even Shakespeare illustrates this approach in his **Othello.**) Then, as slavery developed, little by little we see our history books attempting to justify Christian peoples' enslavement of others and arriving at a point where the Africans ended up by not being people at all.

DuBois demonstrates that the Africans were, at first, princes. Little by little they became less than men in the effort to justify the falsification of scholarship following the demands of imperialism.

In passing, I would suggest to DuBois he some day investigate the similar treatment of the Chinese people who, in the earliest stages, were regarded as a great source of enlightenment in the West. But when it became expedient to force opium upon the Chinese, Chinese culture suddenly became a very backward one.

PROOF OFFERED

However, the substance of the book is DuBois' proof that Africa was a part of the great civilizations of the world, in intimate contact with the East—Persia, India and China—and certainly with the civilization of ancient Egypt.

DuBois is quite justified in asserting that the pure Negro peoples were an important part of these civilizations, a fact which most anthropologists tried to rule out. If they follow DuBois in his approach to Africa, they will understand they are dealing with people with a past and a potential like the Chinese, the Indian, or the Mexican people.

I was particularly interested in his discussions of the various aspects of African culture, as he, too, has found that it is very closely wedded and allied to the cultures of the East. I would go so far as to say that the cultures of the East and of Africa are so close that they certainly have one common heritage, African poetry, for example, is comparable to great Chinese poetry.

This should lead to an entirely different approach to the African peoples, as DuBois points out.

In his final chapters on the future of Africa, DuBois relates his study of African culture to the problems the American people face today. Obviously, as American imperialism penetrates into Greece, Iran and Turkey, and then penetrates further into Africa proper, the American Negro and all the American people must face the fact that there is the possibility of enslaving this continent anew after its tremendous past suffering.

Such enslavement could mean that even worse things would be visited upon the African people who have as fine a cultural background and potential to contribute to world civilization as any other people.

The British Laborites are going through some mouthings and ideas about a different approach to the colonial problem, but nothing has changed in Africa today.

DuBois, in his discussion of democracy and the various economic systems in the world (he has been a Socialist in his economic thinking), considers the best means of using our productive resources for the good of man, and he says: ". . . if a world of ultimate democracy, reaching across the color line and abolishing race discrimination, can only be accomplished by the method laid down by Karl Marx, then that method deserves to be triumphant no matter what we think or do."

DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL

To my mind, today the democracies are on trial, and especially our own nation, because it has now cast aside the concept of the world of the common people so nobly enunciated by Wallace and Roosevelt, and has adopted the new idea of the American century expounded by Mr. Luce and Mr. Dulles.

In a discussion of Africa today, one must watch very carefully what the British Labor government does. Especially one must watch what France does, and more particularly what the French government does as the French Communists exercise an influence in their government comensurate with their influence among the French people.

DuBois discusses the mandate system. However, I wished that he had elaborated on the possible future of the United Nations in this regard. Personally, I feel that the Soviet Union, in bringing freedom to peoples comparable to those who inhabit the various part of Africa is a living example of what can be done and hence an important factor in determining the future of collonialism.

I should have liked to have seen DuBois underline the influence of the Soviet Union in this regard in the councils of the United Nations.

Africa and The World is a mine of wonderful material on the continent, both in a technical and a poetical sense. DuBois is one of the most beautiful writers in our language and has included many of his own poems and some of the contributions of various writers of African descent. Personally, I find it a book that I will always want with me.

REYNOLDS NEWS FEB 27 '49.

I, TOO, AM AMERICA

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.

To-morrow,

I'll sit at the table
When company comes.
Nobody'll dare
Say to me,
"Eat in the kitchen,"
Then.

Besides,
They'll see how beautiful I am
And be ashamed.—
I, too, am America.

Langston Hughes.

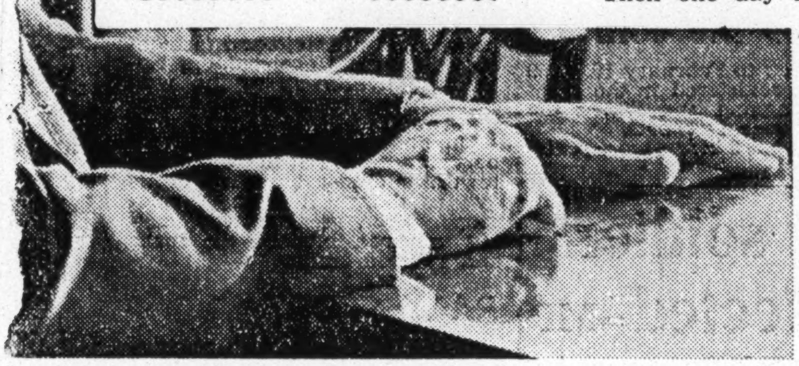
PAUL ROBESON great singer, great Socialist, great human being writes the first of two articles exclusively for Reynolds News

SOMETIMES when I go back to my home State in New Jersey, friends of my student days say to me, "Paul, what has happened to you, you used to be such a mild sort of chap and now you are so militant and political."

I think back and wonder why my attitude has changed since my student days. I realise then that I learned my militancy and my politics from your Labour Movement here in Britain.

I came to Britain for the first time some years before the war, and I thought in those days that my sole job was to be an artist. I was made a fuss of by Mayfair.

Then one day I heard one of your aristocrats talking to his chauffeur in much the same way as he would speak to his dog. I said to myself, "Paul, that is how a southerner in the United States would speak to you."



That was how I realised that the fight of my Negro people in America and the fight of the oppressed workers everywhere was the same struggle.

Those were the years of depression in Britain, and I went out to sing for the Welsh miners, for the dockers of Glasgow. I took my place on the platform in those great demonstrations that you organised here for the people of Republican Spain. In that great campaign I worked with men like Clement Attlee and Stafford Cripps.

I feel at home in England. Coming over on the boat a few days ago I went down to sing to the crew. When I arrived at Southampton the dockers came on board, called me by my Christian name. I said: "Yes, I am part of this England."

Their fight

BUT I speak, too, for those progressive forces in America who are fighting with the progressive forces everywhere against the men who are seeking to spread imperialism over the world.

As a Negro American, I am one of 15,000,000. I was born in America. I went to University in America. I am a product of the American social background.

My ancestors were among the first to people America. Men and women of my family were brought over as slaves in 1620.

Theirs was not the only slave labour that went to build up America. Other ships were sailing to the West in those days with bond labour in their holds. Maybe some of you who read this are the descendants of English peasants who were sold as slaves to the planters after the defeat of the Monmouth Rebellion against your King James II. Maybe among your ancestors are men and women shipped to the plantations as indentured servants who were little better than slaves.

There you have an aspect of American history that the advocates of race persecution like to forget; while the Negroes were sent to slavery in the cotton plantations, English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh victims of poverty and tyranny were also slaves or near slaves in both North and South.

We are the people, black and white, whose work was the source of the first great primary wealth of America.

I see my own background against the fact that from the continent of Africa 100,000,000 Africans were torn from their land to build the wealth of "Liberal capitalism."

I know that I am part of it because my own father was a slave. He was born in 1843, escaped from slavery in 1858, five years before the liberation of the slaves, and fought in the Union army. I was born in 1898, the last of seven children.

As a slave

A FEW weeks ago, during Henry Wallace's campaign for the Presidency, I stood on the very soil on which my father worked as a slave. My relatives are there still. They are poor farming Negroes, trying to eke out some kind of living from the worn-out soil. And they have no rights that the white southerner is bound to respect.

I speak for the progressive America, of which the Negro Americans are but a part, which is fighting to carry out the plain demand of the electorate for a new deal. The reason Truman is President was that he told the people he would do what Henry Wallace wanted to do.

I am part of that America today which is being persecuted for its defence of civil liberties and for its fight for the right of men and women to live as human beings.

It is important for the people of England to know that those basic rights which are part of English civilisation are certainly under as sharp fire to-day in America as they would have been in Hitler Germany.

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• *MARCH 6, 1949*

Paul Robeson

concludes the two articles he has written exclusively for Reynolds News. He will write another article soon, summarising his impressions of Britain as he finds us on his first visit for ten years.

THINGS were happening in America when I left which proved very clearly that the need for the Progressive Party more urgent than ever.

The people voted for Truman at the Presidential election in the belief that they were voting for a continuance of Roosevelt's New Deal.

They showed that they were not prepared to accept the theory that every so often they must turn a cycle and go back to conservative policies. They wanted an end to the Taft-Hartley attack on the rights of labour. They demanded the Civil Rights programme giving elementary freedoms to the Negro people.

Now, only a few months after the election, there are signs that these pledges are being whittled down.

Let me deal first of all with the so-called Civil Rights programme of President Truman. This is far from being the Magna Charta which most people seem to imagine.

It deals merely with three simple principles which ought not to need re-stating, because they have to do with the guaranteed Constitutional rights of American citizens.

First, there is the Anti-Lynching Bill which would give the Negro the privilege of not being burned tied to a tree in the event of his asserting his rights.

Second, there is the Anti-Poll **Tax** Bill which, as far as the Negro is concerned, should give him the privilege of not being shot as he goes to vote.

Third, there is the Federal Employment Bill, which will mean that a Negro is given the privilege of getting a job and not being thrown out on his face when he asks for one.

That is all this programme consists of, but the Negroes have been so oppressed that the Civil Rights Programme has become to them a matter of life and death. Yes, in this twentieth century, the hope of getting these elementary rights has literally become a matter of life and death.

May not be granted

AND now I read in the British Press that even these concessions may not be granted. What happens to 15,000,000 Negroes, in the eyes of the administration, is apparently not so important. They must get on with the work of taking a new American imperialism into Africa.

Mr. Forrestal has been too busy fighting for the oil interests in Arabia or preparing for a war with the new democracies.

The struggle of the Negroes to-day (and with this struggle the conditions of all the working people in America is linked) has become an important turning point in American history. If this Civil Rights Programme is by-passed, the Negroes will be lost for ever to the Democratic Party. All the Liberal democratic forces who have rallied behind Truman will be discredited.

The Progressive Party of America will have the duty in the months ahead to point these things out. We did the first job of forcing Truman to take up a progressive position on these problems.

He did not do it before Wallace launched his campaign, and now we have to see that the American people remember the pledges that were given and demand their fulfilment.

Nor is it clear that the pledges to end the Taft-Hartley Act will be redeemed. Again, there is no doubt that the American people wanted this Bill wiped off the Statute Book.

The struggle of the progressive forces in America will grow sharper and more urgent. Already the United States is in a state of minor crisis. Goods are piling up all over the country. There is a threat to the standards of the people and many of the timid Labour leaders are being forced to realise how events are developing.

I think the American people will be prepared to reconsider their position so that in the 1950 elections the Progressive Party will make a big stride forward. By 1952 it can be of tremendous importance. I am sure that in the days to come you will be hearing a lot about Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party.

To me, as an artist, it is a great inspiration to see the part that we are able to play in this struggle. In America, shortly, the wing of the Progressive Party representing the arts, science and the professions is calling a conference on world peace. I believe that this gathering will be of tremendous value.

My experience has taught me that art comes essentially from the people. Because I feel my responsibility to the people, I believe that the people of England will find that my art has deepened, that my interests have widened. I feel, myself, that political activity has given to my artistic development a new meaning and a new depth.

I want to do so many more things just because I am part of this great struggle of all the people. My present commercial concert tour is but an interlude.

My next tours will be organised so that the people can get to hear me. I hope that they will hear me on many platforms, and I shall give my services whenever I can.

So if any who wish to hear me are unable to attend this present series of concerts or find the prices too dear, let me assure them that I shall be covering the same ground again—I shall be where I belong—with the people.

NEGROES HAIL FRATERNITY

Amherst Chapter Gets Award for Defying Prejudices

4/25/49

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NORWALK, Conn., April 24—The action of the Phi Kappa Psi fraternity at Amherst College several months ago in taking in a Negro student despite ouster from the national organization, has won an inter-racial award for the chapter.

The New England regional conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has been meeting here, presented the Harry Smith Oswell Award tonight to the Amherst chapter "to encourage unity of purpose and closer fellowship among people of all races." Harry Barnes of St. Paul, Minn., vice president of the Amherst unit, accepted the scroll for the group.

Taking note of Paul Robeson's statement in Paris that Negroes would not fight against Soviet Russia, the association adopted a resolution declaring that Mr. Robeson "did not express the opinion and viewpoints of the loyal majority of Negroes of this country."

ROGERS SAYS:

Paul Robeson May Be Wrong But His Speech Was Food for Thought

Pittsburgh Courier 5/7/49

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

WHEN Paul Robeson says (allegedly) that Negroes would not fight Russia, he is certainly not speaking for the majority of them. They will do any and everything most American whites do. However, those leaders and others who rushed to declare Robeson wrong, since they themselves were not being accused of disloyalty, showed very poor strategy.

Mr. Rogers

The Negro gets so little because those keeping him down are so darn sure of him. Once he was a Republican addict, as the Southern whites are Democratic addicts, and he got nothing; then he switched to the Democrats and the latter, knowing he was already in the bag, continue to give him nothing.

Negroes are jim crowed through fear and greed, hence they have nothing to lose by keeping the enemy guessing. Why, even the greenest country girl knows that it's to her advantage to keep her boy-friend guessing at times. Negro leaders would have done better by keeping silent.

FEAR OF RUSSIA and of communism, as well as outside criticism of the United States, have been the Negro's greatest benefactor in recent years. The simple truth is that it is not until some calamity strikes the whites that the Negro begins to get a break. For instance, the Civil War and two World Wars.

The Ku Kiux Klan of the 1920's, as I once said, did much good too, by reverse. By attacking Jews, Catholics and foreign-born, it made these, who in the main were against Negroes, realize that mere skin-color was no protection for them. Thus they became allies, more or less willing, of Negroes. Had Hitler been able to invade this country he would have bestowed on Negroes here more democracy than he did.

I like at all times an exact statement of facts: thus when Robeson is quoted as saying that America today is like Germany as it was under Hitler and Goebbels, I find him extreme. While that's true of states like Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina, it's not of the whole Nation. Certain States, New Jersey, Connecticut, Oregon and even Indiana, the last non-Southern State to pass a law against Negroes, are making sincere efforts to wipe out their color lines, and are succeeding, too.

* * *

HOWEVER, IF I must condemn Robeson, what must I reserve for those who create and keep alive those conditions that have aroused Robeson's anger? Let those whites who condemn Robeson—and don't forget that the strongest condemnation of him will come from the Negro's greatest enemies—ask themselves what they would do if they were in the Negro's place.

Their whole history shows they wouldn't fight for America. Let's remember there was a time when Americans were British subjects.

Hope long deferred maketh the heart sick. Robeson, like millions of others, is fed up to the neck with unfulfilled promises. In the past forty years I have watched the long line of these will-o'-the-wisps. They are too many to be given here. I watched Negroes buzzing about Theodore Roosevelt as their savior; I watched them buzzing around Franklin Roosevelt, and in the last election I watched them buzz around Harry Truman, and during this time I have seen the Federal Government giving them less and less recognition.

* * *

AND IF I live another fifty years, I'll see them still buzzing hopefully around new saviors, who, to tell the truth, really can't help them even if they wish.

I can't say I relish the picture given of the Negro's treatment by Robeson at that Paris conference. I once lived in Europe and found that it was no feather in my cap to be an American.

A man who is despised in his own country is never respected outside of it. Some of the mud thrown at him at home always sticks to him when he goes abroad. However, Robeson only heightened the picture, he did not create it.

I can understand, though I do not endorse, those Negroes who go over to communism. The attitude of Russia towards Negroes as far back as you go is the exact opposite of that of the United States. When American Negroes were in the darkest night of slavery, an ex-Negro slave born in Africa rose to be commander-in-chief of the Russian army and his offspring married into the Czar's family.

* * *

Another, an American Negro, was a general of division in the Bolshevik revolution. And I could name other distinguished Russian Negroes, past and present. Finally, what exasperates thinking Negroes most and makes Communist sympathizers of many of them, is America's pose as the champion of democracy.

I pay no attention to that now but I recall how it used to irritate me when Woodrow Wilson was dishing it out while Negroes were being lynched.

Paul Robeson's Political Activities Defended as Courageous Leadership

Des Moines Tribune - July 7, 1949

To the Editor of The Tribune:

I note your editorial of Wednesday, June 22, concerning Paul Robeson under the title "Sooner or later, he will see the truth." I differ with this editorial in several respects, and I will point out why.

ROBESON.

On the whole your entire editorial treats Robeson as America is inclined to treat its Negro population, to-wit: as a simple child. Here is a man, Paul Robeson, whose accomplishments include an A. B. degree and a degree in law from two of America's leading universities, a Phi Beta Kappa key, a four-letter man in athletics and twice an all-American football player, a star of stage, screen, and radio, a world traveler, a world student of politics and government; one who can converse in five different languages and sing in seven, one who during most of his mature life has associated with the royalty of Europe and aristocracy of America; and yet, because he is black, because he is a Negro, you have the audacity to call him "politically naive and a great hearted boy-of-a-man,"

DIGNITY IN RUSSIA.

For example, you say, "Paul Robeson thinks more of the Soviet Union than he does of the United States and says so publicly." You admit in your editorial that he "walked the earth for the first time with complete dignity in Russia." By what system of reasoning do you expect him to hate a place that gives him complete dignity and love a place where as you admit, "he is regarded with either curiosity or as an inferior in spite of his enormous talents."

You say "it is not very smart that he feels that way." Would you love a country that treated you as an inferior, that denied you and your people the elementary rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, except in its tolerant moments? If so, why? What would be smart about loving your oppressors and hating your friends.

The rather surprising thing about it is that Paul Robeson and Negroes do love this country. They love that part of this country that is now recognized as Progressive America. They hate Fascist America.

* * *

NOT NAIVE.

You say "It doesn't help Negro rights in America to have one of the race's most distinguished sons show how naive politically and sociologically a Negro with a law degree can be." What do you mean naive politically and sociologically? There is nothing naive politically or sociologically about Robeson.

He has practically traveled the world over. He has studied the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Africa and he has studied these governments within the boundaries of these countries. He has appraised them particularly with reference to the rights of dark peoples under them. He has studied them with the background of a life made mellow by education, travel and experience. He has studied all these governments from their sociological aspects.

What gives you the right to call him naive? The fact that you are white? Do you think that is all that is necessary to give you that right?

NEXT BATTLE.

You say that "Fortunately for Negro rights, very few of the Negroes have fallen for this hated heresy." I doubt your ability to estimate the number of Negroes who feel like Paul Robeson feels. Within the last 12 months I have traveled practically every section of this country and talked to Negroes everywhere.

I think Negroes agree that the next battle for democracy should be fought in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia; yes—Iowa.

Paul Robeson knows that no Negro in America enjoys human dignity. Not even a Carver, a Marion Anderson, a Lena Horne, a Levi Jackson; no, not even a Paul Robeson.

You say, "Robeson has been running away from things all of his life." I ask you "like what?" What does Robeson have to run away from? He is not physically afraid of man or beast. He is rich. His personal friends extend from one end of America to the other and from Wall Street to the most lowly. So what has he got to run away from?

The fact is that few Americans have dedicated themselves more completely, have made more sacrifices and have demonstrated more courage in challenging and staying on the ground and fighting out, the issues that confront the Negro and oppressed peoples today. It's to that fight that the persecutors of Robeson object.

SUPER-CAPABLE.

You say, "He thought he could be a white lawyer instead of a Negro lawyer in the North, and when he found he could not he quit law." What gives you the foundation for such a statement as that? Do you mean all white lawyers are successful and all Negro lawyers are not? If you will examine Robeson's entire life you will find that he was super-capable at every one of them, be it in the class room, on the athletic field, the stage, screen, and radio.

I say to you as a lawyer, if he had turned his talents to the field of law he would have been one of the world's greatest lawyers. Not a great Negro lawyer, not a great white lawyer, but a great lawyer.

AMERICANISM.

It is interesting how a white man who has no knowledge of what makes a Negro tick, feels that he can write an all-informative article on a Negro he knows nothing about. I know Paul Robeson personally. I have spent several hours with him since his return from the Paris peace conference and his continental concert tour.

I was interested to hear him say that in the height of his tour, he "longed to be back home in America in the fight for the liberation of his people." I heard him say "I defy any part of an insolent, dominating America, however powerful, I defy any errand boy, Uncle Tom's of the Negro people to challenge my Americanism." He said he loved Progressive America, and that he hates Fascist America. That he proposed to fight Fascist America with all of his energy.

I presided over the "Welcome Home Rally" given to Paul in New York City, Sunday, June 19, where more than 5,000 Americans, Negro and white, paid from 60 cents to $2.40 and gave a collection of nearly $3,000 for the privilege of roaring their adoration of Paul Robeson.

* * *

NOT FRIGHTENED.

You say "The more he pursues this violent language line the rougher America will be on Robeson." The funny part about it is that Robeson and other Negroes are not frightened any more by threats of roughness. The last 170 years in this country have been rough for us. In some sections of the country, the most humble supplication for the most meagre human rights is answered by our being put to death, while the rest of America tells us to be patient and pray.

This editorial tells us that if we do other than be patient and pray it will be rougher on us. Well, that doesn't frighten us.

* * *

"COMMUNISM."

It used to be if a Negro asked for the meagre rights, like the right to live in a decent home, decent educational facilities, etc., the answer was made that "he wants to marry your daughter." Now you have come up with the addition that, "We are dominated by the communists."

Yelling communist at Negroes leaves us unimpressed. We don't need communists or anyone else to tell us what are our basic human rights. Few Negroes have been to Russia. What we are concerned with is what happens to us here in America and to tell us how wrong things are in Russia does not help one bit in making us love what's wrong in this country.

You close with the phrase that "Babe in the woods that Robeson is politically, he is still a magnificent singer, a glorious actor, a great hearted boy-of-a-man." Just when does a Negro cease to be a "boy-of-a-man" and get to be just a plain "man"?

Negroes deeply resent the calling of one of their own with the tremendous accomplishments of Robeson politically and otherwise, a "babe in the woods politically, and a boy-of-a-man."

PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

History has not yet recorded whether the Progressive party, Robeson's political faith, is to become America's political philosophy.

The writer of this item believes that without the Progressive party and the tremendous leadership that Paul Robeson has given it, America this day would be in the throes of a bitter war or the world would already be destroyed. This writer is fully convinced that Harry Truman would not be president of the United States today, had he not stolen bodily the philosophy and principles of the Progressive party, the political party Paul Robeson so seriously influences.

In the light of all this, I consider the "babe in the woods politically" pronouncement naive to say the least.

LEADERSHIP.

I might also add that the title of your editorial is in the improper tense for without question one Negro leader, Paul Robeson has seen the truth, and with God's help, he will help the rest of his people to see the truth.

Sooner or later they will see the truth in spite of the degenerate philosophy that the only avenue to first class citizenship is the long never ending process of education . . . . and yes, sooner or later, they will see that 'Uncle Toming'. turning the other cheek, praying and wishful thinking will not fill the need . . . . that nothing short of courageous, unselfish, determination and action will fill the bill and it might well be that that spirit, and type of leadership will be supplied by a giant black man, one Paul Robeson—**Charles P. Howard, National Committeeman, Progressive Party of Iowa, P. O. Box 203 Des Moines.**

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Statement

Paul Robeson on Negro America

By Richard Carter

Paul Robeson, a Negro whose every breath is devoted to thunderous defiance of his people's oppressors, laid Roi Ottley's manuscript on the table.

"This sort of thing," he said, "is becoming more familiar. I think that until quite recently the emphasis was on apologizing for Jim Crow, but lately we find some writers and politicians and scholars and social workers, Negro and white, openly suggesting that the Negro is making giant strides, hinting that the worst is over, pointing to Ralph Bunche and Marian Anderson and Jackie Robinson and Spaulding, the insurance man, and trying to make the point that their success is proof that Jim Crow is on its last legs."

He lit a cigarette, took a few puffs, looked closely at us to make sure everything was clear thus far, and then resumed in that deep voice:

"You can't weigh the success of 1 per cent of a people against the degradation forced on 99 per cent. Just because there are a couple of Negro bankers in Durham, N. C., dancing to the tune of the trusts which own the tobacco industry, it doesn't mean things are looking up for the Negro people. My cousins, who work in those Carolina tobacco fields, would certainly testify to that.

"Just because there is a Joe Louis, a Marian Anderson, a Paul Robeson, doesn't mean that opportunity awaits all Negro children. I think the duty of a Paul Robeson—or of any other Negro who has managed somehow to get by in this country—is to help the rest of his people find freedom. His duty is not to use his favorable position as an excuse for saying that the Negro people are making giant strides."

The cigarette was crushed out.

Having declared yesterday that Negro education is making its "greatest strides" in the North, and having assured us that "no blanket indictment can be leveled at the South," Roi Ottley then made it possible for the reader to discover that the education afforded the Negro people is still a disgrace to American democracy.

He continues in this rich vein today and we certainly are not going to contradict him.

Robeson thumbed the Ottley manuscript. "It's nonsensical, you know, to say the Negro people are making giant strides," he snapped, "It's impossible to say it, unless you have no regard for the Negro talent and richness that Jim Crow stifles every five minutes."

And then Robeson got on the theme which brought screaming headlines not long ago and propelled some conservative Negro leaders into a dither of denial that Robeson spoke for them. "What," asked Paul Robeson, "are we Americans traditionally glad to die for?

"I'll tell you what we are glad to die for—the sanctity of the individual, our dignity as human beings. Can Ottley say that he or I have basic human dignity in this country? We can be insulted and we are insulted at every turn. We are told to be patient and in the meantime we are treated as sub-humans."

Time out to light another cigarette and then: "I said we are told to be patient while we continue being treated as sub-humans. And now an Ottley comes along and tries to tell us we're making strides. I know, and so does every decent American with an eye in his head, that the Negro people are impoverished and held subject. No American can argue otherwise. Oh, he can argue otherwise, but he can't argue seriously."

Robeson said he is convinced that an attempt is being made to use the upper crust Negro as a spokesman of "patience" among less fortunate Negroes. He recalled that several attempts have been made to purchase his convictions and send him forth as an apostle of "faith in the banks and their puppet politicians."

He grinned. "I tell those people that any Negro who tries to hold back the militant struggle of his own people won't be around very long to enjoy the fruits of his treachery. The Negro people will continue to fight back and will continue to seek full freedom, which they demand not for the next century, not for next year, but for now."

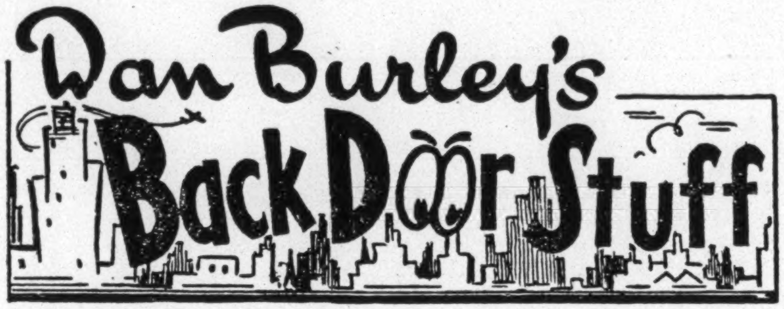
And now back to Roi Ottley. We must call attention to two of several weaknesses in his article. One is his re-use of the term "high costs of segregation" in an apparent effort to suggest that it costs too much money to continue segregating Negroes.

We said the other day that the real cost of segregation is the human cost: the Negro brains and skills and talents and energies lost to the country, the Negro lives snuffed out. But if Ottley wants to discuss the financial aspects of Jim Crow, he might as well understand that if Jim Crow were not profitable to those who enforce it, there would be no Jim Crow.

A second weakness is found in his passage on the end of segregated education in Indiana. Between now and the effective date in 1954, you can be sure school zones will be gerrymandered so that Negro students will continue to attend Negro schools, just as they do in this city, and New Rochelle and Hempstead, L. I., and practically everywhere else in the North.

The roots of segregated education, as Ottley himself acknowledged but now forgets, lie in segregated housing. The roots of segregated housing lie at the roots of our Jim Crow society.

THE NEW YORK AGE, Saturday, July 23, 1949, Page 17



ON BLACK SUDDENLY TURNED "RED"

DOWN IN WASHINGTON, THEY'RE ASKING this Negro and that Negro if they are Reds or if they'd like to be one or if they ever heard of another Negro who might smell like one. And some Negroes are down there pointing their fingers in the best tradition of A Harlem stoolpigeon who learned how to do it on Beale Street in Memphis or Perdido Street in New Orleans before being chased to New York. Howinell can a Negro be Red when he's Black? Nobody ever stops to figure that one out. And remember:: they ain't asking a single Irishman, Italian, Pole, Hungarian, Romanian, Yugo-Slav, Czechoslovak, Bulgarian, Armenian, Chinaman or Israelite if the rest of their race here in the U. S. might belong on the q.t. to the Reds and are secretly plotting to help blow up everybody, including the dear, untouchable crackers parading around in dirty bedsheets in Alabama.

* * * * *

All they want to know is what "are the Negroes thinking about?" Hell. What can a Negro think about except how he can get hold of something, including a Cadillac, and try to lighten up some of the pressure they put on him? There might be some "Red" Negroes around but they aren't Red the way the House Committee on Un-American Activities would have it. The kind of "Red" Negro I'm talking about is raw inside from being made to drink the segregated waters of Georgia and Mississippi and eat the hot dogs of race hate in Alabama and Tennessee where they also whip the outside of his hide with blackjacks and pistol butts and pisselm clubs and sometimes barbed wire to be doubly sure he'll be "Red" all over. That kind of Negro was born "Red" and will be "Red" when they bury him in some Jim Crow cemetery so his black corpse won't bump into that of some lilywhite man when the bones final-y and at long last get chummy and start goosing one another under he sod.

* * * * *

SOME COTTON TOP NEGROES HAVE BEEN GOOSED up to go before the Committee down in Washington and "Yassuh, Boss, we'uns is puffeckly satisfied" with the way we all are being booted around. Well, those cotton tops are born in every age, period and clime, and the book shows that the world started off on a stool pigeon kick when old man Adam, back in the Garden of Eden, almost rubbed his nose off pointing to his old lady, Eve, as the one who passed him the red part of the apple. And she snitched on the snake to keep him crawling the rest of his life. So what? Moses caught hell trying to get his people away from Pharoah. Daniel had to jive like hell to beat that "eat 'em alive" rap in the lion's den because somebody rubbed his nose or flapped his ear towards him, and Jesus got crucified when Judas tipped up ahead of the mob and slobbered kisses on his cheek. So, what? You're a "good N——r" raised by the "white folks" and entitled to a special section in the Jim Crow part of heaven, when and if you ever get there, if you sneak off and tell the boss about the crap game in the watermelon patch off of which he won't get his cut.

That's why you've got to nod your head in favor of the Urban League's Lester Granger and Fisk University's Charley Johnson who didn't get rubber knees when they went before the Committee loaded down with Congressmen from states where they slow the train down to 80 miles an hour so you can jump off in a sand pit. I boot phony educators and social workers around in here quite often, but there are some who think above being able to say "I had dinner with J. P. Morgan's chauffeur in the Wedgewood Room where it is so exclusive" (meaning that you can't come in there unless you're wearing a waiter's coat or have a mop and pail in your hand.) They're the kind we need out in front, I mean Granger, Johnson, etc.

* * * * *

AND DID ANYBODY STOP TO THINK THAT if they call Paul Robeson down to Washington to testify about what he thinks concerning the Reds that they'll let him suffer the same fate of Ralph Bunche who was down there to tell some people how he straightened things out for the Jews and couldn't get in the hotel where he was the guest of honor? Not a single Negro going down there to get some publicity or because their bossman told 'em to go down can stay in any of the ultra-slick hotels because they're lilywhite. Our witnesses must live in the Whitelaw Hotel, at Jean Clore's Guest House, Carver Hall or jive somebody into letting 'em sleep in the extra room, because the Committee don't give a damn where they stay just so long as they don't sleep in the same hotels and places with its members. And not one of 'em can ride the Coast Line parlor car—even if they pay for it—straight into Key West.

What the House Un-American Committee should be interested in is why Negroes are spending all their money in buying up so many short-term items like Cadillacs and fancy clothes. There would be the point of a good investigation. They'd find that our people are finding it hopeless and taking the short and easy way out. Earn it and spend it quick. You can't do anything else. You can make a million dollars the way they run things here but whereinell can you spend it? At the greasy spoon restaurant around the corner? At the rundown fly-infested farmhouse on the outhouse side of the resort village operated for and by colored? At the neighborhood meat market that specializes in "blue chicken" and "soda-dipped" pork, guaranteed to kill every damn one of us if we eat too much of it, except that our bellies will digest chicken claws because we've never been conditioned for anything else? Where else can your old lady buy a dress save at the cut-rate place on the side street since (meaning most places outside NY) the store owners don't want 'em trying on dresses and hats, claiming they can't get that "peculiar Negro" odor out of them or because greasy heads will ruin the hats? You're damn right we're "Reds" but not the kind they're trying to sweat out of Robeson and use as gravy for the rest of us.

Afro

He Counted Red Noses

7/23/49

Alvin Stokes, who told the Un-American Activities Committee last Wednesday that there were only 1400 colored communists in Americ

CHICAGO DEFENDER
[23 JULY 1949]

National GRAPEVINE

By CHARLEY CHEROKEE

Your Lips Tell Me No, No

WE WERE mopping our brow with a gay-colored handkerchief as we went in to hear Jackie Robinson shoot off his mouth before the Un-American Affairs Committee. A clerk stopped us and asked if we were a witness. Indignantly, we held up our handkerchief so she could see it was not a bandana.

Jackie didn't show, disappointing Committee, spectators and newsreel cameramen. He promises to come Monday (July 18). He has already been talking to newsmen about how loyal he is and that Paul Robeson speaks only for himself. Personally, we think Jackie is one helluva ball player and we wish he would shut his big mouth and get back on 2nd base. As a politician, he also speaks only for himself.

One of the big four in the Negro Press, we are happy to note, is not blinded by star dust and points out editorially that when Jackie speaks of what he has gained he is thinking of himself. When Paul Robeson speaks of what is happening to colored people in the name of democracy, he is thinking of a race.

Meanwhile, the Committee heard colored Alvin Stokes who says he has been hired by the Committee since 1947 and has been investigating communism among Negroes. He got in some good licks for NAACP and Urban League, but based on value of his report we would say the Committee wasted a lot of money on Alvin.

Heard also was Jewish Rabbi Ben Schultz, who, in addition to being wrong, was loud. His denunciations in name of his American League Against Communism sounded exactly like Hitler's denunciation of Jews.

Tom Young of The Journal & Guide; George Hunton of the Catholic Interracial Council; Lester Granger, Clarence Clark of Pittsburgh; Charley Johnson of Fisk, and Manning Johnson, testified but not one of them took full advantage of a golden opportunity to identify Communism among Negroes as a "red herring" and to tell Congress once for all what Negroes really think about U. S. democracy.

Personally, we have not been able to find out what the Committee is trying to prove. But if it's that Negroes will fight for their right to be mistreated by whites in America rather than in Russia, they succeeded.

Quick Glance At the News

'49

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(Courier News Editor)

Aug 5

Walter White finally admits he's married to Poppy Cannon. Said o himself in New Delhi, India. And Poppy was with him. She calls him her "charming and gentle knight." Odds are 100 to 1 that he won't return to his NAACP post . . . Red Caps throughout the nation re raising big fuss over move to raise bag fee from 10 cents to 25 cents. That would cut their tips.

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Now they are blaming everything on Paul Robeson. When a colored man in Knoxville refused to move to the rear of a bus, a cop told him: "You're just like Paul Robeson." . . . That doctor in Los Angeles, William Henderson, found guilty of trying to kill his pretty wife, drew a sentence of one to fourteen years.

* * *

Forty-two Negro officers and enlisted men were among the 1,470 members of the Army recently appointed Warrant Officers Junior Grade in the Regular Army. Examinations for the warrants were given to more than 5,200 applicants . . . House of Representatives approved **Congressman Dawson's resolution** endorsing U. S. participation in Haitian centennial celebration.

* * *

Dr. George Kelsey, formerly of Atlanta, has been elected to trustee board of Newton Theological Institute . . . **Dr. John W. Burney** was buried in Atlanta last week. He practiced in the Gate City thirty-five years . . . Governor Talmadge is maintaining a "do nothing" attitude about the Klan, but the city of Albany in the State of Georgia has **banned wearing of masks** on parades and gatherings.

* * *

Police in New Orleans last week **jailed seventy persons** after raiding a lotto game . . . Atlanta now claims a **Negro disc jockey.** He's Roosevelt Johnson of WBGE . . . **Musician Frank J. Clark** of the Jack McVey band in San Francisco was shot to death last week. Los Angeles postal clerk Sam Chambray was arrested in connection with the shooting. Fatal shooting followed argument over use of hot water, police said . . . Park Commission in Los Angeles has been urged to rename a park for **Dr. Ralph Bunche.**

* * *

Texas College at Tyler will dedicate **its $93,000 stadium** Sept. 24 . . . The "colored Mayor" of Mobile, Ala., Anton C. Anderson, has **sued Editor** I. H. Rhone of the Gulf Informer, charging libel. Suit was filed after Rhone's paper aired Anderson's marital affairs.

* * *

"Deacon" William Jackson of Mobile collected a tidy sum "for the church" and probably would have collected more had not the law discovered that "the church" and "the deacon" were one and the same. Jackson admitted he wanted to pay his debts. A judge fined him $500 and added six months at hard labor.

* * *

Two Negroes killed last week in jails in Buford and Sparta (Georgia) started citizens wondering if the Talmadge state has adopted a new lynch pattern . . . Georgia's Fulton County (Atlanta) **will pay new teachers,** colored and white, same salary, starting September, 1950 . . . **Ralph Bunche High School** is nearing completion in King George County (Virginia). School erected at cost of $150,000.

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Another **housing project** for Nashville has been promised . . . **Prof. Hugh Julius Johnson Sr.,** principal of Cemeron Junior High School, Nashville, was buried last week. He was 55.

* * *

Mrs. Mabel Crews purchased a home in one of Richmond's so-called white sections. Vandals almost wrecked the house before Mrs. Crews and her son, James, moved in. Mrs. Crews asked for police protection, but didn't get it. Last week, whites fired into the house. **Son James fired back.** James Cheek, white, was shot in the head. Cheek placed charges against young Crews, and Mrs. Crews filed charges against Cheek and another white man, Teddy Hall.

* * *

The Rev. Clarence J. Howard, priest of Bay St. Louis, Miss., recently declared that all Catholic universities in the South should open their doors to all qualified students regardless of race. The priest is a Negro . . . Catholics will dedicate **St. Lucy's School,** Sept. 18, in Houma, La. The institution will be attended by Negroes.

* * *

National Negro Funeral Directors Association, Inc., meeting in Atlanta last week, elected **John W. Delaney,** Cincinnati, president of the organization. Over 300 delegates attended . . . "Home of the Brave," the much discussed interracial picture, opened last Thursday at a downtown theatre in Memphis. Memphians just **can't understand** this. Censors in Memphis always turn down pictures that include Negroes . . . Two youths, J. C. Winters and Nehemiah Green, were electrocuted Friday in Alabama's Kilby prison.

Guess Who's Who's Who!

NEW YORK — The 1949 definitive, biographical encyclopedia of the English-speaking world, "Who's Who" which has just been issued by the MacMillan Company here in America, is reported to contain the names of only two American Negroes, Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

This is the original "Who's Who" first published in England in 1848 and the model for other more recent imitations such as "Who's Who in America," etc. This conservative publication, in its 3,080 pages covering the world, admits comparatively few Americans.

Paul Robeson's name has been included in this encyclopedia for several years back. Dr. DuBois name appears there for the first time in the present edition. They are respectively, chairman and vice chairman of the Council on African Affairs.

Pittsburgh
Courier Aug. 20, '49

WHAT THE ... PEOPLE THINK

Aug, [illegible]

'Thanks to God We Now Have Robeson'

To the Editor:

I am hoping that you can find space enough to print this letter. I am speaking of Paul Robeson and his opinion. I am not trying to speak for fifteen million people, but I am speaking for myself. Unless there is a lot of changes made in the near future, I am 99 and 44/100 per cent with him.

As for him being an undesirable citizen there are about one hundred and forty-four million more here ,in the same shape. I believe the Indians feel the same way about it.

Negroes have one of the greatest weapon of all time; threatening to turn (Red). They should thank Mr. Robeson for giving it to them, and use it.

Now we have that great Paul Robeson and don't know how to appreciate him.

I am a licensed real estate and insurance broker and can not earn a living at it because of prejudice. Banks and loan companies will not give me a decent loan on property because I am colored, or the people I am selling to are colored.

There is not an insurance company in San Francisco that will accept insurance from me on automobiles. But they will take it from a white broker so he can sell to the colored people.

Thanks to God we now have Paul Robeson, and may God bless him. I don't blame the white people for being angry at him. He is telling the truth and it hurts them; because he is so right. They always did hurt when it was spoken here and anywhere else. His statement hit them right where it will do the most good.

I put my life on the line in World War II for nothing but three long years overseas ducking bullets. God saved it for me because He knew I was a fool and didn't know what I was doing. The next time I am going to think twice before acting.

C. CHARLES DeBIEW
San Francisco, Calif.

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"I KNOW THE IRISH PEOPLE"

SAYS PAUL ROBESON

In an exclusive interview with the 'IRISH DEMOCRAT'

PAUL ROBESON, famous progressive Negro singer, told me in a special interview here for the "Irish Democrat" the part which knowledge of the Irish people's struggle had in his development into the passionate champion of all oppressed peoples which he is to-day.

I spoke to him at the climax of his great European tour during which he sang and spoke to something like 500,000 people in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France and England. His songs, fighting songs, of the oppressed Negroes and of the workers' struggle in America had just moved the 15,000 capacity crowd that packed Prague's open-air winter stadium to a pitch of wild enthusiasm.

Renounced Connection

In Denmark Robeson renounced all connection with the newspaper "Politiken" which was sponsoring his concert tour there when he learned that that paper had come out in support of the Atlantic War Pact. When the paper broke off the contract, he commented "I will be glad to sing for the Danish people for nothing. From now on I will get the workers down from the gallery to the orchestra seats. The rich will have to be content with records." Thousands of people heard his message and his songs at great open-air gatherings in Oslo and Copenhagen.

"I know the historic struggles and terrific sufferings of the Irish people," Robeson told me. "I have sung in Ireland very often during the last years." He got to know the Irish people, "especially in the countryside in and around Cork. They understood me and felt that I belonged to them because of their own long history of British oppression."

While speaking to Robeson and remarking the warm humanity which he felt for the people's cause everywhere, whether the people were black or white, I couldn't help contrasting the sincerity and the breadth of his feeling with the aloofness towards the sufferings of other small nations characteristic of one of the alleged champions of the Irish people's interests.

Australian

An Australian friend tells me of a revealing incident during de Valera's tour of Australia on an anti-partition speaking campaign. At one meeting in Melbourne, at which incidentally Ireland's national demands were heard in sympathy, the former Irish Premier was asked what he thought of the policy of British imperialism towards the new State of Israel.

De Valera's haughty answer must have lost him a certain amount of the sympathy which his eloquence had gained. He had no views on Israel, which didn't concern him. All he was interested in was Ireland! My Australian friend admits that he was amazed by what struck him as a profoundly narrow outlook. "How can he expect to get world-wide support for Irish unity when he shows such contempt for other people's problems?" he asked. "If de Valera isn't concerned with other people's sufferings and injustices, how can they be concerned with his?"

I was thinking too of a letter in the same strain which appeared in the "Irish Democrat" complaining that too much space was devoted to the struggles of other peoples which "did not concern" the Irish people. So I put the question to Robeson: "You are a great fighter for the interests of the Negro people both in America and in Africa. Why then are you concerned with the sufferings of other peoples, and why don't you devote all your time to fighting for your own people and let the others fight their own battles too?"

Answer

Robeson's ready answer was revealing both as to the depth of his own understanding of the world-wide struggle of the working people of all lands, as well as to the narrowness of the outlook of the capitalist politicians in Ireland who profess to speak for the Irish people.

"You cannot separate the different struggles of the peoples," he declared. "I am able to fight and sing and speak for the working class of the world because the Negroes are of the working class."

"You know, there were not only Negro slaves in America," he remarked, "but Irish labourers were taken to the West Indies and America to be sold as indentured servants and were in effect slaves just as we were."

Any People

Robeson added with emphasis: "Any action against the people anwhere is, to me, an attack on my own people. What happens to the Irish people is as close to me as what happens to the Negroes in America and Africa."

The great Negro singer explained to me how witnessing the sufferings of people elsewhere helped to awaken him to fight for his own people. "A lot of my development in the wider struggle as far as the Negro people are concerned was against the background of Britain and Ireland," he said. "In the Welsh coal mines I saw that the Welsh miners were suffering just as much as the Negro miners of Maryland and Alabama." Among the dock workers of London and Glasgow he found the same understanding for the Negro people's plight as he did in Ireland.

"That is the reason I fight for peace with the new democracies of eastern Europe," he said. "That is why I told the Senate committee in America that I am the friend of all peoples."

Paul Robeson is no politician, and he has none of the characteristics of one, nor the glib phrases. He, speaks as he feels and believes, and his words carry a conviction lacking in the familiar jargon of our local professional orators. But it was in such plain terms that he gave me what I regarded as a lesson in internationalism which no doctrinaire could have put so vividly.

Obvious

He seemed to regard it as so obvious as hardly to require comment that all peoples and nations fighting for liberty and independence should join hands and aid each other in the struggle—especially as to-day they all have one common enemy—the imperialism which is threatening the independence of all nations in its preparations for war against socialism and for capitalist "markets."

In the same straight speech he told me "The Irish struggle must be merged with the struggles of all other progressive peoples, or otherwise they will never obtain their fredom."

"The Irish people should understand this very well," he added, making it clear that he believed the peoples everywhere possessed an ingrained internationalist spirit, that it was only the politicians who tried to hide it. He felt this spirit in the way he was received by the Irish people.

The de Valeras are not internationalist, for to link hands with the Greeks, the Indonesians, the people of Viet-Nam in their struggle for existence against the rapacity of imperialism would be to bring Ireland decisively into the anti-imperialist camp. And the de Valeras are not anti-imperialists. They are flirting with imperialism in the hope of obtaining crumbs from the robber's table.

Towering

As I stood beside the towering figure of the great Negro, peoples' singer, I got the impression—"de Valera the pygmy, Paul Robeson the giant"—a giant not only in physical stature but in his embodiment of the powerful force of millions of workers and oppressed people throughout the world. And a pygmy embodying all the narrowness of the capitalist, nationalist politician.

Robeson concluded, shaking me warmly by the hand, by wishing the best to the Irish workers, adding "I hope to be in Ireland again some time very soon."

JACK BENNETT

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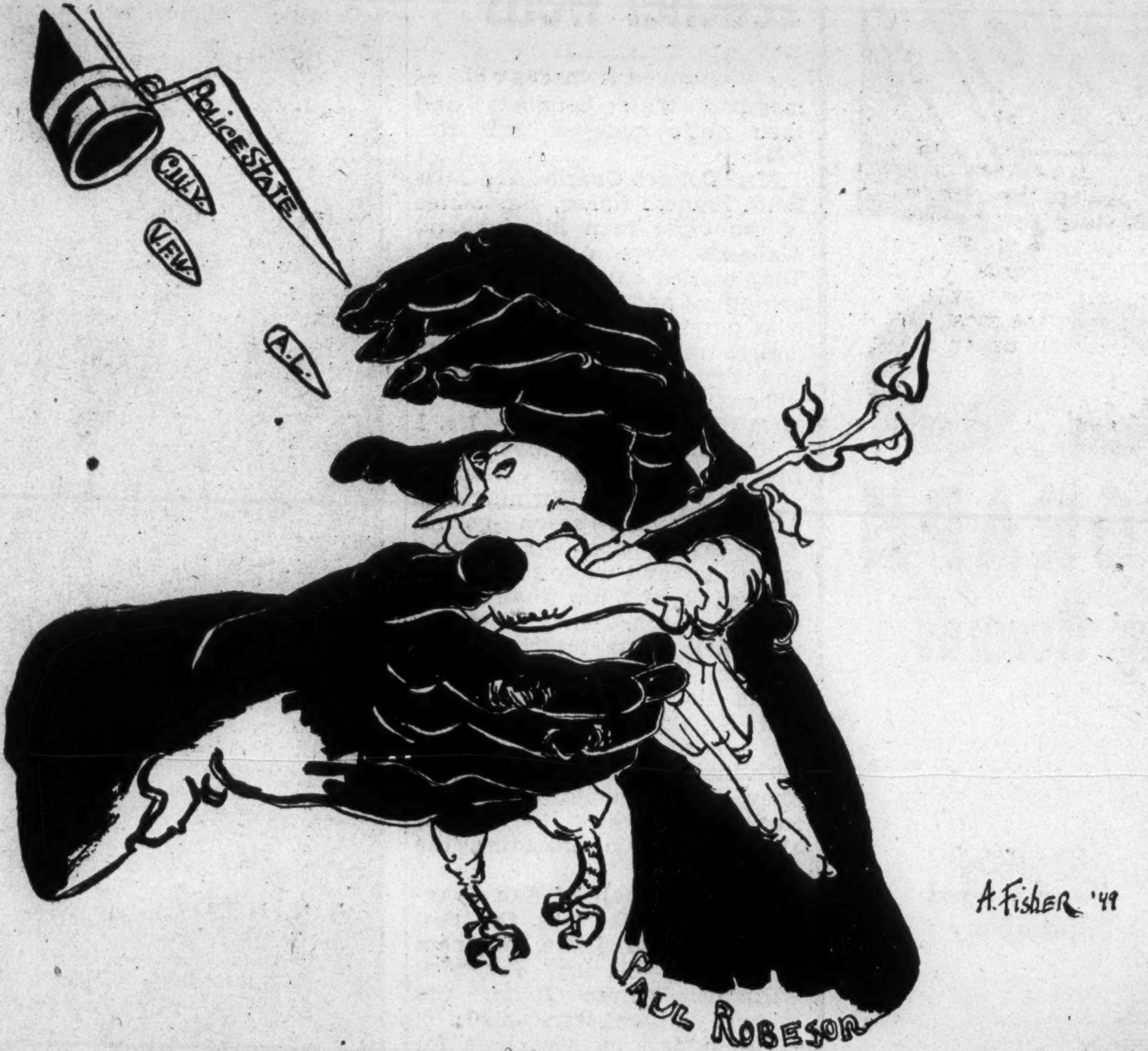
Calif. Eagle Sept. 1, 1949

We Shall Not Be Moved


POLICE STATE
C.W.V.
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PAUL ROBESON
A. FISHER '49

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

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CO

OGRAPH

ng Records

Beautiful
Hand-rubbed
Mahogany

Popular Kansas Teacher Weds

(Continued from Page 8)

matched their bouquets and their mitts matched their ribbons.

Mrs. Dolores Quarles and Miss Nella Frances Harris, classmates of the bride from Birmingham, Alabama wore orchid gowns. They carried bouquets of yellow carnations and white mums, tied with purple ribbons. Their headdresses matched their bouquets and their mitts matched their ribbons.

McMURRAY No. 1

Mesdames Helen Myers and Eva Moore, another classmate of the bride from Birmingham, Alabama, wore green gowns. They carried bouquets of ping carnations and white mums tied with pink ribbons. Their headdresses matched their bouquets and their mitts matched their ribbons.

The flower girls, Joan Pearl and Shearon Best wore long, full skirted gowns with rounded necklines and fitted bodices. They carried white baskets of rose petals which they strew along the aisle preceding the bride.

Lloyd Marshall of San Francisco, California, was the best man; Bernard Grice, Kenneth Myers, Ray Rucker, Frederick Williams, Warren Taylor and Wilbert Williams were ushers.

The bride's mother chose for her daughter's wedding, a heavenly powder blue, lace and taf-

Courier Sept 17 '49

Robeson Speaks To ALP Session

Paul Robeson headed the list of guest speakers when the American Labor Party State Committee held its nominating convention for U. S. Senator and Judge of the Court of Appeals on Tuesday evening, Sept. 13, at the City Center Casino.

Congressman Vito Marcantonio delivered a major campaign address at the convention.

An Exclusive Interview

PAUL ROBESON'S STORY:

Progressive
39 Park Ave.
New York City, 16, N.Y.

NEW YORK
SEABOARD EDITION OF The Pittsburgh Courier
AMERICA'S BEST WEEKLY

VOL. XL—No. 38 PITTSBURGH, PA., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1949 Member Audit Bureau of Circulations PRICE 15 CENTS

By LEM GRAVES JR., Courier Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK—Who, what and why is Paul Robeson?

Because the great baritone has been lifted out of the world of concert artists and projected, amid spectacular fanfare, upon the world political and ideological stage, many Negro citizens are beginning to wonder what manner of man is this articulate advocate.

The questions and the answers—such as one can separate from the doctrine which inevitably accompanies any inquiry into controversial matters—are important because no matter what side of the raging controversy Americans are disposed to take, Paul Robeson is now, and probably will continue to be for a long time, an important and a symbolic figure.

Changes of expression picture the graphic Robeson story.

The questions were put to Mr. Robeson in an exclusive interview by The Courier last week in the seclusion of a New York apartment. The questions and the answers are complicated somewhat by the fact that Mr. Robeson has, in the minds of a large number of Americans, two distinct public personalities. One is that of the militant advocate of racial equality and human rights and the other is that of the affectionate apostle of Soviet Communism.

PITTSBURGH COURRIL
[17 SEP 1949]

To Mr. Robeson and his faithful followers, there is no inconsistency in these two personalities. To many other Americans, Soviet Communism and civil rights are regarded as basically incompatible. In order to make up their minds about Paul Robeson—something Negro Americans have generally decided that they must do—they must resolve the dilemma. Mr. Robeson's answers may be helpful.

* * *

WHO IS PAUL ROBESON? Without reviewing all the biographical details, it is appropriate to point out that he was born of poor slave parents in the country club atmosphere of Princeton, N. J., where, he says, the rich white college boys heaped indignities upon his family. He was raised by impoverished relatives on an eastern Carolina farm. He did menial jobs to gain an education, became one of the greatest all-around athletes in U. S. college history, and, in the process of winning a Phi Beta Kappa key, established a record of scholarship which still stands at Rutgers University. He became a successful actor, and won international acclaim as one of the finest baritones in musical history. Recently, he and those who came to hear him sing were brutally stoned and beaten by state troopers, young hoodlums, organized veterans and assorted club-swinging cops in nearby Peekskill.

* * *

WHY? When asked this, Mr. Robeson became understandably bitter. He attributed the infamous riot to "fascist elements which are determined that a Negro shall not have freedom in this country." He added that he was amazed because he didn't believe Governor Dewey would be stupid enough to allow this to happen.

* * *

WHAT DOES ROBESON WANT? In his own words: "World peace and racial justice." On the question of peace, Robeson refused to even contemplate a war between the United States and the Soviet Union. He said: "America knows she cannot fight Russia now," pointedly implying that America could not win a war with Russia. Since he thinks only in terms of peace, he said, he would not discuss war with Russia. At the same time he works for peace, said Mr. Robeson, he also works for genuine freedom for black people the world over. He declared that he is interested in the people of Africa and the West Indies because he sees no hope for U. S. Negroes so long as any black people are enslaved or terrorized. He believes

(Continued on Page 5, Col. 3)

THE PITTSBUR

Paul Robeson Tells His Story

(Continued from Page 1)

that Negroes should have their civil rights in America and he says he has dedicated his energies to that fight.

* * *

DOES HE WANT A NEW KIND OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM IN AMERICA? Mr. Robeson said he wanted justice and equality in this country under "any kind of system the people want . . . I don't want America to adopt a system for which it is not ready . . . This country is not ready for either the socialization which was adopted in England or the system which is in operation in Russia. But it is ready for the extension of democratic principles such as was outlined by Roosevelt . . . Truman is tied to the reactionary elements in this country and we are not getting the New Deal which Roosevelt envisioned." He wants a division of the wealth, "to eliminate the situation where 1 per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the wealth."

* * *

DOES HE LOVE THE SOVIET UNION? "Yes, I have a deep affection for the Soviet Union . . . and I will not cease to have that affection . . . When I was there, I walked the streets with manly dignity for the first time in my life." He denies that Soviet communism is synonymous with fascist terror, oppression, and denial of liberty.

* * *

DOES HE LOVE AMERICA? "I do not love and will not fight to protect the America that is Rankin, Forrestal, the Duponts, or the Peekskill mob . . . I love the land, the traditions of freedom and liberty (although we have not realized the freedom the system is supposed to offer) and I love the people who were on my side up at Peekskill."

* * *

WHY DOESN'T HE GO BACK TO RUSSIA? This question, said Robeson, is ridiculous. He asserted: "I could go to any number of countries and do very well. But this is my native land. I stayed abroad for many years, but decided that I had to come back and fight the forces of reaction which were oppressing my people . . . I am willing to brave Dewey's storm troopers and to take any risks in order to continue the fight for democracy in my native land."

* * *

WHAT DOES HE HOPE TO GAIN? MARTYRDOM? A POSITION AS A "BLACK STALIN" COME THE REVOLUTION?" Neither, replies Robeson. He adds that he did not create the situation which has resulted in his martyrdom. He went to Peekskill to sing. He did not speak. "My followers were peaceful . . . It was the forces of reaction which precipitated the violence." As for the charge that he has aspirations to be a "Black Stalin," Mr. Robeson answered that he was in no way trained for political leadership. He said he merely wanted to sing. However, he declared, when he made the "surprising" discovery that he was in the international spotlight as a result of casual remarks he made in Paris, he decided that he would not retreat, that he would not deny the statements attributed to him and that he would assume the rôle of militant advocate.

* * *

DOES HE BELIEVE THAT HIS RADICAL POSITION WILL HASTEN THE END OF RACIAL OPPRESSION? Mr. Robeson declined to say that such a thought was a strategic consideration. (In some of the things Mr. Robeson has said on previous occasions, there was the implication that he considered the radical approach to the problem of discrimination strategically necessary.) He does say emphatically that his is the radical approach and he indicated that he would never abandon this course until all the evils of American life are corrected.

* * *

IS HE A COMMUNIST? He said he wouldn't answer that question for a Congressional committee and he wouldn't answer it for Courier readers. But he did say: "I have a perfect right to be a Communist if I want to be. The Communist party is a legal American party."

Would he approve of a revolution in the U. S.? He answered that he did not think a physical revolution would be successful and added that he disliked physical violence.

* * *

WHAT ARE HIS FUTURE PLANS? First, he wants about ten days of vacation, free from the stresses and strains of his recent experiences. Then he wants to start production of two plays, "Othello," which he will back with his own money, and "Prometheus Bound," for which he believes he can find the money. Then he wants to do some more concerts.

Mr. Robeson said he did not plan to make a tour of the South, as reported by a New York newspaper. He does not plan any specific engagements of a political nature although he will not retreat from controversial situations which are provoked in connection with his singing tours. He will attend a few meetings of a quasi-political nature growing out of the recent "incidents."

He does not plan a return to Peekskill although he declared he would accept any invitations to appear there for the third time. He asserted that he achieved his aim when he went back on the Labor Day week-end.

Projected into the international spotlight—partly by his own design and partly by the inept and vicious tactics of New York State Police—Paul Robeson is today a figure of tremendous power and appeal. As he closed his interview with this reporter, he asked a significant question:

> "Will America grant to its minorities full freedom, civil rights, and personal dignity or will it turn to fascist oppression as did the 'storm triopers' of Germany, Italy, and Peekskill?"

* * *

DOES HE WANT RUSSIAN DOMINATION OF THIS COUNTRY? No, he says, he wants the poor and underprivileged to have a decent break whether they are white or black.

Afro

Sept. 24, 1949

Halls in 2 Ohio Cities Closed to Paul Robeson

Cincinnati School Board, Akron Armory Officials Fear Violence From Concerts

CINCINNATI—Owners of auditoriums in two major Ohio cities last week closed the doors to scheduled concerts by Paul Robeson, distinguished baritone and valiant crusader for human rights.

The Board of Education here, on Sept. 12, unanimously rejected an application for use of Stowe Junior High School for a concert by Robeson in October.

The board said such a cultural program "would not contribute to the welfare of the community," sustaining John Locke, director of community relations for the public schools, who originally denied the application.

Akron Fears Violence

In Akron, on Sept. 13, members of the Armory board returned a rental fee to J. Herman Brown, executive secretary of the Council for Negro and Democratic Rights. The fee was accepted for use of the armory for a concert by Robeson on Oct. 5.

The board refused use of the armory because it feared "violence" might result from the concert. Emerson C. Woolf, lawyer, and superintendent of the armory, said no contract was signed with the sponsor.

Walter N. Kirn, who dissented with his colleagues, said, in referring to Robeson and his Communist supporters: "I detest the ground they stand on, but I think they should be permitted to talk."

REPORT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Sept 24, 1949 N.Y. Times

That doughty defender of the Bill of Rights, the American Civil Liberties Union, raises some difficult questions in its current report, made public Saturday. It is critical of our occupation policy in Germany and Japan—unduly so, one might suggest, in view of recent trends in both countries—and it thinks it detects a national hysteria exceeding "in its severity, intolerances and fears" anything comparable since 1920.

Yet its detailed findings are not too discouraging. Its "balance sheet" of acts by public agencies, including the United Nations Assembly, shows fifty-three instances favorable to civil liberties, as compared with sixty-three regarded as unfavorable. Of its correspondents in seventy-five cities in thirty-nine American states half thought civil rights as well sustained as they were a year ago and one-fourth thought there had been improvement. It was appalled by the Justice Department's list of "subversive" organizations, drawn up without public hearings, but it finds "increasing vitality" in the Truman Administration's civil rights program.

One might judge, on the record, that this nation is confused rather than hysterical. With world-wide communism behaving everywhere with complete lack of scruples it is natural for nervous persons to suspect ghosts in every graveyard and burglars under every bed. Some reactionary individuals take advantage of this situation. Yet a courageous appeal to the principles of the Bill of Rights finds its ready response among the great masses of middle-of-the-road Americans. Paul Robeson and his friends have their troubles, but most of us stoutly defend their right to sing and talk. Meanwhile the Civil Liberties Union is a good institution to have in our midst. We need to be reminded, as the Union continually does remind us, that all good citizens of all shades of honest belief share in this country a precious heritage of freedom.

Two Million People Can't Be So Wrong

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. — Those speeches Paul Robeson has been making throughout the foreign countries and in several northern U. S. cities are not the sentiments of 750,000 Negroes in the South, says James T. Bellanfant, and he has the 750,000 signatures to prove it.

A native of Columbia, Tenn., who was one of the 25 defendants in the 1946 race riot trial there, Mr. Bellanfant is director of the Mutual Association of Colored People of the South, which claims 20,000 members.

Bellanfant said here he had covered 13,000 miles in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee collecting signatures on a petition which condemns Mr. Robeson's stand on Russia.

He said that when he has completed his tour of 17 Southern states, he will present the petition to Mr. Robeson personally. He hopes to secure two million signatures.

Pittsburgh Courier, Oct. 1, 1949

Able American Rejected

'Robeson Resents Scorn,' Dorothy Thompson Says

(Special to The Courier)

NEW YORK—They're beginning to pick Paul Robeson apart now in an attempt to find out what makes him tick the way he does. And it all adds up to one thing or several combined—he is brilliant and sensitive, strong and able, and moreover, unafraid and an angry man with a cause.

That in essence is the conclusion of Dorothy Thompson, widely read columnist, in her syndicated piece last Thursday. Paul Robeson she described as ". . . not only a remarkably fine artist; he is a man in whom there is much nobility of spirit.

"The attitude of this country toward him as a Negro and artist has forced him to live in a contradictory world," she wrote, but "his talents have won him international fame (yet) he cannot be sure of accommodations in an American hotel."

The writer pointed out that Robeson as an artist is fawned ıpon when he appears on stage s an artist, and he gets as much this sort of treatment as ank Sinatra and others of his type have been subjected to by "white female exhibitionists'; this from "penthouse revolutionaries to English duchesses—and to his own disgust and embarrassment."

The analysis continues: "He has never been treated normally, but slighted because of his race and fawned upon because of his person. That this should affect his view of our civilization is not surprising. Though it does not excuse him, it does help to explain him."

The article was written in the light of explaining how misguided white Americans play directly into the hands of Communists when mobs such as at Peekskill, N. Y., disrupt Mr. Robeson's concerts and thereby create fuel for violence in order that it might be played up by Red propagandists for tearing down or pointing out weakness in America's vaunted democracy.

— HELP FURNISH NIXON HOME —

Robeson sees Soviet A-bomb as peace force

(For more on Robeson see Page 1)

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 2—In his final message to Los Angeles, Paul Robeson termed the possession of the atomic bomb by the Soviet Union "a powerful force for intensifying the peace struggle in America."

The great Negro leader said at a press conference Saturday afternoon, "Now that the American people know the Soviet Union has the bomb, I believe they will demand our national leaders start talking in terms of peace, not war. For they realize that the atom bomb means destruction and nobody wants to be killed."

SHOULD BE CLEAR

Robeson said he also thought the majority of Americans will now begin to see how "our government leaders have continually used the threat of war against them."

"By holding up the threat of war with the Soviet Union," he said, "they have scared a lot of people half to death. They have aken away our civil liberties, ivided the trade unions.

"I have just come from a tour of Western and Eastern Europe. I have found that nobody's hysterical but us. The great bulk of the people want and talk for peace."

Robeson was enthusiastic bout the success of Friday ight's concert at Wrigley Field.

"I have sung many times in os Angeles," he said, "but no ppearance here has meant so much to me. I have never felt so much like singing and saying the thins I did."

THE CONTRAST

Contrasting the gathering to the Peekskill, N. Y., attack upon earlier concerts, Robeson said the meeting "showed that the American people want real democracy.

"Peekskill," he said, "shocked he whole nation."

Then Robeson leaned forward and, emphasizing his words carefully, said, "But let us never forget that what happened at Peekskill happens every day to he Negro people in Alabama and Mississippi and other Southrn states.

"This is why I keep saying hat the whole core of American democracy, the core of our in-

Persecuted

WHEN they stop me speaking in American Universities because I am "un-American," when they persecute the best progressives in America because they are supposed to be more concerned with other nations than their own, I ask them whether they have not yet realised that to-day no nation can live by itself. Every nation is part of the world.

We are constantly told in America that we are part of the Western world (I would note in passing that this geographical designation includes Turkey and Japan).

They tell me that my son, aged 21, as an American, is part of a revived Fascist Western Germany, that as an American I am part of a nation that is beginning to filter funds to Franco, that is aiding Fascist Greece and reactionary Turkey, that is about to begin another rape of Africa

I belong to another America. I will not belong to Franco's world: I belong to the world of Republican Spain, of resistance Greece and the new democracies. I belong to the America which seeks friendship with the Soviet Union. I am a friend of Israel, not of the oil interests; I am a friend of the new China, not of a revived Fascist Japan.

I, too, am America.

(World Copyright)

Pitts Courier
10/1/49

Scott Answers Winchell

Robeson Backed On Freedom Stand

NEW YORK—A quick rebuttal was made by Neil Scott Sunday night to Walter Winchell's hints that Paul Robeson was aiding the Communists to start a world-wide race war.

Scott asserted, "We Negroes disagree violently with Paul Robeson on Russia, but endorse him when he fights lynch mobs, poll tax, segregated residential districts, police brutality, etc.

"It is not important how much money Robeson makes, it's how much freedom does the average American Negro enjoy. Money is important, but freedom is what the average Negro wants, and intends to have

Winchell had stated, "the biggest laugh of the month is that Paul Robeson, who graduated with honors from an American University, and who in one night earns more than the average American earns in a year, says that in America, a Negro hasn't a chance."

Winchell charged that the Communists are striving to start a world-wide race war by propagandizing the millions of brown and black people of Asia and Africa via the Moscow radio. Winchell said that Asians and Africans alike "are benefitting greatly from American help."

— HELP FURNISH NIXON HOME —

Calif. Eagle Oct. 13, '49

Doings About Omaha

by G. Aneita Hayes

The writer of this column along with many Omahans take this week to extend salutations, felicitations and congratulations to the editor of The California Eagle, Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, a superb and fearless little lady on the 70th anniversary of this west coast paper.

After reading the story of this paper's historic sacrifice beginning, one immediately has to warm to editor and become stimulated at the same time. To find a fearless woman editor in times like these, throwing personal progress and self aggrandizement to the winds for the cause of her people and the underprivileged is a rare thing.

This gracious, generous lady of the press is to be admired for the loyal stnd she took toward and for Paul Robeson. Her interest and loyalty toward him stemmed not from the point that he was a communist, Republican or Democrat, but because he was a friend of long years standing, a true American, courageous, brillant and a top artist, a kinsman wanting and speaking out for what every American Negro wants full citizenship as a human being irrespective of color or race. The only difference between Paul Robeson and other Negro leaders being that though they want the same things that he does but make the mistake of playing into the hands of the American politics, white supremists and fascists by joing with them in their adverse criticisms in the press and over the networks against Mr. Robeson because he dares to fight for full democracy and speak out against those in America who prefer mob violence, intolerance and white supremacy at the cost of full citizenship for fifteen million American Negroes.

It is our fervent hope that the editor and the California Eagle may continue its work of fighting for the rights of the Negro and for their full integration into the American pattern of life. May these efforts be supported by a continually growing reading public interested in the magnificent job being done by this fearless unselfish progressive editor and her efficient staff.

Orchids, salutations and Godd Wishes from the Omaha columnist and readers to Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass and for her continued good health and strength in her program for her people.

Test Bus Law

Robeson Is Blamed for Dixie Feud

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. — A high court test of Knoxville's jim-crow law is in the making after two men were fined $5 each in City Court here last week on charges of violating the ordinance.

John Moran, College Homes, and Burl Morrison, 130 Douglas Street, announced they would appeal the fines to Circuit Court. They are accused of occupying seats in the section of a Knoxville Transit Lines bus designated for whites.

A third man, Herman Goin of 1631 Dunbar Street, was fined $5 on charges of disorderly conduct arising from the same incident. Goin who described himself as a "peacemaker" said he would appeal also.

Officers testified Moran and Morrison refused to move from their seats in the white section when told to do so by the bus driver. They quoted Goin as saying repeatedly, "By God, we must be in Russia."

It was brought out in City Court testimony that the inter-city bus contained no vacant seats when the incident cropped up.

Moran testified that he was on his way to work when "police came on the bus cursing."

He quoted one officer as saying: "All you black . . . should be in Russia."

Moran said he offered to board another bus if he were given another car ticket, but that one officer grabbed him by the belt and shoved him from the bus to another policeman. "You want me to shoot

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

CALIFORNIA EAGLE
[13 OCT. 1949]

Labor on the March

Our (Dr. Ruth Alexander's) America

How does one exaggerate an equality that has not yet been corrected like . . . a charred body ludicrously hung by the neck from a tall tree—swaying in a soft Georgia breeze, while a mob of Americans who hate communists, drool and howl with ghoulish satisfaction; or a mother who fought with her sons to defend her honor, languishing in jail where she must remain for the rest of her life; or a young Negro dressed in the uniform of his country's army—blinded (his eyes gouged out) because he sat on a bus where the white folks usually sit?

JOHN M. LEE

How does one exaggerate these things?, and how does one repeat them without offending the sensibilities of so delicate a patriot as Dr. Ruth Alexander who waves the flag in the Hearst Sunday Examiner? What about this America of which Dr. Ruth Alexander speaks? Is it a section of the lynch-minded, lily-white South transplanted in a cozy corner of every community, or is it a state of mind, the capital of which is wishful thinking?

Dr. Alexander is, like hundreds of frenzied white patriots who are willing to forget the seething mass of oppressed Negroes who are lynched, tortured, exposed to disease and economic inequality, while they lash out against the so-called menace of communism. But what about the menace of racism? Every Negro in America (except the 16,000,000 who pass for white) is a second-class citizen; from the eminent Dr. Ralph Johnson Bunche down to the man who empties eyour swill pail on the "salad truck."

And Paul Robeson . . . whom Dr. Alexander says, "We showered (him) with academic, artistic and sports honors"; but she says not a word about the special black man honors to which he automatically fell heir. The honor of riding Jim Crow; the honor of fingering his Phi Beta Kappa key while he contemplates the "not yet corrected inequality" of millions of his black brothers, held in bondage by good old American racial customs, and American political cowardice.

Paul Robeson speaks best for Paul Robeson . . . and for the hundreds of millions of black people in the United States and the rest of the world, but he is not alone. Dr. Alexander, and the special kind of Americanism for which she is an apoligist, must admit soon that Paul Robeson is not alone. True enough, he does not speak for "Uncle Tom" nor does he speak for the synthetic black patriots who expect to escape the consequences of the racial conflict by turning white, but he does speak for the true Negro Americans, and even Dr. Alexander admits they are in the majority.

They are the Negro patriots who support and urge Paul Robeson to continue to warn our nation that Negroes in the South (no matter what they tell the white folks) are desperately sick and tired of their degraded and insulting citizenship. They want Paul Robeson to tell Uncle Sam he has two atom bombs to consider; the one reportedly perfected by the Russians, and the other created by the generations of injustice and abuse against American Negroes, and indirectly, against all of the black people who represent a majority of the world's population.

Paul Robeson is appealing for unity of all Americans. He decries the stupid racial and religious customs that keep us divided in the face of a war that could end civilization as we know it today. He is a patriot and he has the courage to say the truthful thing though lesser men, in their hypocrisy, call him a liar. He is not speaking against the constitution and the Bill of Rights, he is pleading that they be put in force.

Dr. Alexander asks, "is he (Paul Robeson) a downtrodden sharecropper?" The answer is that he is not, but he is the champion of the sharecroppers and all exploited people whether they be in Nigeria or Mississippi. Also, he is a Negro, and the level is the same. A Phi Beta Kappa key dangling on the chain of an educated Negro won't unlock the door to any more freedom and democracy than will the key fastened on a piece of cord hanging from the belt of a cotton-picker in Alabama.

Dr. Alexander writes about the blood of Crispus Attucks spilled on Boston Commons as the first payment on American independence. She neglects to chronicle that from that day forward, Negro blood has been spilled all over the back areas of the South in denial of that for which Crispus Attucks died. She is concerned lest Paul Robeson's daring patriotism smear the loyal Negro people. But her concern is needless. The smear comes from her pen, and from the pen of others like her who hold the Negro people back with one hand while they wave the flag with the other. Because I love America, I join Paul Robeson in asking America to preach less and practice more . . . democracy.

Courier Oct 15 1949

ROGERS SAYS: Jackie Robinson vs. Paul Robeson—Negroes Should Air Their Differences Among Selves

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

AS ONE who tries to think ethically, that is, being fair even to those I happen not to like, this race question has me dizzy most of the time. For instance, according to the New York Times (Oct. 2), many Southerners "are rooting for the Cardinals to beat the Dodgers because of the presence of Negro stars, Jackie Robinson, Don Newcombe and Roy Campanella on the Brooklyn club." On the other hand many Robeson fans are against the Dodgers simply because Robinson is on it.

Mr. Rogers

I've been talking with several Robeson fans and what they're saying about the Dodgers is a-plenty. The white Robeson fans are against Robinson, too. They've never forgiven him for his appearance before the Un-American Activities Committee, which, truth to tell, is not exactly renowned for its stand on civil rights for all white or black, what with its poll-tax and jim-crow members.

Now it cannot be denied that both Robeson and Robinson, great artists in their respective fields, have done much to break down color prejudice in a practical way. However, when you come to analyze it, you'll find that both, having stepped out of the entertainment field into the direct fight for civil rights, have been reduced by color prejudice to a common denominator.

Robeson, whose aim is undoubtedly to better conditions for his "race," has become to many a mere "Russia-lover." Robinson, who, I feel, is just as sincere, has been marked down by many as "a white man's Negro," or in common parlance, an "Uncle Tom." Robinson did make a far stronger attack on race discrimination than he did against Robeson, but is was the latter that was more strongly featured. The newsreels, for instance, which was seen perhaps by millions who didn't read the story, carried only Robinson's blast against Robeson, which, of course, was in line with the policy of the exploiters of the Negro and their tools.

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IF IN SOME fifty years or so the matter is mentioned by historians, the latter will have to dig deep to get at what Robinson really did. And the account will not be to Robinson's credit unless he makes a much bigger name for himself than a baseball player. Baseball, in spite of the frenzy worked up for it in the people (thanks to the money being made out of it) is froth. You could have ten thousand years of it and the human race would be just where it is.

A baseball player is here today, and gone tomorrow. Except in rare instances, he's like the snows of yester-year. Robinson's fame outside the United States, moreover, is almost nil. That of Robeson is world-wide and, I feel, secure for posterity.

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SOUTHERNERS HAVE A particular horror of communism because of its attack on their cherished institutions, so you'd fancy many would be grateful to Robinson for his blast against it. But are they? Robinson's appearance before that Washington committee contains this lesson: When Negroes have differences of opinion it is better that they air it among themselves, say in the Negro press, rather than to take it to the white folks, especially politicians, whose first aim is to make capital out of it for themselves.

Rep. Eugene Cox of Georgia is quoted as saying that Robeson with his boosting of Russia has "tainted the Negro with disloyalty." The disloyalty that Cox really has in mind is disloyalty to Southern traditions. In New York eleven Communists are now being tried. Two of them are Negroes. Suppose Cox were to see the eleven eating together in an Atlanta restaurant, white or colored, what would he be more horrified at the alleged disloyalty of the Communists or the infringement of the jim-crow law? The "taint" of color in the eyes of Cox and most Southerners is so strong that it swallows up disloyalty.

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COX, AND MANY others like him know full well that Negroes even when they complain most are over 99 per cent loyal. What really irks them is that they see what they're doing to Negroes being used by enemies of the United States to paint the latter as a heartless, inhuman land, thus arousing world sentiment against it.

The Russian statements are, of course, exaggerated but nations from time immemorial have used this tactic against their enemies. We, ourselves used it against the British, the Spaniards, the Mexicans, the Germans, (twice); the Japanese, and now the Russians. And let's not forget its use against the colored citizens here at home.

The Pittsburgh Courier
SATURDAY, OCT. 15, 1949

MAYS

Whether Robeson Should or Should Not Talk Is Irrelevant; U. S. Should Wake Up

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

UP to now I have said nothing in print about the recent controversy over the activities of Paul Robeson. I am afraid that many of those who have talked or written about Robeson have generated more heat than light. I hope I can shed light on the subject and not heat. Robeson has been the object of attack ever since the reported Paris speech. The Peekskill incident simply highlighted a situation which was already in the making. As far as possible, I shall try to eliminate the irrelevant issues.

Dr. Mays

Whether Robeson should or should not talk is irrelevant. There are those who say that Robeson should stick to his art—singing and acting, and that he should not take part in political or social matters. They say he should sing—not speak. I think this criticism is irrelevant because in a supposedly free country Paul Robeson has a right to speak if he wants to speak. Those who say that he should not speak are simply saying they do not like what Robeson is doing. I contend that he has a right to speak even when we do not all agree with him. Those who do not want to hear him speak have the right to stay at home. Most artists can not speak as well as Robeson and most of them are not as well informed as he on world problems.

And whether Robeson is a Communist or a Communist-front man should not be the deciding point as to whether he should sing or speak. I do not know what Robeson is. Personally, I do not believe he is a member of the Communist party. But even if he were, he should be privileged to speak or stage a concert. As long as Robeson does not incite to riot or advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force, he should not only have the right to speak, but he should be protected in this right. The Peekskill incident was a real scandal; especially so since it happened in "free" New York State.

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SOME SAY HE should behave differently because the American people have acclaimed him. I think this too is irrelevant. As long as one Negro is oppressed because he is a Negro, then it must be said that no Negro is free of oppression.

And whether we agree with what he says or does is not important. Sometimes I agree with what he says and does and sometimes I disagree. If Robeson said that the American Negroes would not fight against Russia, I am convinced that he was mistaken. If the United States and Russia should go to war (and may God forbid it) the Negroes would be found fighting on the side of Uncle Sam. For good or for ill the destiny of Negro Americans is tied up with the destiny of this country. How could it be otherwise?

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BUT LET US get down to the real issue.

Robeson is symbolic of something. His rise to fame in song and on the stage is symbolic of what is possible for an extraordinary Negro to achieve in our country. But this behavior now is also symbolic of the discrimination, segregation, and injustice which the Negro Americans must endure in this country. Negroes may or may not agree with what Robeson is doing. Nevertheless, every sane, honest Negro must admit that Robeson is fighting against racial injustice and exploitation which every American who believes in justice and democracy should be fighting against.

No sane Negro wants to be kicked around and discriminated against because God made the color of his skin different from that of some other people. The sins that Robeson hates and fights against based on color, race, or culture are the sins we all should hate and the sins we all should fight against. At this point I believe all Negroes are in sympathy with Robeson. And every man must expect to suffer the consequences of the method he chooses in seeking to eliminate these wrongs. Mr. Robeson's method is not my method. But whether his method is right, or that of another, only time can tell. I shall not set myself up as an all-wise judge to pass final judgment upon what he does.

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I BELIEVE Robeson is sincere. I believe he loves his people. I believe he has identified himself with suffering humanity everywhere. I think America should so radically amend her ways on the question of race that it would become increasingly impossible for Robeson, or any other Negro, to feel the necessity of doing what he is doing. Simply to damn Robeson is to deal with the symptoms and not the disease. Let America eradicate the disease.

— HELP FURNISH NIXON HOME —

Calif Eagle
(Sentinel)

Attention, Walter Winchell

We often listen to your verbal sluth that pours out of one end of the radio. We listen because, believe it or not, once in a while you do get off something that is at least thought provoking.

Last Sunday you were down in the dregs when you got off this one: "I heard that in Russia a high mountain road had been named for Paul Robeson. Too bad that in this country we haven't sewers we can name for him or something like that." Indicating that there was not one filthy enough to be so dedicated.

Well, Mr. Winchell, the mathematicians say things equal to each other are equal to the same thing.

Why not name your broadcast the Paul Robeson's broadcast? Of course this would not reflect credit on Mr. Robeson, but it would enhance your reputation as the sewer-type commentator.

Ed. Nov 1 1951

NY Times

10/21/49

INTRUDER DISRUPTS KINGS A. L. P. RALLY

War Veteran Tries to Speak at Marcantonio Session—Ousted by Police Guard

By MORRIS KAPLAN

A man who identified himself as a war veteran caused a flurry last night when he leaped onto the speakers' platform at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue, as Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor party candidate for Mayor, started to speak.

The man rushed toward the microphone in front of the candidate, and spectators in the audience of 1,200 surged toward exits, apparently in the belief that a fight had begun. Plainclothes men seized the man and rushed him outside, while Mr. Marcantonio appealed to the gathering to remain seated. He also told them he believed the disturbance had been planned by others.

He refused to make a formal complaint.

The man identified himself to reporters as William P. Mannix, 32 years old, of 165 Stanhope Street, Brooklyn. He said he had served for five years as a soldier in the Pacific and in the European Theatre of Operations, that he was married and the father of three children, the eldest 4 years old.

Denies He Planned Attack

He denied he had attempted to touch or molest Mr. Marcantonio, saying he had a "right to voice my opinion," and that he had sought recognition from a previous speaker, Mrs. Paul Robeson. Failing to achieve this, he said, he ran the gantlet of detectives and jumped onto the dais just as Mr. Marcantonio was waving a new gray hat, the gift of ALP district workers.

Mr. Mannix, slightly the worse for his experience, was permitted to go home. He was accompanied by his wife, Anna. He did not utter any opinions.

A detail of 150 patrolmen and fifty detectives guarded the hall, owing to a belief that Paul Robeson, the singer, would appear, but Mr. Robeson was in Washington.

Mr. Marcantonio was greeted enthusiastically by the meeting sponsored by the Italian-American Committee. In three previous rallies in Brownsville and the Bedford-Stuyvesant section streets, he had drawn audiences totaling about 2,000.

The ALP leader declared that Mayor O'Dwyer had failed to enfore existing municipal ordinances against discrimination, citing in particular Section 343-1.0 of the Administrative Code, which he said provided penalties of thirty days in jail or a $100 fine, or both, for any contractor dealing with the city who questioned anyone's race or creed.

Law Held Unenforced

This and other municipal ordinances, he reported, were passed under the administration of the late Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia, but have been ignored by the present Mayor. If laws concerning the city's licensing power had been properly enforced, he charged, "Jim Crow" policies could have been eliminated.

"When I am Mayor," the ALP leader asserted, "I am going back to the La Guardia practice of taking the nightstick out of the hands of every policeman in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and the other areas where the Negro people and the Puerto Ricans live.

"I propose to send every policeman to a training school on enforcement of civil rights legislation, and other anti-discrimination laws of this state and this city. Any officer who fails to enforce these laws will be summarily removed from the force."

"I will stop payment to 175 private hospitals and charitable institutions when I am elected," he said, "unless they take in patients without regard to race, creed or color."

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Independent Thinking Feared

Okla Black Dispatch

We believe Dr. E. Franklin Frasier, in discussing the background to the unreason and fury pitted today against Paul Robeson, struck the bull's-eye recently when he said:

> "Let me remind you that in American culture the Negro male has never been permitted to play a masculine role . . . This is partly why white America has become incensed at Paul Robeson. Mr. Robeson represents the Negro man in the masculine role as a fearless and independent thinker."

In other words Robeson typifies the emergence of Negro manhood from the thralldom of his slavish past, where it was considered wise and sagacious to parrot the thinking of the white man. Robeson is subversive because he has overgrown cant and hypocrisy, and because his decisions are generated within, and not influenced by outside controls.

You study the present phenomenom of hate visited upon Paul Robeson and determine in your own mind whether or not this is not the proper index to the violent attempt to prevent him from being heard. Thousands of whites have said far more about the Soviet Union than Paul Robeson. For instance, the Rev. Hewlett Johnson, archbishop of Canterbury, has written a book in which he speaks out boldly in the interest of Russia; Henry Wallace has expressed himself as thinking favorably of peace and accord with the Soviet. The late President Roosevelt expressed open admiration for Premier Josef Stalin; but upon none of these Nordics were visited the hate and spleen as is today heaped upon the head of Paul Robeson. Using this type of yardstick one may easily assume there may be some merit in the observation of Dr. Frazier.

By the same measuring rule one may observe the savage assault made upon Ben Davis, Communist New York councilman, who was defeated last week in the Gotham election. One would not have to be a Communist to admire Ben Davis. We developed esteem and admiration for Ben Davis when single-handed and alone he took up the legal cudgels for Angelon Herndon, and before he had joined the Communist party. There is nothing that Ben Davis has ever done since that time that has lessened our reverence and high respect for this fine manly black man who thinks for himself, and to our judgment epitomizes all that there is in courage, audacity and resolution. This is a quality sadly lacking among Negro leaders of the present century. We think Dr. Frazier has completely identified the background to our worship of both Robeson and Davis, when he expresses his view respecting current American opposition to Robeson.

There has been utter and absolute unwillingness during recent centuries to seriously regard the thinking and judgment of black men. This is part of the conspiracy that suggests black inferiority. That is why any Negro who parrots the will of the majority race is arbitrarily set up as a leader. A city manager in a certain town told a Negro confidant sometime ago that when he was elevated to the position he holds he was told to listen to three Negroes. You can, of course, understand that each of this trio are one hundred per cent Uncle Toms, and it is notably true that when Negroes find out that certain blacks in the commmunity have this transitory power conferred upon them they immediately become recognized as instrumentalities through which certain favors come, and therefore are immediately elevated out of their natural importance in the Negro community.

On the other hand, the black man who exhibits a disposition to think for himself is immediately marked for the tommyhawk. Collusion is reached in control centers to see that every effort of this individual fails. Just a few failures of ventures headed by this man immediately drives the Negro masses to the Uncle Toms, for it is the inclination of everyone, irrespective of race, to ride a bandwagon. Few there are who will follow a loser. We where a Republican, in a Democratic state, long enough to know that white men react to failure in the same and identical manner as the blacks.

We have said all this in order to let everyone know that we regret Ben Davis failed reelection as councilman in New York City. We know the man personally. He is a great big husky fellow, with lovable eyes, who inspires you with his sincerity and genuineness. We think his testimony before the jury that convicted him in a New York court room is the greatest indictment that could be brought against our way of life. Davis told the jury that southern prejudice, and especially bias he discovered in a Georgia courtroom, is the evil that drove him to Communism. It was because he caught justice peeping over her questionable glasses in an American courtroom that caused Ben Davis to turn towards Communism, and away from our pretentions of democracy. What he saw in an American courtroom in the land of Talmadge caused something to die within him and he decided to try another and uncharted sea.

Of course if Ben Davis had bowed his head in resignation and submission to the prejudice and race hate he discovered all about him he would today be classified as a loyal black man, but during the trial he discovered the only substantial assistance that came to him in his hour of travail issued from Communists. America should get down on bended knees and ask God to make the decision as to whether Ben Davis was right or whether he was wrong.

We think the crux of this issue rests in the independent and self-reliant judgment these two black men have exercised in reaching major decisions. They want to change social, economic and political conditions under which thirteen million sable-hued American citizens suffer. They are unwilling to allow other men to put words on their lips or thoughts in their minds. Self sufficiency in judgment has brought down upon their heads the fury of the master class. These are truly two black men who have "gotten out of their place."

"*. . . No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . .*"—14TH AMENDMENT, U.S. CONSTITUTION.

OPINION

Fame sometimes hath created something of nothing.
—THOMAS FULLER.

THE ROBESONS AND THE PRESS

It should not be difficult for most of us to understand the most recent outburst of Paul Robeson, Sr., against, what he calls, "the democratic press."

Mr. Robeson, concert and stage star, just back from a tour of Europe and the Soviet Union, was angered Sunday by newsmen and photographers who were seeking admission to the wedding of Paul Robeson, Jr. and and Miss Marilyn Paula Greenberg, a white girl.

The wedding was a private affair and the Robesons saw no reason why the press should try to horn in.

What the senior Robeson forgot, however, is the fact that he and his family are sufficiently important to make whatever they do of interest to the general public. In such a role, privacy, no matter how greatly desired, seldom can be enjoyed.

From his days as All-American end at Rutgers University and through his years of success in the theatre, in plays and movies and on the radio as artist and speaker, the democratic press, of which Mr. Robeson complains, has helped him to achieve international eminence.

Without the aid of the press, imperfect as it may be, he would never have attained the prominence that he has, certainly not within the same period of time. People read about Robeson and wanted to see and hear him, and he thrived on the publicity.

Having long since gained financial competency, Mr. Robeson now feels no obligation to the press.

We believe that he is absolutely honest and sincere in his conviction. We share with him his hate for sham and hypocrisy. Certainly Mr. Robeson has made a far greater contribution to progress and understanding than have many of his detractors of both races.

Many AFRO readers will say that the younger Robeson's marriage to a white girl is more harmful than helpful to our cause and that he could have found a girl of his own race just as light in color.

Yet, we know that it is through intermarriage—the closest and most intimate of all associations—that much can be done to eliminate racial prejudice.

It is for the opportunity for all of us to be able to make our choices in this matter that the elder Robeson fights. He will need all of the aid that he can muster.

We believe that he can ill afford to make an enemy out of what could well be a useful ally.

When newspapers last week reported that Oscar Hammerstein 2nd had no intentions of changing the words of "Ol' Man River" as suggested by Paul Robeson, the AFRO suggested that he might at least eliminate the word "darky."

Said Mr. Hammerstein:

"This is not my word but is the invention of some singers. The modern lyrics in 'Ol' Man River' as used in the recent production of 'Show Boat' is 'colored folk work on the Mississippi'."

Since Mr. Hammerstein has declared his intention not to let anyone else change the words of his famous song, we hope that he will take to task any and all, who, by the epithet, insult America's largest minority group.

Robeson appeals for action now

DPW 4/12/4

By PAUL ROBESON

(Partial text of a speech to the Win-the-Peace Conference)

WASHINGTON

What is the nature of the time in which we live? Why was the destruction of fascism necessary? Why must we still strive to guard our hard-won victory? We live on the edge of an historic period; when all who labor can reap the benefit of their toil; when an extended democracy can reach down to those hitherto denied and raise them to new freedoms; when the liberal artists and scientists can serve, not the few, but all mankind.

Paul Robeson

That fascism which we defeated in battle practiced suppression for the laborer, slavery and destruction for the majority, shame and degradation for its intellectuals. It was therefore destroyed by the united peoples of the world.

But today the same forces and leaders who labored to crush Republican Spain, who betrayed Czechoslovakia, who fought for years to destroy the Soviet Union—the main bulwark of anti-Fascist struggle—these forces strive fiercely to resurrect from its ashes the remains of Fascist tyranny.

We have now two choices, the difficult but progressive course of the people; full use of our resources, equality for all and firm anti-Fascist unity, domestic and international. Or we can have the restoration of fascism as is being attempted in Greece, supported by the international Churchills and by the governments of Great Britain and our own country.

So, unified, we march forward with courage and a deep sense of urgency in this most demanding period of our history, to prevent a mad man's war and to win a true people's peace.

L.A. Evening Herald

10/1/49

Name Soviet Mt. For Paul Robeson

By United Press

MOSCOW, Oct. 1.—The Soviet Alpinist Society today honored American negro singer Paul Robeson by naming a mountain peak "Paul Robeson Peak."

The mountain is in the Tau range on the northern border of the republic of Kazakhstan.

WHAT MAKES ROBESON TICK?

Paul Gave Up Riches to Fight for Freedom

By CARL MURPHY

Paul Robeson is, next to Henry Wallace, the top leader of the Progressive Party.

Just being seen at his meetings or talking with him can cause the loyalty of Government workers to be called into question. Then they are in danger of losing their jobs.

The Progressives polled a million votes in the last election. There was not the slightest chance of electing their candidates to national office.

Why Press Futile Fight

So why was the Progressive campaign pressed so zealously?

Why were Robeson and Wallace able to tour the country and draw crowds everywhere nearly as large as those attracted to the Dewey and Truman meetings?

Robeson Is Big

Physically and mentally, Paul Robeson is one of the nation's first citizens.

He reminds me of Boss Kelly and Sonny Mahon. He is such good company, it doesn't make any difference what he talks about. You enjoy listening, whether he talks or sings.

And you recall that the people in show business average a higher IQ than any other group.

At Rutgers College, Mr. Robeson was All-American in football and Phi Beta Kappa in his classes.

(Continued on Page 2, Column 6)

WHAT MAKES ROBESON TICK?

Paul Gave Up Riches to Fight for Freedom

(Continued from Page 1)

He was among the top four concert singers who regularly commanded $3,000 for a single performance.

As an actor, he starred in Shakespeare's "Othello" and the show grossed a million dollars on Broadway and another million dollars on the road.

In Europe he is the same big attraction he is here. The reason is that he is a good natured giant, an intellectual with an attractive personality, and he possesses one of the truly great singing and speaking voice of this generation.

Critics are agreed that Paul Robeson has the ability, personality, and the will to succeed in any career he puts his mind to.

How does it happen that political parties like the Democrats and Republicans have nothing to offer him?

Why is Robeson willing to desert one of the best money-making jobs in America and devote his life to the Progressive cause?

Compared With Marian

Here is a singer more colorful than Marian Anderson or Roland Hayes—more versatile, more intelligent, a tremendous human being.

He can be as silent on politics and the question of racial equality as they. Why isn't he?

That's what I asked Paul Robeson, Saturday.

What makes you tick?

What gives the Progressive Party its zeal, its stubbornness, its unbending demands for an end to segregation now, not next week or next year; its absolute contempt for the Uncle Toms, who counsel "patience," and for the gradualists, who say "let's go slowly?"

Robeson Converted

The conversion of Paul Robeson to the Progressive cause was as dramatic as that of St. Paul to Christianity.

Here he was in 1947 ranking among the first four as a singer or as an actor, with 86 concerts scheduled which would average between $2,500 and $3,000 per concert.

Then he came to himself.

He was being exploited as a symbol of a racial equality in the United States which doesn't actually exist.

That's exactly what's being done to Jackie Robinson and Joe Louis today.

"See," white Americans say, "we treat the colored people right. Look at Paul, Jackie and Joe—full equality—no jim crow."

Would Quit Kidding

So Paul Robeson said he must quit kidding himself.

He wouldn't sing before segregated audiences.

He would say at every opportunity that American democracy does not exist for the common people who happen to be colored.

He would advocate racial equality for all the little people, not just for Paul and Jackie and Joe.

He would be a crusader for the kind of human dignity that would enable black people to be men too.

Concerts Canceled

Robeson's manager, howled. His friends pleaded; but he wouldn't recant.

Of 86 concerts booked, 86 were canceled.

Money isn't everything.

Says Mr. Robeson:

"I am willing to make a sacrifice for my people, because I cannot be happy otherwise.

"I fel that I have to speak out against injustice as I see it.

Source of Strength

"The Zest, the earnestness, the persistent crusading spirit of the Progressive Party is as American as the Abolitionist Party of 1850.

"We know we are in the minority.

"But we also know that on the question of human dignity and human equality, we are right."

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

IS PAUL ROBESON AFRAID?

How Does It Feel to Be Followed by the FBI?

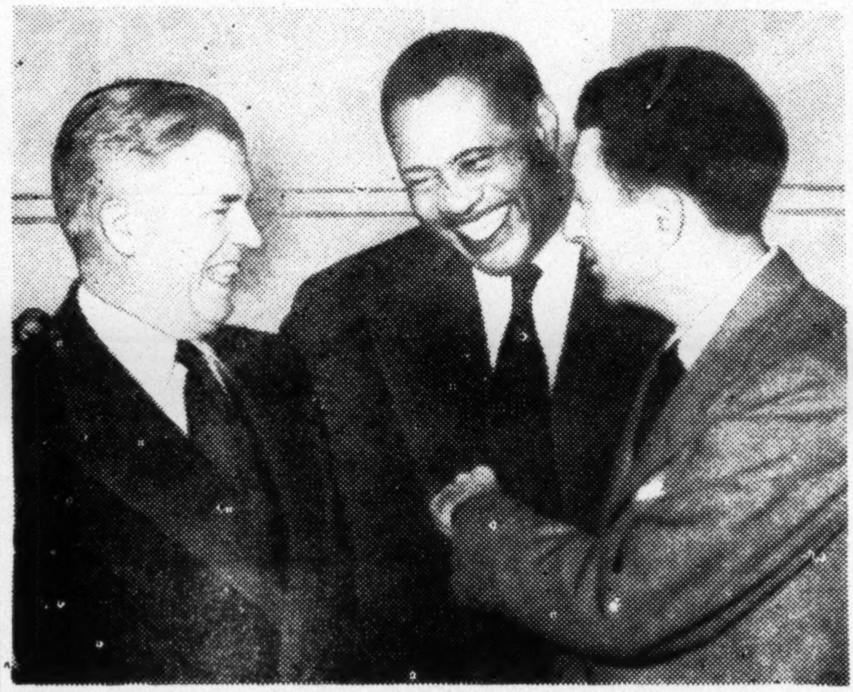
Will He Recant What He Said About Russia? Why Does He Feel That He Really Speaks for the Common People?

By **CARL MURPHY**, President, **AFRO-AMERICAN** Newspapers

When Paul Robeson stepped off the train in Baltimore, recently, he was followed by an agent of the FBI. He is constantly under surveillance. It has gotten to the point where he recognizes plainclothesmen, although he does not let on to his friends. He's been told they follow him for his protection, but it isn't comfortable sometimes. During the Presidential campaign he spoke in Houston, Texas. There was an unsegregated audience and the crowd was large. Robeson sang and spoke. There was a tenseness in the air.

Then Henry Wallace arose to speak. An egg flew through the air. Quietly the colored members of the local committee arose from their seats and stood in front of the platform to protect the speaker. There was no more trouble.

Two Giants of Progressive Party



Henry A. Wallace, chairman, and Paul Robeson, vice chairman of tne Progressive Party, are pictured here left to right with Dr. Robert M. Linder of Baltimore during a Baltimore rally. AFRO President Carl Murphy discusses these two in the second installment of his series on "Paul Robeson, the Man."

At Peekskill, N.Y., Aug. 27, 1949, where Robeson was scheduled to sing, a mob of 1000 persons broke up the meeting before it started and blocked the roads so that Robeson could not get to the meeting place.

A second concert was staged at Peekskill on Sept. 4. This time 900 policemen saw to it that the crowd of 25,000 could hear Robeson sing.

But when the program was over policemen were unable to prevent violence. Some 145 persons were beaten and required medical attention. At least 16 automobiles were overturned. Fifty buses and innumerable autos had their windows smashed.

Undeterred by such violence Mr. Robeson scheduled a string of meetings across the country.

In Cleveland and in Los Angeles he never saw so many policemen in his life. Announcement that he is to speak or sing in some cities causes most public halls to close their doors. Private meetings bring the police out by the dozens.

So he is uncomfortable sometimes. He realizes that at any of these meetings somebody can take a pot shot at him.

Mr. Robeson has known what it means to be a popular star of stage, screen, radio, and the concert stage.

$1000 a Game

Playing pro-football in Akron Ohio, in 1922, he was paid $1000 a game. Friends wanted to train this 210-pound giant to defeat Jack Dempsey. He wouldn't listen.

He got his first chance to sing in "The Emperor Jones" in 1923. Friends urged him to give a concert. He became famous overnight.

In 1928, he went to England and lived for 11 years. When he returned home he sang the "Ballad for Americans," and every U S. city clamored for Robeson concerts.

$45,000 for "Showboat,"

For the movie "Showboat" he earned $45,000.

For concert appearances he made $2,000 to $3,000 a night.

For the play "John Henry" he received $1500 a week.

So, down to 1947, he was on top of the world. After 20 years of work, he had earned and spent several fortunes. But he was not happy.

Doors were open to him but were closed to other colored people. He would take up their fight.

In Russia, where he sent his son to school, he suffered no racial discrimination.

Gradually, he realized that Russia had banned all racial discrimination by law.

Who Could Be Champion?

Why couldn't the U.S. do so too? Maybe it would, but somebody would have to champion the little people.

He could.

Why shouldn't he?

He had been born poor. He has done menial work. He got through school because his father stinted and got help from influential people, whom Robeson himself has sought out and paid back.

To the credit of many of them, he says, they declined to take the money and told him to give it to a worthy charity.

So he now dedicates his life to fighting segregation and jim-crow.

In his speeches he says frequently that Russia treats colored people better than the U.S. does.

The Paris Speech

In Paris he said he wouldn't go to war against Russia.

That sentence taken from the context of the Paris speech made Mr. Robeson the most unpopular man in some U.S. circles.

The reaction saddened him. A smart-aleck at a Congressional hearing referred to him as a Black Stalin. At home he gets threatening telegrams and phone calls.

"They can shut me up. I'll gladly shut up tomorrow," said Mr. Robeson, "if the poor colored worker is freed of discrimination and can stand up with dignity and be a man.

Won't Recant

"I don't expect to recant what I have said about Russia, because I feel too deeply that Russia's program of raising the little people of all races to basic equality in their nation and in the world is the opposite of what our country and England and the Fascists stand for.

"They have said I don't speak for the common people, but I have been comforted and reassured by them at every turn.

"When I walk about in Harlem eight out of ten people stop and shake hands.

The Man Who Winked

"The most striking evidence of interest and understanding among the little people I can recall involved a man who passed me on the street one day. For some reason best known to him he couldn't smile or shake hands.

"He winked his eye and walked on.

"A cabby in New York stopped me as I was about to get into his taxi.

" 'I'm not taking any more riders,' he said. Then he took a second glance and added: 'Mr. Robeson? Get in. Where do you want to go?'

Red Caps Too

"When I got off the train a few minutes ago in Baltimore, a red cap approached.

" 'That's all right,' I said. 'I can carry this. It's light.'

" 'Mr. Robeson,' said the red cap, 'I consider it an honor to carry your bag.'

"I never feel alone.

"In the most unexpected places there is someone to pat me on the back, or shake my hand, or give me a friendly smile."

(Reprint From AFRO-AMERICAN, March 11, 1950 Issue—One of a Series of Articles on "Paul Robeson, The Man.")

1/7/50

REPLIES TO ROBESON

Can It Be That Paul Robeson Really Posed Some Penetrating And Perturbing Propositions?

Pittsburgh Courier

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

Mr. Bibb

WHEN Dr. Channing Tobias, a colored man, was recently made a director of a white New York bank, some of America's most popular commentators declared that this recognition was the answer to Paul Robeson's complaints. It was also pointed out that the eulogies, tributes and history-making funeral rites accorded the late Bill Robinson likewise were challenges to the malcontent of Mr. Robeson. In fact, every little acclaim or advantage conceded to the darker minority in this country is heralded as the reply of America to the tirades of Robeson.

It must be admitted that the great singer, and alleged Communist, must have profoundly aroused and stirred the American people. His speeches in the country and reported utterances in Europe have caught the attention of the thinking people of America. Robeson's "bill of particulars" against his native land have been met with mixed reactions.

* * *

THERE WAS VIOLENCE in Peekskill. There have been threats and organized resentment in other parts of the country. In some places he was barred. In others he was ignored.

Now come other reactions. A bank director, a historic funeral. The promise of great things for colored Americans. White commentators, like Winchell and Pearson, declare that Robeson is being answered.

Robeson's remarks have either aroused the fears or touched the conscience of many Americans. Just why great hordes of citizens of the U. S. A. should become afrighted and made uneasy because of Paul's leaning toward the Soviet Union is most arousing.

* * *

NO APPRECIABLE NUMBER of colored Americans have aligned themselves with Red Russia. None have been tried and found guilty of being traitors, even though ten white Americans have been convicted.

Colored Americans have never been accused of sabotage and only an insignificant few have been seriously identified with the Moscow line.

It is strikingly strange that so many prominent Americans have been bestirred to various sorts of action by Paul Robeson.

It is hard to conceive of America's conscience becoming penitent and stricken. The reasons for the sudden big-heartedness and tenderness is most interesting. Can it be that Robeson really posed some penetrating and perturbing propositions?

* * *

IT HAS BEEN declared by various foreign correspondents that the United States is on the "pan" wherever there are dark people, and that Robeson's voice is heard around the world.

The Reds have named a mountain for Paul. His name occurs with frequency in Pravda. The Daily Worker and the National Guardian find him of news interest in almost every issue. Wherever communism is popular, so is Paul. Stalin received over seventy million dollars worth of presents on his recent birthday, and he has a following all over the world.

Maybe his messages, along with the harping and rasping diatribes of Robeson, have commanded interest of such importance that it cannot be ignored. Maybe that is why America seeks answers.

* * *

THE BIRTH OF the Republic of Indonesia and the liberation of seventy million dark people is an item to be considered in national affairs. Perhaps the victories of the Chinese Reds have precipitated a new line of thought in the minds of imperialistic whites. There are lots of cogent reasons why Robeson is being taken so seriously.

It is well established, in the minds of American people, that there is no impending danger of colored Americans swearing any allegiance to a foreign power. No serious-minded citizens of our country are inclined to believe that any great groups of the dark minority are joining up with Russia in an effort to overthrow this nation by force.

Such would be ridiculous and asinine. But there is consternation—well founded—that policies and patterns must be changed if this country is to gain the victory in the cold war.

Robeson, an educated man, knows that India, China, Indonesia, the indentured colonies of Africa, and the islands of the seas, have heard something about him, and that his questions carry weight and authority.

* * *

ROBESON HAS highlighted issues of international importance. There must be some sort of vindication in America against the charges of exploitation, disfranchisement, chattel slavery and discrimination.

Who can believe that Pandit Nehru, leader of the buffer country of India, did not take note of the prevailing modes and customs in our land?

No array of interrogatories, nor any litanies, petitions, threats or confabs aroused America more than Robeson has. Colored Americans have intensified their efforts to bar the Communist organizations from joining in the fight for civil rights. They are perhaps wise and diplomatic in so doing. But Robeson will continue to catch the spotlight as long as he rails against his native land and holds up Moscow as an example of better government.

America will have a splendid opportunity to answer Robeson in more convincing fashion when Congress considers "civil rights."

Afro-Amer 3/18/50

Let Robeson Speak His Piece

It was almost ironical that during the very week that the AFRO-AMERICAN published an exclusive interview with Paul Robeson in which he declared that Russia was not the only place where freedom of speech was suppressed that he himself was banned from the airways by the NBC.

This substantiated his charges quicker than he had anticipated and from sources he did not expect. By this arbitrary action, an American medium of expression puts into operation the very form of dictatorship evils it pretends to oppose.

By using the shoddy and overworked subterfuge of fighting communism, NBC prevents the American public from hearing what Mr. Robeson has to say about the oppression of and denial of civil rights to his own race here at home. That is a part of the conspiracy of silence against our struggles for first-class citizenship.

As long as Mr. Robeson sang, "I'se a'coming and my head is bending low," he was idolized and welcomed on every platform in America, but when he changed his tune to say, "I'm standing erect and demanding my rights as a citizen and a man," he suddenly became a dangerous man who must be silenced.

This should be a warning to all Americans of all races and shades of opinion.

If Robeson can be silenced today by powerful networks, other Americans can be silenced tomorrow. The very salvation of our nation may someday depend on men of courage speaking out boldly on matters which might at the moment be unpopular and distasteful to some segments of the body politic.

If the speakers are wrong, let the people decide. They cannot reach democratic decisions when they are denied the right to hear all sides of an issue.

OPINION

AFRO Editorial Page Mar. 25, 1950

". . . No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . ."
—14TH AMENDMENT, U. S. CONSTITUTION.

That action is best which procures the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers.
—FRANCIS HUTCHESON.

Air Not Free at NBC

Paul Robeson did not appear on Mrs. Roosevelt's TV program over NBC Sunday, discussing politics as they affect colored people.

In addition to Mr. Robeson, Mr. Perry Howard, representing the Republicans; and Congressman Adam Powell of New York, representing the Democrats, were the scheduled speakers.

When the list of speakers was made public, NBC received 30 telephone calls the first day and the number rose to some 300 after a New York newspaper had urged its readers to object.

Monday, March 13, Elliott Roosevelt, who manages the program for his mother, asked the Progressive Party to substitute some other speaker for Mr. Robeson.

The party heads declined to do so, stating that there could be no censorship on their right to choose their own representative.

When they thus refused to make a substitution, the program was cancelled. Strikingly enough, this cancellation came at a time when Mr. Robeson, in an interview printed in last week's AFRO, said that the boasted freedom of speech does not exist in America any more than it does in some other countries.

In that story he said to his son, "You can't shoot off your mouth in America today on some subjects."

In a democracy such as ours, every party should be permitted to have its say whether the American legion agrees with it or not. Legionnaires were responsible for most of the protests above mentioned against Robeson's appearing on TV.

If Mr. Robeson had been permitted to speak he certainly would have had both Congressman Powell and Mr. Howard at a great disadvantage.

It would have been impossible for either one of those gentlemen to explain why we have no civil rights legislation on the books, despite the fact that both Republicans and Democrats are committed to it and that the 80th Congress was predominantly Republican and the 81st Congress predominantly Democrat.

Co

Urge Robeson Be Allowed To Appegr on Video Show

Amsterdam News 4/8/50

Renouncing the recent NBC cancellation of a television forum because of the announced participation of Paul Robeson as "censorship by private pressure," the American Civil Liberties Union this week urged that the station re-schedule the program "at an early date with Robeson participating as originally announced."

In a letter to Martin Jones, co-producer with Elliot Roosevelt of Mrs. Roosevelt's Sunday evening television program, the ACLU said, "we fear that the steps taken as a result of the protests has played into the hands of those opponents of America and democracy who claim that American democracy is too weak and frightened to live by its own principle of hearing all sides in open debate."

The forum, "The Position of the Negro in American Life," was to have been presented on Mrs. Roosevelt's March 19 program. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, and Perry Edward, Mississippi Republican, were also scheduled to appear on the program.

AFRO - AMERICAN
[18 JULY 1950]

· 7/18/50

Robeson Hits NBC Decision

Powell Also Blasts Denial of Basic Right

NEW YORK — Singer Paul Robeson, in a statement to the AFRO Tuesday blasted the National Broadcasting Company's refusal to permit him to appear on a television show with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Rep., Adam C. Powell and Perry Howard.

In his statement, made as he prepared to take a plane to Chicago where he was scheduled to address members of the Progressive Party, Mr. Robeson said:

"It is not surprising to me that a huge network which practically excludes colored persons from its large army of skilled professional personnel, and which is the medium of so much distortion of their lives should balk at a discussion of the colored group in American politics which professes to present all points of view.

Wanted to Bare Records

As a co-chairman of the Progressive Party, I should have welcomed the opportunity to lay bare the long record of broken promises on civil rights issues of which both old parties have been guilty in the 80th and 81st Congresses and for the past 74 years.

"Mr. Denny of NBC evidently does not want colored Americans reminded too forcibly of the fact which becomes increasingly evident with each Congressional betrayal of FEPC, antilynch, and anti poll-tax legislation; that is, that there is no real hope for my people, American working men, or the majority of the population in the two old parties, which are wed to a program of cold war abroad and privation and suppression of popular dissent at home.

Once Could Speak in Russia

"It is a sad commentary on our professions of democracy that one representative of the Progressive Party, O. John Rogge, could express his ideas of civil liberties before the Supreme Soviet of the USSR last week, while this week another spokesman is prohibited from expressing the same party's view on civil liberties over the facilities of a major American network.

"As an American whose fathers toiled as slaves to create the wealth of the great land, I shall continue to make my voice heard for the complete liberation of colored Americans and all oppressed peoples, for security for American workers, and farmers and for a world at peace.

"I am sure that all Americans who work for these goals will resent the arbitrary action of NBC and will raise their voices in protest."

Powell Sees Denial of Right

Congressman Adam C. Powell on Tuesday issued the following statement concerning the banning of Mr. Robeson from the NBC television show:

"The decision to bar Paul Robeson from the Roosevelt TV program is not in keeping with our American principles. I state this as the one who had been chosen by Elliot Roosevelt to oppose Paul Robeson.

Ban All or None

"The program was to have been a debate as to which party offered the colored man more, Paul Robeson representing the Progressives, and I the Democrats.

"Until we change our laws and ban free speech, neither Paul Robeson nor any other individual should be singled out as 'whipping boys.'

"We must ban all people of the extreme left and the extreme right and thus abolish free speech, or none at all."

Progressives Hit Robeson TV Ban

Mrs. Gertrude Evans, executive secretary, states that the Progressive Party of the District of Columbia is outraged that the National Broadcasting Company has cancelled the scheduled television broadcast Sunday of Paul Robeson with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

This denial of freedom of speech on the air to an internationally known figure is an insult to all Americans, especially colored people, Mrs. Evans said, pointing out that Robeson had been scheduled to speak on the matter of civil rights for minority group peoples.

Sees Fear Dominating

It would appear that the NBC, responding to pressure from white supremacy and other reactionary influences, is fearful of letting American people hear the truth about the denial of basic civil rights to minorities, she asserted.

"We call on all Americans interested in preserving our rights, to protest this denial of freedom on the air to the Federal Communications Commission," she concluded.

Arbeiter, macht euch die Methoden der sowjetischen Neuerer und Stachanowarbeiter zu eigen!

(Aus den Losungen der Gesellschaft für Deutsch-Sowjetische Freundschaft zum Freundschaftsmonat)

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Träger des Weltfriedenspreises

EIN SÄNGER DES FRIEDENS

Der verstorbene James Forrestal, Wallstreetbankier und Boß der USA-Streitkräfte, dessen übles Andenken seinem üblen Willen entspricht, war im Rutgers-College Mitschüler Paul Robesons. Allerdings waren sie auch damals in Rutgers getrennt; denn der Neger Robeson saß einsam und allein auf der Bank „für Farbige".

Seitdem ist manches Jahr vergangen, und es hat sich herausgestellt, daß die einstigen Mitschüler nicht nur auf verschiedenen Bänken saßen, sondern nicht einmal dem gleichen Amerika angehörten. Forrestals Amerika ist das Amerika derer, die Faschismus und Tod säen. Robesons Amerika ist das der Kämpfer für die wahre Demokratie und das Leben.

Ewig junge Lieder

Als Robeson nun 1939, nachdem er in der Sowjetunion gewesen war und mit den Kämpfern der internationalen Brigaden bei Madrid gesungen hatte, in die Heimat zurückkehrte, um an dem Kampf seines Volkes für eine bessere Zukunft teilzunehmen, sagte der profitsüchtige James Forrestal, der öffentlich der Einkommensteuerhinterziehung überführt worden war, mit unverhülltem Aerger: „Unser Neger ist vollständig übergeschnappt!"

Es waren aber nicht etwa Gewissensbisse, sondern die Angst vor dem Verlust des Erafften, die Forrestal und seinesgleichen zu ihren boshaften Sticheleien veranlaßten. Während nämlich Forrestal als Präsident und Teilhaber des Bankhauses Dillon-Read & Co. in der Hoffnung auf die hohen Dividenden kommender Kriegszeiten mit liebevoller Fürsorge die nazistische Militärmaschine finanzierte, sang Robeson von Frieden und Völkerfreundschaft.

Wie sollte Forrestal nicht erbost sein, wenn er das Moorsoldatenlied hörte, dies Preislied auf die deutschen Antifaschisten? Es ist auch kein Wunder, daß es ihn ärgerte, wenn Robeson zornig rief: „An den Galgen mit Franco!" Die Herren vom großen Business dachten gar nicht daran, den „Caudillo" an den Galgen zu bringen. Sie wollten es nicht einmal ernstlich mit ihm verderben.

Die amerikanische Wirklichkeit hat des Sängers Kindheit und Jugend vergiftet. Aber das jugendliche Feuer kehrte ihm wieder, als er seine zweite Jugend erlebte, die Jugend des Kämpfers. Dieses jugendliche Feuer loderte nicht nur in seinen neuen Liedern, sondern schmolz auch seine alten um. Nicht zufällig endet sein altes Lied „Old Man River", die Klage eines greisen Negers, die mit den hoffnungslos schwermütigen Worten schließt: „Lieber sterben als so leben", jetzt anders, mit dem triumphalen Kampfschwur „Nun aber lache ich. Bis zum Tode werde ich kämpfen für den Frieden und die Freiheit".

Das ist zehn Jahre her, und in diesen zehn Jahren hat Robeson tapfer seine Bürgerpflicht erfüllt und seinen Schwur gehalten. Der Kampf für den Frieden verlangte von ihm in den Jahren des Hitlerkrieges hartnäckigen Kampf gegen die Forrestals, die um des Profites willen ihr Vaterland und seinen Bundesgenossen, die Sowjetunion, verrieten. Robeson als Redner forderte die Eröffnung der zweiten Front. Robeson als Sänger sang die Lieder der Roten Armee, die Lieder der Soldaten des Friedens.

Auf einer Konzertreise durch Westdeutschland bald nach dem Tag des Sieges mußte Robeson feststellen, daß das amerikanische Oberkommando nicht die Absicht hatte, die von dem amerikanischen Diplomaten heuchlerisch unterschriebenen Potsdamer Beschlüsse durchzuführen. Darum sang er gerade dort in Deutschland das Moorsoldatenlied. Er sah, wie die republikanischen spanischen Flüchtlinge in Amerika gehetzt wurden. Darum stimmte er in Washington wieder den zornigen Ruf an: „An den Galgen mit Franco!" Seine Lieder veralteten nie, weil es in ihnen um die brennendsten Probleme der Gegenwart ging.

Paul Robeson

Der Kriegsminister Forrestal rüstete die Kuomintangheere aus. Robesons Antwort war, daß er in ganz Amerika das Marschlied der Soldaten Mao Tse-tungs anstimmte, das Lied „Steh auf!" Wenn man sagt, Robeson sei ein Sänger, dann sagt man zuwenig. Der Sänger ist in ihm nicht zu trennen von dem großen Kämpfer für den Frieden.

Als im April 1947, in Robesons Geburtsmonat, die amerikanische „Demokratie" sozusagen als Geburtstagsgeschenk zwei seiner Konzerte verbot, bereiteten die amerikanischen Antifaschisten ihrem Lieblingssänger ein großartiges Fest. An diesem ungewöhnlichen Geburtstage sang Robeson besonders viel. Da ertönte plötzlich eine Stimme im Saal: „Schone deine Stimme, Paul! Es ist unsere Stimme!"

Stimme der Wahrheit

Robesons Stimme gehört dem amerikanischen Volk. Durch seinen Mund entlarvte das amerikanische Volk, als der Gesetzentwurf des Senators Mundt diskutiert wurde, die Machenschaften der Reaktion und erklärte dem Senator Ferguson, dessen Spitzname „Spürhund" war: „Wollen Sie wissen, was für ein Gesetz ich erlassen möchte? Ein Gesetz, nach dem man das geheime Treiben der Bank Dillon-Read und der Kartelle ans Licht ziehen könnte, die um den Preis eines Krieges an das arabische Oel heranwollen, eines Krieges, der meinen und ihren Sohn dahinraffen würde. Edgar Hoover setzt alle auf die Proskriptionsliste, die für das Volk und die Bürgerrechte kämpfen. Er täte besser, die Namen Forrestal und Dupont auf seine Liste zu setzen. Sie sind die reale faschistische Gefahr."

Das war 1948. Seitdem versucht die amerikanische Reaktion, Robesons Stimme zum Schweigen zu bringen. Die Ku-Klux-Klan-Banditen drohten Robeson mit dem Lynchgericht, falls er nach dem Süden kommen sollte. Noch am gleichen Tage trat Robeson eine große Reise durch die Südstaaten an. Er sang seine Friedenslieder auf demselben Fleck Erde, wo der Sklave, der sein Vater war, im Schweiße seines Angesichts für den Plantagenbesitzer geschuftet hat. Und die Sklaven, die seinen Liedern lauschten, wurden sich ihrer Stärke bewußt. Sie vereinigten sich mit ihren weißen Freunden und zwangen den Ku-Klux-Klan zum Abzug.

Von 86 Konzertveranstaltungen Robesons wurden während der Wahlkampagne von 1948 82 durch die amerikanischen Behörden verboten, und doch siegten seine Lieder über alle Verbote. Er sang fünfmal am Tage. Er sang an den Straßenecken und übertönte mit seinem mächtigen Baß den Lärm der Stadt.

Als Robeson 1949 auf eine größere Konzerttournee ins Ausland ging, brandmarkte er mit leidenschaftlichen Worten den Atlantikpakt, dieses verbrecherische Abkommen der amerikanischen Schurken mit den europäischen. Die Verwalter der überseeischen Liegenschaften der USA kopierten ihre Gebieter und zogen gegen die Stimme des Friedensherolds zu Felde. Als z. B. fast die gesamte Bevölkerung der Hauptstadt von Jamaika in der Rennbahn versammelt war, um Robeson zu hören, versagte das Mikrofon. In London und Stockholm wurden ihm Noten gestohlen, in Oslo wurden seine Konzerte verboten usw. Trotz allem aber hörten die Bauern von Jamaika, die Stockholmer Matrosen und die schottischen Bergleute Robesons Lieder und die Wahrheit über das, was in der Welt geschieht. Seine Zuhörer waren stolz auf ihn. Er aber war stolz auf seine Zuhörer, in denen er stets seine Gesinnungsgenossen im Kampf für die gerechte Sache sah. Er hat selbst gesagt, er habe es immer wieder erlebt, daß „man die große Millionenbewegung für den Frieden ebensowenig aufhalten könne wie die Wogen des Ozeans".

Ein Freund der Sowjetunion

Vor kurzem war Robeson in Moskau, und das Sowjetvolk spendete seinen Liedern von Zorn und Gerechtigkeit reichen Beifall. In der Sowjetunion, unter Menschen, die sich nach Frieden sehnen und ihr Land in einen wunderbaren blühenden Garten verwandeln, fühlte er sich glücklich. Einmal aber sahen wir ihn finster. Er hatte soeben erfahren, daß der Gouverneur des Staates Connecticut, in dem sein Haus liegt, ihm empfahl, nicht wieder nach Hause zu kommen, da er angeblich die Bevölkerung seines Staates diffamiert habe. Plötzlich aber huschte ein verschmitztes Lächeln über sein Gesicht: „Ich werde dem Gouverneur eine großartige Ueberraschung aus Moskau mitbringen. Hören Sie ..." Er trat an den Flügel und stimmte leise an: „Unsere Fluren stehen in Blüte, wir haben den Frühling verteidigt." Es war ein Lied von Schostakowitsch aus dem Film „Begegnung an der Elbe". Später, in Moskau sowohl wie in Amerika, sang er es mit voller Stimme. Es wurde das Zugstück seines Repertoires; denn es sprach von dem, was jetzt das Wichtigste in seinem Leben war, von der Unüberwindlichkeit der Bewegung, deren Bannerträger Stalin ist: „Unsere Kräfte wachsen. Der Friede besiegt den Krieg ..."

Die Gewißheit, daß es so und nur so kommen wird, konnten weder die 40 Polizisten und Detektive erschüttern, die den heimkehrenden Robeson auf dem Flugplatz empfingen, noch die Machenschaften der Kommission zur Untersuchung „unamerikanischer Betätigung" noch die Gangster aus der „Amerikanischen Legion", die zur Vorankündigung eines Lynchgerichts in Peak Hill ein zwölfpfündiges Kreuz in Brand steckten. Bei dem triumphalen Konzert in Peak Hill erklang dieses Lied unter dem Schutz von 1500 tapferen Weißen und Schwarzen, die Schulter an Schulter im halbmannshohen Grase standen, um die Lynchbanditen im Zaun zu halten, anfeuernder und triumphierender als je zuvor.

Auf dem Kongreß in Warschau haben die Delegierten von 80 Ländern beschlossen, dem Sänger Paul Robeson für seine Friedenslieder einen Internationalen Friedenspreis zuzuerkennen. Paul Robeson, den großen Sänger und großen Kämpfer für das Glück der Menschen, ehren alle die vielen Millionen, die seine Zuhörerschaft bilden. **W. Gorochow**

TELEPRESS Thursday, December 21, 1950

ROBESON SCULPTURE GROUP DRAWS ATTENTION AT SOVIET ART EXHIBITION

From Ralph Parker

MOSCOW, Thursday -- A sculpture group on the theme of the international peace movement and a painting of Paul Robeson singing at Peekskill near New York attracted the most attention at the opening of the 1950 Soviet Art Exhibition at Moscow's Tretiakov Gallery.

The sculpture is the collective work of artists headed by Vera Mukhina, best known abroad for a pair of young Soviet workers designed for the Soviet Union Pavilion at the 1937 exhibition. The group is composed of a young maiden releasing the dove of peace. Behind her, and urging her with expressive gestures, is a group representing the people of the world. They include a young African. Beside them stands the tragic figure of a Korean mother with the corpse of her murdered child in her arms.

In the painting, which is also the work of the artists - Poliakov, Radoman and Shatz - Robeson is depicted singing below the "Stars and Stripes" behind a protective line of men with linked hands. Among the listeners there is a uniformed veteran on crutches.

At the opening of the exhibition the vice-chairman of the Committee of Arts, Nikolai Bespalov, welcomed the large number of exhibits which are the product of collective efforts. "This shows," he said, "that the principle of the old and experienced working together with the younger generation, which is fundamental to other fields of Soviet activity, is being applied also in the field of art."

Many of the 1,500 new works so far exhibited were submitted by young graduates of the Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev Academies of Art as diploma works. Over 700 artists are represented, coming from all the 16 constituent Republics of the Soviet Union. Most of the artists turned to contemporary Soviet life for themes and there is a notable increase in works depicting the ordinary man at work. - Telepress pl/jg

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BEST AVAILABLE COPY

TELEPRESS Thursday, December 21, 1950

ONE POLICEMAN FOR EVERY 40 MEN IN ITALY

From Gino Bardi

ROME, Thursday -- Italy will have one policeman for every 40 Italian males between the ages of 20 and 50 if the new bill presented to the House of Deputies by Interior Minister Scelba on Tuesday is approved.

The bill, for which Scelba asked a "quick debate," provides for the recruitment of 16,000 more police, costing the Italian people an extra 10,000 million lire yearly.

This bill follows recent parliamentary approval of a fund to renew the police force's motorised equipment, including the addition of 100 new armoured cars.

Socialist Deputy Amadei pointed out in the house on Tuesday that the police forces are being strengthened to take part in repressive social action.

The democratic paper Il Paese comments that the government is complying with the will of the United States in binding the Italian people with "ever stronger chains." - Telepress pl/ms

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ITALIAN STOCK MARKET SLUMP RESULT OF U.S.-IMPOSED WAR PLANS

ROME, Thursday -- A violent slump has been registered in the Rome Stock Exchange in the past two days as public alarm at the government's rearmament plans and the involvement of Italy in imperialist war plans spreads.

The alarm has been manifested in hysterical purchases of "refugee currency" (gold coins and precious metals) and in the slump in industrial shares and state securities.

the stock market has further weakened Italy's danger-

pl/ms

"Огонек" #49
Декабрь 150

[1950]

Наш Поль Робсон

Из записок американского журналиста

Джозеф КЛАРК

Поль Робсон с женой Эсландой и сыном Полем Робсоном-младшим.

От роскошного концертного зала Карнеги-холл до уличных подмостков в негритянском Гарлеме, от больших театров на Бродвее к эстраде на гулянье в Пикскилле — не рассказывают ли эти скитания Поля Робсона историю нынешней Америки простых людей?

Еще в те дни, когда величественный образ робсоновского Отелло открыл широкий путь для шекспировских спектаклей в Нью-Йорке, реакционеры травили Робсона. Уже тогда раздавались яростные крики: «Вы только подумайте: негр — негр! — будет играть на Бродвее рядом с белой Дездемоной!» Но в те времена Робсон еще мог по крайней мере появляться на Бродвее.

Тогда крупные концертные предприниматели еще дрались между собой за право устраивать гастроли Робсона. Концертные залы были битком набиты, когда этот могучий и мелодичный бас звучал в песнях негритянского народа, песнях России, Испании и других стран. Даже профессиональные критики капиталистических газет не могли найти в исполнении Робсона ничего, кроме высокого искусства. Правда, некоторые из них морщились: слова песни «Олд Мэн Ривер» в исполнении Робсона как бы меняли свой смысл. Это уже была не жалоба — это была песнь борьбы...

А теперь? Теперь люди, которые прячут свое бесстыдство за трескучими фразами об «американском веке», не пускают Робсона в концертные залы и театры, где кресла покрыты бархатом.

Они добились обратного результата. Именно теперь, как никогда за десятилетия его служения народному делу, Робсон вырос в гигантскую фигуру и как художник и как трибун...

Когда американские бомбы стали разрываться над городами Кореи, уничтожая женщин и детей, негритянский народ Америки инстинктивно ощутил свою близость к народу Кореи. В самом деле: разве эта война не отмечена всеми чертами войн белых поработителей во имя грабежа и истребления колониальных народов? А организаторы вторжения в Корею — разве это не те же, кто линчует и душит 14 миллионов американских негров?

Так, в числе первых американцев, выступивших с требованием прекратить интервенцию Уолл-стрита в Корее, были негры. Тысячи их пришли на традиционное место собраний в Гарлеме — «Гольден Гейт Аудиториум» — услышать, как Робсон будет требовать, чтобы убийству женщин и детей в Корее был положен конец. Они пришли требовать свободы и равноправия для людей, какого бы цвета кожи они ни были. Они пришли, чтобы почтить память жертв другой зверской войны, которая неустанно ведется против цветных людей Америки,— память Вилли Мак Ги, шестерых из Трентона, семерых из Мартисвилля, лишенных жизни только потому, что они негры...

⁂

До того, как началось преступление американского империализма в Корее, простых американцев потрясло одно событие. Это событие произошло в городе Пикскилле летом 1949 года — почти за год до черного похода Макартура на корейский народ.

Пикскиллская история известна всему миру. Но ее надо рассказывать снова и снова, чтобы люди могли увидеть звериный лик тех, кто отвечает за преступления в Корее. Ее надо передавать из уст в уста, чтобы все знали, что такое Робсон для Америки сегодня. Но в первую очередь о пикскиллских событиях надо напоминать для того, чтобы мир мог увидеть, что есть другая Америка, не та, которая заливает кровью Корею, а Америка белых и черных рабочих, которые не хотят, чтобы американский народ был посажен в фашистскую клетку...

Пикскилл... Маленький городок в 50 милях от Нью-Йорка. В нем нет ничего, что отличало бы его от других городков. Он окружен зеленью — это одно из немногих мест, куда рабочие и вообще трудовой люд выезжают на редкий отдых. И вот в окрестностях Пикскилла местный Комитет гражданских прав и группа прогрессивных артистов решили устроить на воздухе концерт с участием Поля Робсона.

Но имя Робсона ненавистно людям, у которых большие счета в банках. Робсон сказал миру то, что приводит реакционеров в неистовую ярость. Он сказал: «Пусть не ждут от цветных народов, чтобы они поддержали агрессивную войну против Советского Союза, страны, которая уничтожила всякое неравенство и дискриминацию наций и рас». И люди, конторы и сейфы которых находятся в высоких домах, выстроившихся на Уолл-стрите и Брод-стрите, решили: голос Поля Робсона должен умолкнуть!

Конечно, эти господа в хорошо сшитых костюмах не пожелали сами «марать руки». Они знали, что исполнителей можно купить за деньги. В любом капиталистическом государстве найдется человеческое отребье, которое возьмет нож и кастет и пустит их в ход против тех, кто верит в братство народов и в длительный мир на земле. Эти отбросы человечества были сосредоточены в Пикскилле и вокруг него в день концерта. Они и сделали то «мокрое дело», которое поручалось штурмовикам в гитлеровском райхе.

Мир еще помнит гитлеровские книжные костры 1933 года. Летом 1949 года мир узнал о новых кострах — из музыкальных нот и концертных пюпитров. На фотографиях, появившихся в газетах, штурмовики американского производства плясали вокруг костров и швыряли в огонь пачки нот народных песен. Это был «апофеоз» погрома, устроенного против концерта Робсона.

Хулиганам, правда, не все удалось выполнить из их «программы», хотя их и поддерживали местная полиция и жандармы ньюйоркского губернатора Дьюи. Посетители концерта энергично защищались против атак фашистов из Американского легиона и их подпевал. Особенно прославилась оборона, организованная Говардом Фастом; ему пришлось поплатиться потом тюремным заключением за верность идеям мира и демократии.

Итак, на этом концерте Робсона музыки было мало. Музыку заменили дикие зазывания хулиганов, швырявших камнями в женщин и детей. Были треск горящего дерева и шелест огня, пожиравшего концертную эстраду. Это была «музыка» американского фашизма.

Но слава и честь американских борцов за мир были отомщены ровно через неделю. Передовые рабочие, прогрессивные люди Нью-Йорка, дали себе слово, что концерт Робсона в Пикскилле состоится в следующее воскресенье во что бы то ни стало. Слово было сдержано. Концерт состоялся перед такой огромной аудиторией, какой не видывали никакие мюзик-холлы.

Робсон пел. Он пел перед двадцатью тысячами людей, которые нескончаемым потоком устремились из Нью-Йорка в Пикскилл.

На этот раз простые люди организовались, и хорошо организовались.

Незабываемая картина: рабочие оцепили всю округу огромным кольцом. Они пришли защищать Поля Робсона. Они пришли, несмотря на то, что целую неделю пресса Херста и все реакционные газеты неистовствовали, требуя крови тех, кто осмелится придти на концерт в Пикскилл.

Голос Робсона мощно плыл над тысячами людей.

Честная, прогрессивная Америка дала ответ фашизму в этот второй день Пикскилла. Рупором этого ответа был Робсон.

Бешенство фашистов нашло себе выход после концерта. Они мстили, и месть их была трусливой. Они нападали на отдельные машины, бросали тяжелые камни в окна автобусов, опрокидывали их. Много раненых женщин и детей было увезено в больницы.

Снова выглянула наружу злобная харя фашизма. Но народ сделал свое: он показал свое презрение к фашистам и выразил свою солидарность с Полем Робсоном. Было до слез трогательно видеть, как в Нью-Йорке, услыхав о нападении фашистских бандитов на мирных посетителей концерта, люди бросались к машинам и мчались на выручку.

Победа была за народом. Это был и триумф Поля Робсона.

* * *

Пикскилл в глазах каждого передового американца был одним из предвестников других, более крупных событий. Было ясно, что охотники за людьми, враги культуры, покровители фашизма, претенденты на мировое господство готовы на любое отчаянное средство, чтобы осуществить свои преступные планы.

Начав интервенцию в Корее, американский империализм перешел от политики «холодной войны» к настоящей военной агрессии в широком масштабе. Наступило время, которое, по выражению выдающегося революционного публициста Тома Пейна, «испытывает человеческие души».

Реакционеры, конечно, знают, что в такое время Робсон останется верным тому делу, которому он посвятил 30 лет своей жизни. У них есть все основания бояться влияния Робсона именно в такое время. Как и во всех странах, в Америке люди подписывают Стокгольмское Воззвание. Это бесит реакционный лагерь, наполняет его страхом и бессильной ненавистью.

И вот они посылают полицейских к Полю Робсону сказать ему, что ему запрещен выезд за границу. Робсону нельзя больше появляться нигде за пределами долларового занавеса! Робсону запрещено участвовать во Втором Всемирном конгрессе сторонников мира.

Испанские республиканские солдаты, сражавшиеся против фашизма Франко и итало-германского вторжения в их страну, видели и слышали Робсона на передовых позициях. Лондонские рабочие внимали голосу Робсона во время их демонстрации в пользу мира на Трафалгар-сквере. Трудящиеся Польши и других стран народной демократии горячо аплодировали словам и песням Робсона в пользу мира. Великий народ Советского Союза не раз с исключительной теплотой принимал Робсона, как дорогого гостя. «Прекратить все это!» — раздался взбешенный голос из государственного департамента. И все же в дни Варшавского конгресса проникновенный голос Поля Робсона, записанный на пленку, звучит в свободной Варшаве. Взволнованная, страстная речь Робсона, его замечательные песни как бы утверждают: нет силы, которая могла бы помешать единству сторонников мира.

Есть такой английский журналист — Александр Верт. Некогда он рассказывал читателям о том, как солдаты Сталинграда спасли свободу всех народов. Сейчас Верт не стесняется обливать Советский Союз грязью. И вот этот Александр Верт хихикает по поводу того факта, что советские люди полны дружеских чувств к Полю Робсону. В лондонской газете «Нью стэйтсмэн энд нейшн» от 2 сентября Верт пишет, что «Робсон — это едва ли не единственный из видных американцев, которого переносят советские люди».

Верт пишет эту неправду в дни, когда советские издательства печатают в огромных тиражах книги американских романистов, сборники американских рассказов. Он осмеливается утверждать подобные небылицы в дни, когда советская печать широко и сочувственно освещает то, что замалчивает капиталистическая печать Америки и Англии: борьбу выдающихся прогрессивных американцев за дело мира.

Оставляя в стороне измышления Верта и ему подобных, я должен сказать, что советский человек действительно питает какое-то особо теплое чувство к Полю Робсону. И в этом нет ничего странного или неестественного.

Я вспоминаю свой разговор с советским офицером в поезде по пути от Бреста до Москвы. Он спросил меня: «Как вы думаете, не случится теперь никакой беды с Полем Робсоном?»

Разве сердечная забота, выраженная этим советским человеком,— это тема для нечистого хихиканья в духе Александра Верта? Мне кажется, что отношение советского человека к Робсону одинаково возвышает их обоих.

Робсон в глазах советских людей символизирует глубокое различие между Америкой Уолл-стрита и фашистских легионеров, проповедующей атомную войну, и другой, народной, честной Америкой, которая не хочет фашизма и борется за мир.

Я убедился также, что советские люди ценят Робсона и как выдающегося художника. И не просто художника, а человека того искусства, которое хочет служить и служит народу, служит миру и жизни, а не смерти и войне.

* * *

Когда Робсон явился в государственный департамент, чтобы протестовать против запрещения ему выезда за границу, человек в полосатых брюках сказал ему, что проблема американских негров — это «домашняя» проблема Соединенных Штатов и нечего, мол, выносить сор из избы. Так говорят люди, которые разожгли войну в Корее, чтобы заковать в цепи и удушить колониальные народы, в том числе и негров, на всем пространстве Азии, Африки и Латинской Америки.

Робсон рассказал на одной из пресс-конференций историю этого гонения. Он призывал бороться против фашистских законов, принятых конгрессом. «Они уничтожают закон о гражданских свободах»,— сказал Робсон. И он добавил: «Я хочу иметь свободу бороться против мистера Рэнкина из Миссисипи». Он имел в виду отъявленного расиста Рэнкина, позорная «деятельность» которого в так называемой комиссии по расследованию антиамериканской деятельности стоила уже свободы сотням прогрессивных американцев.

«Я,— сказал Поль Робсон,— принадлежу к огромному большинству американцев, которые убеждены, что все наши международные вопросы можно разрешить мирным путем. Именно поэтому мы настаиваем на праве говорить в пользу мира...»

Жизненный путь Поля Робсона достиг своей высшей точки в эпоху великого перелома в мировой истории. Это — эпоха, когда вопрос жизни или смерти для миллионов человеческих существ решается борьбой между лагерем войны, руководимым Уолл-стритом, и лагерем мира, возглавляемым Советским Союзом. Поль Робсон — это символ участия американского народа в международном движении за мир. Когда мир победит войну,— в этом будет вклад и Поля Робсона.

Лучшим признанием выдающихся заслуг Поля Робсона в борьбе за мир является присуждение ему Международной премии мира.

Тем, кто от бандитизма в Пикскилле пошел дальше, к преступлению в Корее, тем, кто хочет разжечь атомным факелом пожар мировой войны, не удастся осуществить их черный замысел. Факел войны будет выбит из их рук.

И тогда золотые звуки голоса Робсона будут свободно раздаваться во всех странах, к радости простых людей всех народов.

Из поэмы Всеобщая песнь»

Пабло НЕРУДА

Лауреат Международной премии мира

I. ВЫСШЕЕ СЧАСТЬЕ

Я сумрак искал когда-то, но он мне больше не нужен.
теперь у меня есть радость, высокая, как мачта,
это — наследие лесов, ветер дальних дорог
и новый, решительный день, встающий в земном свете.

Я пишу не затем, чтобы вторить чужим книгам,
не для фанатиков я пишу, лирики подмастерьев,
а для простых людей, которым необходимы
вода в реке и в небе луна, простые, вечные вещи:
школа, хлеб, вино, гитара и инструменты.

Я пишу для народа — пусть не все еще могут
прочесть мои стихи неграмотными глазами.
Но время придет, и строки дуновенье,
колебавшее мою жизнь,
коснется их слуха.

И землепашец подымет глаза,
улыбнется шахтер,
вытрет свой лоб горновой,
рыбак удивится блеску
рыбы, трепещущей на ладонях,
вымоет руки механик,
выйдет из гаража,
на стихи мои взглянет —
и скажут они, быть может: «Это был наш товарищ».

Пусть это будет моим венком. Этого мне довольно.
Пускай стихи мои и в шахтах и на заводах
останутся связанными с землей,
с воздухом, с победой угнетенного человека.

И пусть тот юноша, который возьмет мою книгу,
отлитую мной из медлительного металла,
открыв страницы ее, столкнется с кипучей жизнью
и, погрузившись в нее душой,
почувствует тот ураган,
который создал мою радость на этой бурной вершине.

II. МОЕЙ ПАРТИИ

Ты мне дала братство тех, кого я не знаю,
Ты укрепила меня силами всех живущих,
Ты возвратила мне родину, словно я вновь родился,
Ты мне дала свободу, которой лишен одиночка,
Ты научила меня добро зажигать, как пламя,
Ты, как согнутому стволу, мне помогла распрямиться,
Ты мне открыла глаза на единство людей и различье,
Ты показала, как боль одного исчезает в общей победе,
Ты научила меня ночевать на жестких кроватях братьев,
Ты приказала писать о реальном, как пишут на камне,
Ты меня сделала крепкой стеною против врагов презренных,
Ты помогла мне увидеть свет мира, поверить в возможность
счастья,
Ты меня сделала неразрушимым, ибо в тебе я бессмертен.

Перевел с испанского Лев ОСПОВАТ

"I am anti-fascist"—Robeson

(Appearing at the Madison Square Garden Rally of the Congress of American Soviet Friendship Sunday, Paul Robeson stole the show completely with a brief speech and a song. Robeson's singing cannot be reproduced here but his speech can. We think it should be, so here it is.—Ed.)

"I have been called an anti-fascist. I am exactly that. Because I am an American and because I am a Negro. That is why I am here today to pay my respects to the land that fights with mine and will fight to the last drop of blood against the fascism that I hate. I can think of no simpler way to show my deep abiding belief in the friendship that exists between my country and the Soviet Union, than by reading here on this platform the words of another fighter against Fascism. A Red Army soldier. His name is Baubek Bulkishev. He is twenty-seven years old. He comes from Kakzah, in Soviet Asia. I do not know him. I do not know what he looks like. I do not know whether he is alive or dead. But he is, by these words I now read—my friend and yours—as our two countries are friends.

Paul Robeson at Madison Square Garden

"He writes: 'I rejoice that my youth serves the cause of mankind. In the past ten months I have taken part in many attacks. I have seen many human beings die. The only thing that leads one strength in this terrible struggle is the realization that our heroes die that life may triumph. I am young. I want to live. But I wear a Red Army uniform. Moreover I am a representative of the peoples of Asia. Although my life is dear to me, although I have lived but a short time, I have no right to spare it. I, a common man from the East, marching westward. I have already traversed a long road. The day draws to a close, the sun withdraws to the west, but I must march on. The sun vanishes, but I must keep marching on until the enemy is smashed, finally and completely and the sun rises again for all mankind.'

"For my friend, whom I have never seen, whom I may never know, for my friend and yours, Baubek Bulkishev, I would like to dedicate a song. It is . . ."

P.V. 11-14-42

PAUL ROBESON who will appear at a 32nd anniversary concert of the Jewish Daily Morning Freiheit at 8:30 p.m. Saturday, April 10 at Carnegie Hall, 57th and Seventh ave.

Helen Black

15 WEST 44th STREET
New York 18, N. Y.
Telephone: VAnderbilt 6-2582-3

January 5, 1951

Mr. Paul Robeson
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Paul Robeson,

If you do not see "Ogonyok" regularly, you might miss the enclosed story. I thought you might like to have it.

Kind regards to you and Eslanda Robeson.

Sincerely yours,
Helen Black

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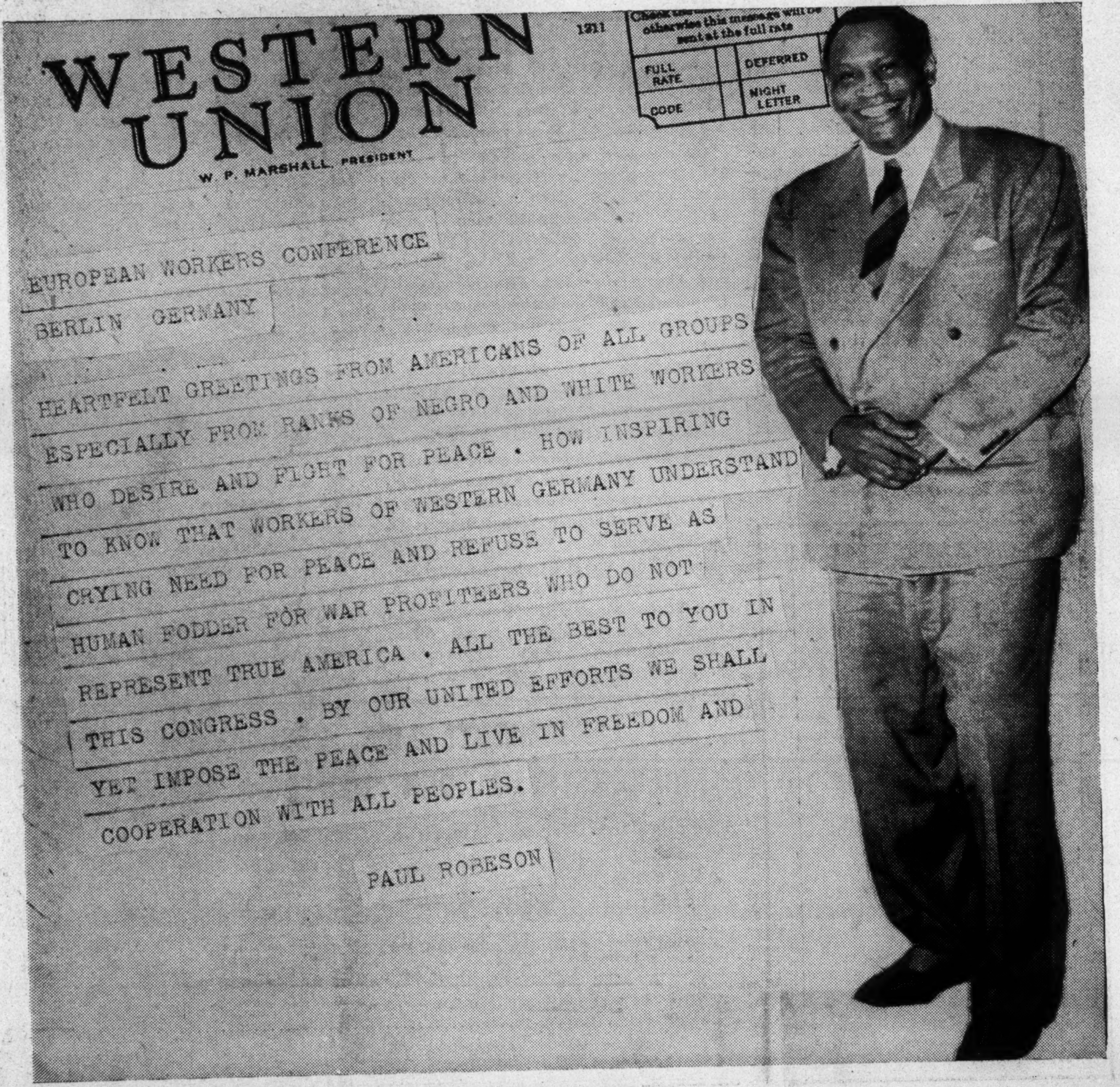
INDEPENDENT PUBLICATION

VOL. X. 261 APRIL, 1951 No. 1.

Paul Robeson begruesst Berliner Arbeiterkonferenz

Paul Robeson, einer der hervorragensten Representanten der amerikanischen Friedensbewegung, sandte das auf dieser Seite abgebildete Begruessungstelegramm an die "Europaeische Arbeiterkonferenz gegen die Remilitarisierung Westdeutschlands".

(Naeheres ueber die Konferenz Seite 7)



WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1211

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NIGHT LETTER

EUROPEAN WORKERS CONFERENCE

BERLIN GERMANY

HEARTFELT GREETINGS FROM AMERICANS OF ALL GROUPS
ESPECIALLY FROM RANKS OF NEGRO AND WHITE WORKERS
WHO DESIRE AND FIGHT FOR PEACE . HOW INSPIRING
TO KNOW THAT WORKERS OF WESTERN GERMANY UNDERSTAND
CRYING NEED FOR PEACE AND REFUSE TO SERVE AS
HUMAN FODDER FOR WAR PROFITEERS WHO DO NOT
REPRESENT TRUE AMERICA . ALL THE BEST TO YOU IN
THIS CONGRESS . BY OUR UNITED EFFORTS WE SHALL
YET IMPOSE THE PEACE AND LIVE IN FREEDOM AND
COOPERATION WITH ALL PEOPLES.

PAUL ROBESON

Europaeische Arbeiterkonferenz gegen Remilitarisierung

Vom 23. bis 25 Maerz fand in Berlin eine “Europaeische Arbeiterkonferenz gegen die Remilitarisierung Westdeutschlands” statt.

Die Konferenz, an der ungefaehr 1000 Delegierte von 18 Laendern teilnahmen, wurde auf Grund eines Appells der Arbeiter des westdeutschen Hasper Huettenwerkes in Hagen einberufen.

Obwohl die hiesigen Tageszeitungen sehr wenig ueber dieses Ereignis berichteten, ist es offensichtlich, dass die Konferenz einen historischen Schritt vorwaerts im Kampf der europaeischen Arbeiter fuer Frieden darstellte.

Die Delegierten beschlossen, eine Aufforderung an die Viermaechtekonferenz in Paris zu richten, die Frage der deutschen Aufruestung auf die Tagesordnung zu setzen. Sie beschlossen ferner einen Europaeischen Arbeiterausschuss zu schaffen, der die Aufgabe haben wird eine Volksabstimmung an allen Laendern ueber die Frage der deutschen Aufruestung durchzufuehren.

In unserer naechsten Nummer werden wir einen ausfuehrlichen Bericht ueber diese historische Konferenz bringen.

Nachstehend bringen wir Auszuege aus dem Appell, den die 2000 Arbeiter und Angestellten des Hasper Huettenwerkes in Hagen an die Arbeiter Europas richteten.

“Ein neuer, ein dritter Weltkrieg wird vorbereitet. Nach der Wiederinstandsetzung der Ruestungsindustrie unter Beteiligung der alten Hitlergenerale soll Westdeutschland eine Hauptbasis der Kriegsvorbereitungen sein.

Die Arbeiterschaft der ganzen Welt will keinen Krieg. Die ganze friedliebende Menschheit will ihn nicht. Uns sind die grossen Protestbewegungen in eurem Land gegen die Remilitarisierung Westdeutschlands bekannt.. Aber auch die deutsche Arbeiterschaft will keinen Krieg.

Auch bei uns waechst der Widerstand und kommt taeglich in immer neuen Protesten und Aktionen zum Ausdruck. Zudem lasten schon jetzt die Folgen der Remilitarisierung schwer auf der Lebenshaltung unserer Werktaetigen. Die Preise steigen, die Steuern werden erhoeht. Die Kohlen werden knapp und der Reallohn sinkt, Wohnungen werden fuer die Verstaerkung der Besatzungstruppen und Ackerfelder fuer den Bau von Flugplaetzen beschlagnahmt.

Schon immer war es das Ziel jeder Gewerkschaftsorganisation, das in den Satzungen der einzelnen Verbaende enthalten ist, die Verbesserung der Lage der Werktaetigen zu erreichen. Das zwingt aber die schaffenden Menschen, insbesondere die Gewerkschaften, gegen den Krieg Stellung zu nehmen, weil sonst nur die Lasten vergroessert werden eine Verschlechterung des Lebensstandards herbeigefuehrt wird und keine Hoeherentwicklung stattfindet.

Auch wir westdeutschen Gewerkschaftler sind der Auffassung, und deshalb heisst es in unseren Satzungen: “...es ist die Aufgabe der Gewerkschaften, nationalistische und militaristische Einfluesse zu bekaempfen, um den Kampf fuer die Sicherung und den Aufbau der demokratischen Rechte und Freiheiten zu ermoeglichen.”

Aus dem ganzen Ernst der Situation und voller Vertrauen auf die internationale Kraft der Arbeiterschaft halten wir die Durchfuehrung einer “Europaeischen Arbeiterkonferenz gegen die Remilitarisierung Westdeutschlands” fuer erforderlich, damit auf dieser Konferenz die Arbeiter ganz Europas ihre Bestrebungen vereinen, um den Krieg zu verhindern und die Remilitarisierung gemeinsam und noch entschiedener als bisher zu bekaempfen.

Da uns jeder Tag kostbar erscheint, um den Frieden zu erhalten, bitten wir euch, umgehend zu unserem Vorschlag Stellung zu nehmen und zu antworten.

Huettenwerk Haspe AG
Betriebsrat
gez. C. Mueller

(Fortsetzung von Seite 3)

brechen im Namen der Vereinigten Nationen begangen werden, sprach Frau Che Den Suk. **Sie beschrieb die Massenmorde an der Zivilbevoelkerung. Mehr als 300.000 Zivilisten wurden in Suedkorea hingeschlachtet, 600.000 wurden gefangen genommen. Waehrend der Besetzung der Gebiete Nordkoreas wurden weitere 100.000 Civilisten zu Tode gequaelt.**

Frau Suk beschrieb den heldenhaften Abwehrkampf ihres Volkes. Ueber eine Million Jugendliche — Jungen und Maedels meldeten sich freiwillig zur Volksarmee und 330.000 Frauen traten der Armee bei um bei der Verteidigung ihrer Heimat mitzuhelfen.

Wie schwer muss es angesichts dieser von Amerikanern veruebten Greultaten dem Vertreter der Friedenskraefte unseres Landes gewesen sein, vor die Delegierten zu treten und seinen Bericht zu geben! Reverend John W. Darr sprach fuer die Friedenskraefte unseres Volkes:

“...Ich glaube, dass ich als Amerikaner aus den Vereinigten Staaten einen besonderen Grund habe, fuer die Moeglichkeit in Berlin zu weilen, dankbar zu sein. Denn fuer uns alle hier stellt diese Zusammenkunft der Vertreter der Weltfriedenskraefte in Berlin, dieser Stadt im Brennpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit der ganzen Welt, einen wichtigen Abschnitt im Kampf fuer den Frieden dar...

Als Amerikaner in Berlin erschuettert mich die Erinnerung daran, was heute Amerikaner in Korea anrichten. Denn ueberall um mich herum, in den riesigen Truemmerfeldern von Berlin, sieht man, was einer Nation geschieht. die in einem tragischen Augenblick der Geschichte ihr moralisches Bewustsein und ihren Wirklichkeitssinn verliert.

Als Buerger einer Nation, die schreckliche Verbrechen gegen meine Brueder und Schwestern in anderen Laendern begeht. kann ich vielleicht ein wenig besser als Sie, die Sie keine Deutschen sind, wuerdigen, was es dem deutschen Volke bedeutet, dass es in den anderen Laendern versuchen muss, wieder seinen Platz zu gewinnen in der Familie der friedliebenden Voelker. Und die friedliebenden Deutschen werden wissen, was es fuer die friedliebenden Amerikaner bedeutet, starke Verbuendete in ihrem Kampf zu haben, um ihr Land daran zu hindern, einen Weg zu beschreiten. der nicht nur zu den Schrecken des Krieges fuer Millionen Menschen in der ganzen Welt fuehrt, sondern auch zur Vernichtung dessen, was im amerikanischen Leben und in seiner Geschichte wertvoll war.”

Staendig wachsen die Friedenskraefte der Welt — das zeigte die Sitzung des Friedensrats in Berlin. Laut riefen die Voelker den Kriegstreibern zu: Macht Frieden, denn die Friedenskraefte werden siegen, und es liegt bei Euch ob mehr unschuldiges Blut vergossen werden muss, um den Frieden zu sichern. Das Blut jedes Mannes, jeder Frau und jedes Kindes, was im Kampf um Frieden fliesst, wird an Eueren Haenden kleben. und die Volker werden Euch dafuer zur Rechenschaft ziehen.

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OBSERVATION POST

UNDERGRADUATE NEWSPAPER OF CCNY WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1951.

Robeson Shut Out of Great Hall; S. C. Mad

By Henry Krisch

A decision to bar the Great Hall to Paul Robeson, controversial left-wing singer and speaker has caused an open break between the Student-Faculty Committee on Student Affairs (SFCSA) and the Student Council.

At last Friday's meeting the Council expressed "extreme disapproval" of the committee's action, describing it as "an abridgement of academic freedom" in a resolution approved 28-4-2.

Robeson Vote

All members were in favor of the Council's resolution except: OPPOSED — Weiser '52, Richman '52 (alt), Sevransky '55, Sid Bernstein, TIIC; ABSTAINED — Krause '55, Wiesman, House Plan (alt); ABSENT — McCaffrey '55, Saunders, Science Club Board, Weber, Honorary, Service and Athletic Club Board. The totals were 28 in favor, 4 opposed, 2 abstaining, 3 absent.

Earlier in the day, the SFCSA had by a 6-3-1 vote turned down a request by Young Progressives of America (YPA) and a "Non-partisan student committee to call upon Paul Robeson" to use the Great Hall for a meeting on Thursday, January 10 from noon to 2 P.M. at which Mr. Robeson was to have spoken and sung. (The five faculty members of the committee: Deans Engler and Peace, and Profs. Corcoran, Clark and Richardson, plus Senior Class President Sy Richman voted against granting permission: Gerald Walpin and Marv Drucker, SC President and Vice-President as well as TIIC president Ernie Maclin were in favor, and House Plan President Bob Gumerove abstained.)

Speaking to a crowded Council session, NSA Chairman Henry Krisch called the committee's action a violation of the NSA's Student Bill of Rights and called on our colleges to maintain the right to disagree; SC President Gerald Walpin, repeating the

(Continued on Page Three)

Robeson Barred

(Continued from Page One)

stand he had taken at the SFCSA meeting, said the committee's action violated the "spirit of the laws" of the College and was inconsistent with past decisions.

In connection with the co-sponsorship argument, it was pointed out that the Committee had turned down a Walpin motion that Robeson appear without SC co-sponsorship and with a payment of fees for Great Hall use. Other speakers declared, however, that a person of Robeson's political beliefs should not appear at an American college.

In a statement to **Observation Post**, the "Non-partisan committee" stated the ban "completely destroys the democratic principles upon which City College was founded" and urged "prompt reversal" of the decision.

Council also voted firm support of the executive committee's letter to BHE Chairman Ordway Tead and President Harry N. Wright charging improper handling of non-instructional fees.

THE CAMPUS
Undergraduate Newspaper of the City College Since 1907
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1951 401

Student Council Condemns SFCSA Action in Barring Robeson From Great Hall

Student Council vigorously condemned the action of the Student-Faculty Committee on Student Activities last Friday in refusing to allow Paul Robeson to speak in the Great Hall.

By a vote of 28-4, with two abstentions, SC expressed "extreme disapproval of the committee's action, terming it "an abridgement of academic freedom."

At its meeting Friday afternoon, the SFCSA, voting 6-3-1, approved a motion stating that "the use of the Great Hall should not be extended to the Young Progressives of America for the appearance of Mr. Paul Robeson."

Mr. Robeson was asked to speak at the College Thursday, January 10 from 12-2. The invitation was extended by the Young Progressives of America and the Non-partisan Student Committee to Call Upon Paul Robeson.

A ruling of the Board of Higher Education requires that at least two student organizations sponsor any individual wishing to use the Great Hall. In addition, Student Council and the SFCSA must agree to co-sponsor the event.

Viewing the action as "an assault upon academic freedom," Student Council President Gerald Walpin '52 stated, "College facilities are open to all student organizations on campus. Yet the Student Faculty Committee on Student Activities has seen fit to deny the Young Progressives of America the right to use the Great Hall. Although I disagree with the views of YPA, I must also disagree with the stand taken by the SFCSA."

Refuses to Co-Sponsor

Dean James Peace

Lisle Greenidge, '53, co-chairman of the Non-partisan Committee to Call Upon Paul Robeson, stated, "The action of the SFCSA completely destroys the democratic principles upon which City College was founded."

Dean James Peace (Student Life) stated, "I will not co-sponsor Robeson's appearance."

All Opinions Expressed in the Editorial Column Are Determined by Majority Vote of the Managing Board

The Robeson Incident

Why Mr. Paul Robeson has been denied the use of the Great Hall raises a disturbing question. Was it, as one faculty member maintained, that the SFCSA feared that Mr. Robeson would not draw a large enough audience? We hardly think so. Nor do we think that Mr. Robeson is not of sufficient stature or importance to justify his appearance.

Why Mr. Robeson was turned down still is not clear, although we have our own opinions. We are certain, however, that the choice of who shall appear in the Great Hall should not, in the final analysis, be left up to the SFCSA. We believe that Student Council should be empowered to override such decisions of the SFCSA by a two-thirds vote. Only through such a method can the problem of who can be heard in the Great Hall be placed where it belongs—in the hands of the students themselves.

The Oregonian, Portland, Ore. 2/4/52

High-handed Border Police

We hold no brief for Paul Robeson or for Vincent W. Hallinan, one of Harry Bridges' lawyers; but we feel U. S. immigration authorities acted both arbitrarily and unwisely in refusing to permit the two to cross the border to speak in Vancouver, B. C.

Officials cited a 1918 wartime statute and a 1941 wartime presidential proclamation as authority for their action. The provisions of these permit the immigration service, so it contends, to prohibit anyone—citizen or alien—from leaving the country if such action is "in the interest of the government." Who is to determine what is "in the interest of the government?" The immigration service presumably. This is high-handed action, indeed.

As for Paul Robeson he is doubtless overjoyed to be so martyred by a government which he so consistently compares unfavorably with that of Soviet Russia. The arbitrary action of the border authorities is not only an affront to the civil rights of all Americans. It also provides both Robeson and Hallinan with welcome subject matter for speeches which can be much more damaging to America than anything either could have said in British Columbia.

Vancouver meet hears Robeson despite U.S. 'house arrest

DAILY PEOPLE WORLD
[8 FEB. 1952]

SEATTLE

Attempts by the U.S. Immigration Service to prevent Paul Robeson speaking to a convention of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union in Vancouver, B. C.—officials halted both Robeson and Atty. Vincent Hallinan at the border Thursday night—were only partly successful. By long distance telephone from the Marine Cooks and Stewards Hall in Seattle, the great Negro leader spoke and sang to the 2,000 members of the mine union gathered in Denman Auditorium in Vancouver. Robeson's talk, the text of which is given below, ended with the reading of excerpts from Neruda's poem, "Let the Rail Splitter Awake."

* * *

I can't tell you how happy I am to be at least near you, just a few miles away and I want to thank you for the invitation to revisit a country and a city which is close to my heart. This has been denied me this time, but I'm certain that another opportunity will soon arise. I remain in a kind . . . in a sort of domestic house arrest and confinement for very simple reasons. I am under house arrest because of my struggles and the struggles of many others whom you know, like Vincent Hallinan, who was also denied permission to leave the U.S., on behalf of labor, black and white, and because of my passionate devotion to the full liberation of the black and brown peoples from whom I sprung.

I am prevented from being with you because of my deep belief and knowledge that all peoples can live in peace and friendly coexistence—because of my firm opposition to preparedness for war and to the attempted stifling of the surges toward independence among tens of millions of the world's colonially oppressed peoples—because of my defense of all persecuted working class leaders of many political persuasions—because of my defense of constitutional rights of free speech.

WITH PAUL ROBESON in the Seattle Marine Cooks & Stewards hiring hall after being turned back from the Canadian border are (standing) Robert Ward, acting port agent, and Lester Catlett, patrolman.

'A decent life'

I can't tell you now happy I am to be saying hello to you again, to sing a few songs, to chat a few moments, to bring you the good wishes of a Progressive America, joined with you in a fight for peace and a decent life. And especially my greetings to the members of one of the finest of the militant trade unions, fighting for a decent livelihood for its workers, fighting for fuller controls of the workers over their destiny, fighting for the full dignity of the laboring section of our citizenry.

I remember addressing your convention in Cleveland some years ago and, as you know, have shared in the struggles for labor in my own land, below the border, in the north and south and in other lands, England, Scandinavia, Scotland and Wales. I've been on the picket line for Steel, for Auto, in Maritime. I am proud of my honorary membership in the Marine Cooks & Stewards and the ILWU.

'In picket lines'

I've fought for Packing and Tobacco, Fur and Leather and have been with you in the struggles of Mine, Mill in the West, the Southwest and the deep South.

I've stood in picket lines in Memphis, Tenn., where white brothers came out to fight for equal wages for their colored brothers.

I've sung to non-segregated audiences of members of your union, their families and others from the Southern communities.

And I listened with pride as Brother Maurice Travis addressed the convention of the Negro Trade Union Councils in Cincinnati where he displayed a deep understanding of the needs and aspirations of the Negro trade unionists who have a grave responsibility toward the oppressed Negro people and must have the help of their white trade union brothers and sisters to fulfill their historic task.

Crucial period

We gather at a most important time. All laboring people have followed your union's courageous battle against a powerful, greedy few. No struggle could better highlight the basic issues, economic, social and political of our times. For you workers mine the very essentials of our industrial way of life. Without these basic raw materials the whole system would shut up shop. These things, owned by the few, are the results of your labor.

Do you get a fair share? No. In Latin America, the Congo, in South Africa the same Anaconda Copper controls these mines and holds down the wages of the colonial people. And so our struggles today are unified all across the world. And so we stand shoulder to shoulder in a common cause for a really decent America, a really democratic America, growing out of our strength—the strength of those whose toil has created the wealth and built your nation and mine.

And all these things today

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DAILY PEOPLE WORLD
[8 FEB. 1952]

are seen against the background of millions of people struggling for freedom in the colonial world—against the background of the need for peace.

There is no question but that the denial of the right to leave our country is a gross perversion of the Constitution and our Bill of Rights. The State Department has said to me that I must not talk—that many of us must not talk—about what happens to workers in America, about the injustices to the Negro people. We must not talk about the bombing of the Moore family in Florida, about the Martinsville Seven or Willie McGee.

I urge you to read the book "We Charge Genocide" recently published by the Civil Rights Congress and edited by its magnificent chairman, William Patterson. This is the only thing that can be charged against us that everywhere we fight for the full citizenship of our people.

'Lost rights'

I want to quote to you what Frederick Douglass said when he spoke in Moorfields, England, on May 12, 1846:

"I deny the charge that I am saying a word against the institutions of America or the people as such. What I have to say is against slavery and the slaveholders. I want the slaveholder to feel that he has no sympathy in England, Scotland or Ireland—that he has none in Canada, none in Mexico, none among the poor, wild Indians; that the voice of the civilized, aye and of the savage, is against him. I would have condemnation blaze down upon him in every direction until he is stunned and overwhelmed with shame and confusion and compelled to let go the grasp he holds upon the persons of his victims and restores them to their long lost rights."

And so I ask you in Canada, remembering that many of your forefathers came to your land to seek freedom, that you raise all sorts of protests to see that we can travel, that we can visit you. And I shall finish with a poem by Neruda, the great poet from Chile who is now a fugitive from his native land—a Chile supported by Anaconda Copper interests and the other interests of the same people who oppress you. Neruda says "Let the Rail Splitter Awake."

There was anger—and fast action

VANCOUVER, B.C., Feb. 7—An angry roar of approval from more than 2,000 delegates greeted the reading of a resolution condemning the U.S. State Department for refusing to allow Paul Robeson and Attorney Vincent Hallinan to enter Canada.

The action was taken at an overflow meeting in the Denman auditorium, a feature of the annual All-Canada Conference of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union. Both Robeson and Hallinan were to have addressed the big public rally.

The resolution passed without a dissenting vote and Chairman Harvey Murphy got a big laugh by declaring "then this means that the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) and the FBI are for this resolution for they are here and they did not express any opposition."

Earlier a mass delegation had protested the action at the U.S. Consulate.

Robeson and Hallinan were stopped at Blaine, Wash., noted for the Peace Arch which stands on the U.S.-Canadian border as a symbol of international friendship. They were refused permission to enter Canada and threatened with prosecution if they did so.

It is generally believed here that U.S. authorities took the unprecedented action when Canadian immigration authorities refused ta yield to pressure to bar the visitors.

Thunderous applause greeted a program of songs and a talk by Robeson piped to the auditorium amplifiers via telephone from Seattle.

Friday, February 8, 1952

EDITORIAL PAGE SO THE PEOPLE MAY KNOW
THE DENVER POST
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1952

Robeson—An Idealist Duped

Reds Win, Then Destroy

By ROSCOE FLEMING.

TO the Paul Robeson Concert Committee, Room 207, 1026 17th street:

You write that "Denver will be honored" May 27, when Paul Robeson sings in city auditorium, "under auspices of the United Freedom Fund, a co-ordinated fund-raising agency recently established by the Council on African Affairs, the National Negro Council, the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, and Freedom Associates."

Fleming.

You ask me to lend my name to the Paul Robeson Concert committee, whose membership is to appear on the concert programs; and to help sell tickets.

I'm sorry, but I can't do either. I would no nothing to prevent this concert, because I believe with Justice Holmes in freedom to speak—or sing—right up to the edge of "clear and present danger."

On the other hand that doesn't obligate me to help. Paul Robeson, with one of the great voices of our time, has excelled at most things he has undertaken, and has scored a great personal success.

We all know, of course, that his racial group does not yet, in much of our country, in spite of the promises of our constitution and the guarantees of our laws, enjoy full social, economic and political equality with other Americans. I admire Paul Robeson for making its cause his own, and using all his talents and energies on its behalf.

●

BUT I can't understand why so bright a man, a Phi Beta Kappa and all that, shouldn't be able to see that the company he keeps harms himself, harms those he would help, and harms his country.

Those with whom he seems to have allied himself, seem to me those who use the Paul Robesons of this world only as cannon-fodder. They use our democratic liberties only to destroy them.

In every country in which they have taken over, the Paul Robesons, the duped idealists who fought in the front lines while the commissars hid behind, have been the first to face the firing squads or to disappear into dank concrete dungeons to rot out the rest of their miserable lives. I've no doubt the result would be the same here.

●

PROGRESS in our country toward justice and true human equality sometimes seems to be unspeakably slow, but we do make progress, and our system and our people do take care to hold the door of progress forever open.

The very cause for which Mr. Robeson insists he is striving, that of actual equal opportunity and status for all Americans, seems to me to have made more progress in the last decade than in 100 previous years; and to have done so despite the Paul Robesons, rather than with their aid.

So Paul Robeson's efforts and his associates, to put the case as kindly as possible, seem to me to be calculated to prevent, rather than to hasten, our national progress toward the ideal of a true classless society, one in which character alone will count, and not race, creed, color or circumstance. Whether this is his fault or his misfortune, I want no part of it, or of them.

●

INCIDENTALLY you say that tickets will be in three price classes, but that only those persons buying tickets costing $5 or more apiece will be permitted to attend the patrons' reception after the concert for Mr. Robeson.

The brave new world, eh? The classless society, eh? Its ticket of admission the possession of at least a $5 bill, and its affairs run from an office on Seventeenth street?

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general manager of the bakery, is reflected in the appointment.

The questions that are foremost in the minds of many southsiders are:

Why was Col. Jones so eager to get away from South Center and Harry Englestein, where he has worked for a number of years as a front man?

Was Col. Jones fed up with Englestein and the manner in which he and Robert Mackie handled the Union grievances?

Was Grand Refuser?

Did South Center refuse to grant Col. Jones a raise in face of a threat to pull out?

according to reports made application for the job at the bakery three weeks before the strike, and had assurances, it is alleged, from the Urban League and Charles P. Browning that the bakery job was in the [illegible]g.

Well Experienced

Col. Jones is well experienced in public relations work but is he the right man for the job? How well did he get along with the employees of the store, especially the Union helpers. How well does he get along with the men who serve under him in the 184th? What is behind the resignation of two key men who recently resigned from the outfit?

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50,000 Men and Women

See and Hear

Hon. Paul Robeson

"America's Foremost Voices For Freedom"

3 p.m. Sunday, June 1

Washington Park, 53rd and S. Parkway

A Cultural Festival of Song, Celebrating Robeson's 54th Birthday

Admission Free

Sponsored By: The Washington Park Forum in Cooperation with the Greater Chicago Neg[illegible] Council and the Committee For Negro In The A

FOR B

Vancouver Sun
5/12/52

Border Staff Raised For Robeson Show

Extra Patrols Will Handle Traffic For Sunday Rally at Peace Arch Park

Border patrol officials at Blaine, Wash., said today they will put extra men on duty Sunday to handle possible traffic congestion when leftist singer Paul Robeson appears at a labor rally at Peace Arch Park.

Some 30 busses have been chartered in Vancouver to carry trade unionists and their families to the rally, and others will attend from points in Washington State.

Veterans' organizations in Bellingham were reported to be sending "heckling" squads to the rally, but the Border Patrol said they are anticipating "no trouble of any kind."

The Blaine rally was planned for the border after Robeson was denied permission to leave the United States to address a left-wing meeting in Vancouver.

The Union
Mine, Mill Smelter
2/25/52

Robeson to sing at Peace Arch

VANCOUVER, B. C.—Paul Robeson will sing for Canadian and U. S. trade unionists at a huge rally which now has been definitely scheduled for May 18. The open air concert will be held at the Peace-Arch at Blaine, the border town where U. S. and Canada meet.

Robeson's May 18 appearance was announced by Mine-Mill regional director Harvey Murphy, who had arranged the recent rally in Vancouver which Robeson was prevented from attending by U. S. officials.

There is a public park at the Peace Arch which has been designated international property. It is here that Robeson will appear, and it is expected that thousands of workers and their wives will come from both Vancouver, B. C. and Seattle-Tacoma, Washington, to hear the concert.

MEANTIME, the Portland Oregonian sharply rebuked what is called "High handed border police" who forced Robeson to remain in the U. S., declaring that "U. S. immigration authorities acted both arbitrarily and unwisely."

"Who is to determine what is 'in the interest of the government', the conservative Oregonian asks. "The immigration service, presumably. That is high-handed action indeed."

How far U. S. immigration officials are prepared to go in upholding the "iron curtain" between the two countries was dramatically illustrated with news that it had refused to permit six members of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra to cross for a concert in Detroit.

One member of the orchestra commented: *"Music is supposed to be an international language, but it would seem that Washington officialdom is afraid some players from a foreign clime might hit a wrong note and overthrow the government by sounding a chord in C sharp."*

J. R. BLACKWELL, Mine-Mill member in the Couer d'Alenes, sent a letter to the editorial department of the Spokane Review, declaring that ***"Paul Robeson has not ceased to be a great American simply because he enlisted in the fight against race discrimination and the tragic humiliation of ten million Negro Americans and other minority groups.***

"Had Paul Robeson winked at the plight of his people and amassed a huge fortune that could have been there for the taking, and instead, joined with the "Uncle Toms" of his race, then he would have measured up to your brand of Americanism."

~~Am~~ a.n. 5/3/52

Concerts In Several Cities To Honor Robeson's Birthday

Harlem To Get Initial Concert Next Thursday

Plans for nation-wide celebraions in honor of Paul Robeson vere announced Tuesday by the Jnited Freedom Fund, 53 V. 125th St., and that New York vill observe its share of the fesivities when Paul Robeson sings nd presides over his own Birthay Concert at Rockland Palace, 'hursday, May 8, 8:00 p. m.

Following the Rockland Palace ffair, the world famous artist, vhose voice has been hailed by ritics as one of the world's greatst, will proceed to Blaine, Washigton, where on May 18 he will ing and speak at an International 'eace Celebration to be held on he American-Canadian border. It ; expected that forty thousand eople from both Canada and the 'nited States will throng both des of the International Peace rch to hear the great Negro artt who was forcibly restrained 'om entering Canada last month y the United States government.

Mr. Robeson will appear at irthday celebrations all over the ountry throughout the months of Iay and June. Cleveland, Seattle, an Francisco, Oakland, Los Aneles, Denver, Milwaukee, Chicao, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Iewark, Detroit, Pittsburgh, are ome of cities whose citizens will onor the 54-year old singer.

Protest Meetings

The concerts will protest the house arrest" of the beloved artst. The U. S. State Department as refused to permit Mr. Robeon's . . . frank admission that e has been extremely active poitically in behalf of the indeendence of the colonial people f Africa . . ."

PAUL ROBESON

Insisting upon his constitutional right to travel regardless of his disagreement with official views, the great cultural figure and public leader has characteristically declared that he will never give up his leadership in the fight for a free Africa, a free South, and peaceful relations between the Great Powers.

Greetings and invitations to sing have been pouring in from almost every Nation in the world to Mr. Robeson, who has achieved in his own country an incredible list of honors as scholar, athlete, actor, singer and public figure.

Robeson Profile

Valedictorian for his Rutgers class, Robeson earned a Phi Beta Kappa key and 12 varsity letters in sports. He has honorary degrees from Rutgers, Hamilton, Morehouse, Howard Universities and was nominated All-American end on Walter Camp's football teams of 1917 and 1918.

He was presented with the Abraham Lincoln Medal in 1943 for distinguished service in human relations in New York, the Donaldson Award in 1914 for the best performance, and the NAACP Spingarn Medal in 1945 for outstanding Negro achievement.

Group Protests Downtown Spot's Ban On Robeson

The United Freedom Fund, called on all New Yorkers this week to protest Manhattan Center's cancellation of a verbal agreement to rent its hall on May 8 for a Paul Robeson Birthday Concert.

Despite the agreement reportedly made with Bert Alves, Business Manager of the Fund, Manhattan Center's manager, Al Shapiro, suddenly refused to rent the hall and twice turned away a delegation that came to discuss the matter with him.

It was noted that Robeson spoke at Manhattan Center just last week as a guest on another program.

The Fund is going ahead with its plans for the Robeson Birthday Concert to take place on Thursday, May 8, at Rockland Palace, 155th St. and 8th Ave. The Manhattan Center arena was to be rented for a second concert to take place the same nite.

Cites Lynchers

Mrs. Pearl Lawes, spokesman for the delegation that was turned away, said: "Mr. Shapiro's capitulation to the lynchers and war-makers who are trying to stop the Negro people's struggle for freedom needs to be protested by every honest American, black or white. "Let protests to Manhattan Center be followed by block-buying of tickets for the Rockland Palace concert, so that Paul Robeson's great voice can bring inspiration to us all."

Robeson and a group of Negro and white artists will be heard at Rockland in a special concert performance celebrating Robeson's 54th birthday.

Tickets priced at $1.20 can be purchased at the door or in advance from Freedom Associates, 53 W. 125th St., EN 9-3980.

FOR ALL THE NEWS, ALL THE TIME, Read Both Editions Of The Amsterdam News, On Your Favorite Newsstand Every Tuesday And Friday.

THE DENVER POST: Sunday, May 4, 1952

Paul Robeson Slates Appearance in City

Paul Robeson, Communist-loving concert singer, will appear in Denver May 27 at city auditorium, it was announced Saturday from the last known address of the local Communist party.

The Paul Robeson Concert committee, which sent out the announcement of the baritone's scheduled appearance in Denver, listed its address as Room 207 at 1026 Seventeenth street, the address last used by the Communist party.

The announcement said that in addition to Robeson's appearance, the program would include "local artists portraying the culture of the Mexican-American residents of the area, as well as that of the American Indian."

EARLIER APPEARANCE.

Whether Robeson planned to make any political speeches against "Fascism" or sing any Russian "worker" songs, as has been his custom in past performances, was not specified in the announcement.

Robeson's last appearance in Denver was in May, 1948, when he spoke in behalf of Henry Wallace's candidacy for the presidency on a "love Russia" platform. The year before, Robeson spoke to the American Youth for Democracy, an organization of juvenile pinks, at Boulder.

The group had just been banished from the campus of the University of Colorado, an action which Robeson denounced as "a trend toward Fascism."

Robeson has never declared publicly whether he is a Communist. Asked by a Negro press editor once to say so, Robeson replied that it was none of the editor's "damned business."

PART OF U. S. TOUR.

However, Robeson created a controversy when he said American Negroes would not fight on the side of America in any war against Russia. He appeared as a defense witness in the trial of the ten top Reds in New York and said in a speech in June, 1949, that he loves the "Soviet people more than any other nation."

In return, the Russians named a mountain after him, and Czechoslovakia, after falling under Communist control, gave his name to a resort hotel.

The announcement from 1026 Seventeenth street said that the Robeson visit to Denver was part of a national tour which celebrates the singer's fifty-fourth birthday.

Tickets for the concert, priced at $1.25, $2.50 and $5, are on sale at 1026 Seventeenth street and at the Dennis Record Shop, 2556 Washington street.

Vets to Ask Screening of Public Hall Renters

Paul Robeson Concert Touches Off Protests

By JOHN SNYDER.
Denver Post Staff Writer.

THERE probably won't be anything said about it officially in the next few weeks, but veterans groups in Denver are planning to ask the city to "screen" persons who want to rent public buildings.

Object will be to keep any "subversive" organizations from using the auditorium or other city-owned halls for meetings and other shindigs.

Snyder.

The request will not be made until after May 27, when Paul Robeson, Negro concert star and Soviet sympathizer, is scheduled to sing in the auditorium. Robeson sponsors already have a signed contract with the city for the May date.

The veterans did not like this, especially after it was learned that at least a fourth of the concert proceeds will go to the Council on African Affairs, an organization listed by the U. S. attorney general as "subversive and Communist."

They think something should be done to eliminate the use of public-owned buildings by groups like this council—and that "screening" is the best way.

First stop of the vets will be the office of Mayor Newton. And one of the strongest pleas for the "screening" is expected to be made by the Wallace-Simpson post of the American Legion, a Negro unit.

DENVER officials of the office of price stabilization are confident that congress will extend controls over wages and prices until at least midsummer of 1953. They don't think the high-powered appeals of the National Association of Manufacturers, grocery groups and others for decontrol will have much effect.

In argument, they're pointing out that the senate banking committee already has approved extension of the control measures until next summer.

●

IT ISN'T smart these days for a known but uncaught criminal to get his picture in a newspaper. After The Denver Post recently published pictures and case histories of the ten men most wanted by the federal bureau of investigation, the Denver FBI office was flooded with **more than 200 tips.**

THE DENVER POST:
Sunday, May 18, 1952 3E

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The Post pays $1 for proverb used he

ENVER POST: Monday, May 12, 1952

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The Paul Robeson Committee Replies

Concert Planned as Cultural Event

The authors of this guest editorial, Mrs. Cora I. Peters and Morris J. Wright, are members of the group sponsoring the concert by Paul Robeson in the city auditorium May 27.

By CORA I. PETERS
and MORRIS J. WRIGHT.

ROSCOE Fleming's column of April 30 was in the form of an open letter to the Paul Robeson concert committee. We'd like to reply, on behalf of that committee.

First, it was good to see that Fleming subscribed to Robeson's right to appear as an artist on the concert stage in Denver, so that his magnificent voice may once again be heard here. But there was a hint, in Fleming's reference to Justice Holmes' doctrine of "clear and present danger," that by singing at the auditorium on the evening of May 27, Robeson may somehow be skirting on the thin edge of something sinister and dangerous to the American way of life.

How?

What is there about Paul Robeson's music that spells danger? And what is endangered? When he sings of the hopes of all working people, Negro and white alike, the desire for freedom, equality, human dignity, a decent way of life, who is it that trembles?

One of the most currently popular of progressive ideas, expressed frequently by persons in government as well as the common man, **is that the world** needs contact, understanding, sympathy between peoples of all countries. Rulers of nations will be unable to make war, we are told, if their peoples can learn to know the problems, the hopes, the desires of those in other lands.

●

THE ROLE of the artist, especially one who is a singer of people's songs, is to foster such understanding. Paul Robeson is noted for his repertory of people's songs from around the world, as well as for his great voice and artistry.

We want Paul Robeson to be heard in Denver for this reason, among others. We want him also because we thrill to the exalting quality of his music. We think, with Walter Damrosch, that "he is one of our truly great artists, gifted by the gods as musician and actor." We concur in the opinion of a writer for the Detroit Free Press that "There is no living voice which will quite compare with that of Robeson." We think we are making an important contribution to the cultural life of Denver in bringing Paul Robeson here in concert.

●

ROSCOE FLEMING chose to write an open letter in reply to the form letter he received from us. Why? He could have ignored our letter, or he could have answered by mail, declining to help. We are not objecting to his using his column in reply, but we are asking what was the purpose. We can think **of no answer** except that the purpose was to discourage attendance at the concert.

Why should anyone wish to discourage attendance? Because of a belief that anyone who likes Paul Robeson's singing will be favorably inclined toward his activities on behalf of the Negro people?

This seems to have been Mr. Fleming's reason, because he devoted more than half of his column to setting forth his differences with Robeson as to how the Negro people can advance toward their goal of first-class citizenship.

We do not propose to debate this issue with Roscoe Fleming in connection with the Robeson concert. We think it is off the subject. Many who do not share Robeson's views, as well as many who do, will be in the audience. We know this from comments made by people as they buy their tickets.

We think the applause will reflect appreciation of the music, rather than agreement or disagreement with political views.

Attempts to discourage attendance—even to prevent the concert—have not been confined to newspaper columns. Intimidation—fear of being labeled "red"—is the principal method being used. We know of one Denver man who was threatened by his employer with being discharged if he did not stop talking up the Robeson concert. We think there are very few Denverites who will surrender their birthright, who will meekly stay away from a **great cultural event through fear or intolerance.**

Afraid of Freedom?

I ONLY want to say that I think it quite shocking that some people on the "Open Switchboard" radio program have said that Paul Robeson's concert should be stopped. What are they afraid of? The American people have fought pretty hard for freedom of speech. We guarantee it in our constitution.

Are those who would stop Mr. Robeson's songs so afraid that they no longer respect the constitution? Only a terrified people need fear freedom of speech.

Denver. **JESSICA RHINE.**

Letters

Communications must be addressed to the Open Forum and must contain the complete name and street address of the writer. Initials may be used on the published letter on request. Letters of 200 or fewer words are given first consideration, and all letters are subject to editing. None will be returned. Letters should be written on only one side of the paper and typewritten if possible.

Denver Post May 12

Merry-Go-Round,' by Drew Pears

May 14, 1952

THAT'S THAT

DP

Says Bruce Gustin

SAN FRANCISCO officials have refused to allow Paul Robeson, Russian sympathizer and famous Negro singer, to give a concert in their opera house. Mayor Robinson said his appearance there would be a "desecration and an insult" to the city's war dead. That's the position Denver officials should have taken. Instead, they have agreed to rent the city auditorium for a Robeson concert.

Gustin.

Mayor Newton's position is that regardless of his personal feelings about Robeson, any responsible group is entitled to rent the auditorium "unless their purpose is subversive." One-fourth of the proceeds from the Robeson concert goes to the Council on African Affairs. That organization has been listed by the U. S. government as "subversive and Communist." If part of the money to be raised by the concert is to go to a subversive organization, doesn't that at least give a subversive tinge to the purpose of the concert?

Goff and Harvey Springer are Colorado's most notorious fascists.

Goff Protests Robeson Concert

By JOHN SNYDER.
Denver Post Staff Writer.

The scheduled concert in the Denver city auditorium May 27 of Paul Robeson, Negro baritone and avowed Soviet sympathizer, was blasted as "traitorous" Thursday by the Anti-Communist League of Colorado in a letter to Mayor Newton and his commissioner of supplies, Waldo Cockrell.

Simultaneously, the commander-elect of Denver's Negro American Legion post said he "didn't think it was right" that Robeson—who once said American Negroes never would fight the Soviet Union—should be allowed to present a concert in a public building.

SEES AID TO REDS.

In his letter of protest to Newton and Cockrell, Director Kenneth Goff of the Anti-Communist league declared:

"In renting the auditorium to Paul Robeson, you have stretched your interpretation of freedom of speech to the place where it aids and abets the cause of Communism. Free speech ends when treason and conspiracy to overthrow one's government begins.

"It is folly that our boys should be giving their life blood in Korea to stop Communism . . . and that our nation should spend billions of dollars to fight Communism abroad while we allow them to carry on their evil works right here in America under the guise of a musical concert."

COUNCIL GETS FUNDS.

(One-fourth of the proceeds from Robeson's concert will go to the Council of African Affairs, an organization listed as "subversive and Communist" by the U. S. attorney general.)

"The graveyards of Colorado and of Korea are spotted with the graves of those of our hero dead that have died to stop Communism elsewhere in the world and of their broken-hearted fathers and mothers," Goff continued.

"Yet, here in Denver, you have allowed the most outspoken proponent of Communism access to a public-owner auditorium to use this guise of a concert as a front to promote this treasonable cause.

"Robeson is not only a traitor to his own race, but to every American. Our state department has forbidden him to leave this country. And, if he is that dangerous in the eyes of our government, why then is it safe for him to use the public auditorium in the city of Denver?"

Both Newton and Cockrell have stated that, despite their personal feelings, they think any responsible group has the right to use the auditorium unless the group is subversive. They have been promised, they said, that Robeson will present only a concert here—and nothing more.

Charles Tasker, commander-elect of the Walace Simpson post of the American Legion here, said his post was not planning any formal protest of Robeson's concert.

"But personally, I think it shouldn't be. I'm just one man. I don't represent the post. But I don't think he (Robeson) should be allowed to sing in a public building like the auditorium."

15 State Employes To Retire

Two prominent college officials head a group of state employes whose retirement this year was announced by the public employes retirement board Thursday.

David C. Johnston of Golden, well known business manager of athletics for Colorado School of Mines, will retire Sept. 1 after thirty-eight years six months of actual state service.

F. A. Anderson of Fort Collins, extension director for Colorado A. & M. college will retire July 1. He has been in state service for thirty-one years and five months.

THIRTEEN OTHERS RETIRE.

The retirement association listed thirteen other state employes in various positions who are retiring upon their own requests.

They are: Mrs. Lois A. Tremmel, clerk at University of Colorado; Mrs. Grace Tallent, senior clerk for state welfare department; George S. Atkinson, janitor at Colorado School of Mines; Tom Thornton, custodial office state penitentiary; Lloyd E. Gregg, division mechanic for state highway department; George E. Smith, groundkeeper at University of Colorado; Harry J. Patterson, clerk at Colorado State hospital at Pueblo; Mrs. Clara F. Brace, stenographer for state tax commission; Miss Catherine O. O'Day, clerk-typist for the compensation insurance division; Miss Virginia Moore, registrar at University of Colorado; Mrs. Mary E. Shockley, nurse at state industrial school at Golden; Mrs. Ethel F. McCarthy, administrative assistant for state bureau of mines, and Miss Louise Sloan, teacher at Colorado school for deaf and blind at Colorado Springs.

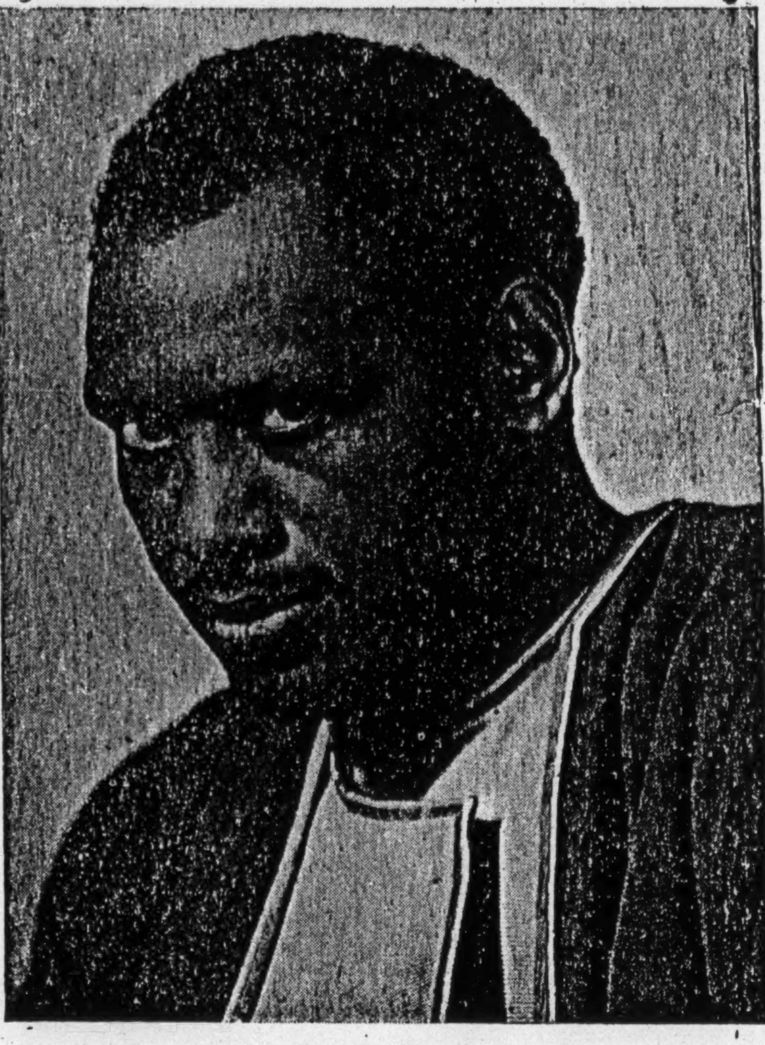
Miss Sloan, has the longest state service of those retiring—forty-nine years—at the Colorado Springs institution.

Ellis In taste-tempting chile gravy. BROWN BEANS

5.25% Sodium Hypo-chlorite

This is Paul Robeson

By NAT LOW



Paul Robeson was hailed by Broadway critics as "the greatest Othello of the twentieth century."

THIS is the story of an angry man.

No. it didn't start with the fascist mob attack at Peekskill, New York, although that would have been reason enough:

It started when a child was born with a dark skin and because of this skin was treated as sub-human. And in the United States, that "land of the free and home of the brave," this man never was free. nor did he ever feel at home.

It is upon this fact that Paul Robeson's monumental anger feeds—an anger shared by 15 million of his brother and sister Negroes in the United States who have known and suffered the hideous lash of "white supremacy" oppression.

In order to fully understand the angry man of today it is necessary to go into the past, because the story begins a long, long time ago.

●

It is the historic year of 1860 and a tall, gaunt man named Abraham Lincoln has been elected president of the United States.

A 15 year old slave, whose father had been brought from Africa in chains, has just escaped from a plantation in Martin County, North Carolina. He has taken upon himself the name of his former master, William Drew Robeson, and now begins the grim, terrible trek to the North with the aid of the Underground Railroad.

After long, bitter weeks of travel by night, he arrives in Pennsylvania, where he sets to work on a farm. In subsequent years he returns to his former plantation three times, on each occasion defying immediate death, to bring his deeply beloved mother money he has earned as a freedman. Each time he again escapes via the Underground Railroad.

The years pass swiftly and this once-illiterate ex-slave enters, and graduates from, Lincoln University near Philadelphia. Now the boy has grown into a powerfully-built man with an awe-inspiring voice and a dream of freedom for all his people. A deeply religious man, he turns to God for direction, and toward the end of the 19th century he becomes minister of Witherspoon Presbyterian Church, which still stands today in Princeton, New Jersey.

This man is the father of Paul Robeson.

The genesis of Paul Robeson does not end here. On the maternal side it winds back through almost all of U.S. history.

General George Washington's embattled army at Valley Forge is huddled around small campfires in the unrelenting cold. Men are hungry and weary and tense. for "these are the times that try men's souls." But then, from out of the darkness, comes a cheerful, friendly voice: "Come and get it boys." They gather around a Negro baker who hands them hot bread, imparting gracious words of hope and cheer to the "Winter Soldiers."

This man, Cyrus Bustill, was born a slave in New Jersey but had been allowed to purchase his freedom and had been taught the baker's trade. Later, learning to read and write on his own, he became one of the leaders of the Negro people in the North, and in 1737 helped found the "Free Africa Society," the first beneficial society organized by Negro people in the U.S. Cyrus Bustill, who traced his ancestry directly to a powerful Indian tribe, was a man of great intellect and leadership ability, and is mentioned by name in the **Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin.** From this man came many generations of highly cultured scholars and school teachers, one of whom was a great granddaughter named Maria Louisa Bustill, born in Philadelphia on November 8, 1853.

This woman is the mother of Paul Robeson.

In the year 1878, William Drew Robeson married Maria Louisa Bustill in Philadelphia. Louisa Robeson bore her husband eight children, the last coming in Princeton, N.J., on April 9, 1898, when she was 45 and her husband 55 years of age.

The child was a boy and was named Paul Robeson.

This, then, is how he came to be.

●

The child Robeson was a well-adjusted, happy youngster who immediately became the favorite of the family and of his father's congregation.. He romped along the streets of Princeton, his long legs eating up the yards, while his father preached the gospel of human brotherhood.

The elder Robeson poured all his great love into this younger child, and there grew up between father and son a union and common understanding which lasted to the very day of the elder Robeson's death in 1918. This affinity became even greater following the sudden, tragic death of Paul's mother, who burned to death in 1904 when, sickly and almost blind, she backed into a stove and her clothes caught fire.

"My father had the greatest speaking voice I have ever heard," Robeson says today. "It was a deep, sonorous basso, so melodic and refined as to take the breath away. When I was only four he was already preparing me for public speaking. It was he who instilled in me the desire to seek the truth, to search and fight for human equality and freedom. It is to this wonderful man that I owe almost everything."

It didn't take long for the young Robeson to establish himself as a scholar, but his dad was a stickler and would take nothing but the best. Thus, one day when Paul came home from school with a report card showing seven A's and one B, his father asked severely. "Son, what's that B doing here?"

It was sports, though, that most interested Robeson at the time. The gangling boy now stood well over six feet and weighed close to 200 pounds. He was swift, strong and agile, and his high school athletic and scholastic record was such that he received a scholarship to Rutgers University in 1915, becoming the third Negro ever to enter the school.

His first great fame was achieved here — but with it also came his first great anger. When he tried out for the football team, the first Negro ever to do so, this is what happened: he suffered a dislocated shoulder, a broken nose, bruises and welts all over his body, and had all the fingernails ripped off his right hand.

All this, mind you, in one practice session. Dismayed by this initial head-on collision with the ugliness and horror of jimcrow, his first reaction was a desire to quit school. But his ever-understanding father urged him to fight it out.

Robeson did. And when he tried out for the team again, he got more of the same treatment. This was about all the 17 year-old freshman could stand. "I saw red," he says, "and broke through the line heading for the first man I saw. I lifted him above my head and was about to crash him to pieces upon the ground when through the fog of my anger I heard the voice of my coach, a fair and good man, crying, 'Robey, Robey. stop, stop, you're on the varsity.' . . . I managed to come to and suddenly realized that I had been accepted, that I was one of the team. I never forgot that incident because it taught me that you can't beat jimcrow by running away from it — only by standing your gorund and fighting back. I've been trying to do that all my life since."

From there he went on to nationwide fame, and to this very day his athletic feats remain unequalled. He was a 12-letter man (one of the handful in U.S. collegiate history) winning 4 Rs in football, 3 in baseball, 3 in basketball and 2 in track. In 1918 he became the first Negro ever to be named to Walter Camp's famed All-American football team, Camp declaring, "There never was a more serviceable end, both on attack end defense, than Robeson, the 200 pound giant of Rutgers." His feats on the gridiron are legendary and to this very day I meet athletes and coaches who still speak of him with awe.

Busy as he was with sports, Robeson did not neglect his studies. He was captain of the debating team, was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, was valedictorian of his graduating class, and received among the highest grades ever recorded by a Rutgers student.

He was the idol of the campus and was known throughout the nation as the famed "Robey of Rutgers." Of him, the director of athletics at the university writes: "Paul Robeson is regarded as the greatest living All-America football player. In the opinion of most people, he, of all All-Americans, has gained the greatest and most merited fame since his graduation."

●

Strangely enough, Robeson never sang while in college. It wasn't until years later that he discovered he possessed a voice destined to thrill millions of people on three continents.

Upon graduation from Rutgers, Robeson entered Columbia Law School, where he became a brilliant student.. It was here. incidentally, that he met and married Eslanda Cardoza Goode. There followed a brief career as a lawyer which ended when Robeson realized he would be jimcrowed as a member of the bar, limited only to trivial cases in Harlem.

At this important junction in his life, Robeson turned to the theatre, and it was a logical choice. Possessing a wonderful speaking voice, tremendous emotional intensity and an impelling personality, Robeson joined New York's Provincetown Players and became an immediate star. He appeared in **All God's Chillen Got Wings** and a revival of **Emperor Jones,** both smash

Paul Robeson as Othello

This is Paul Robeson

hits. But after a while the limited supply of vehicles for a Negro actor was used up and Robeson again had to seek a new field of expression.

It was then that he discovered he could sing. This came in 1925, when he was 27 years old. True, he had sung for small informal gatherings of friends, but never on a concert stage. He had never dreamed of becoming a singer. For one thing, he couldn't even read music, and then again he didn't have a classical repertoire.

But he did know hundreds of Negro folk songs and spirituals and blues and, as it later turned out, that was more than enough. His first public concert took place on 8th Street in New York's Greenwich Village on April 19, 1925. It was a tremendous success and thus was launched one of the most remarkable careers in the history of the concert stage.

It was through the folk song and the Negro spiritual that Robeson first began to develop a social consciousness. The songs stirred deep feelings within him, making him prouder still of his Negro heritage, of the struggles of his people. The folk song became, to him, a message of solidarity for all people. It became a weapon he brandished as a means of bringing people together, of fighting inequality and reaction.

Success followed success in his concert career. and in the late twenties he made the first of many trips to Britain.

He broke all records at London's historic Albert Hall and was hailed wherever he went in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. He not only sang, but also played his first Othello in London, to the accompaniment of critical reviews which ran out of superlatives in their first paragraphs.

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There come a time in life for many people when they stop to take stock not only of themselves, but of the world around them and their relationship to it.

That time came for Robeson in the years of the terrible worldwide depression. Standing at the very pinnacle of his fame and renown, Robeson, nevertheless, was restless. Hunger and despair were strangling the "free enterprise" world, and in his own country he could not walk the streets with dignity and self-respect! Despite his fame and greatness, his skin was still black, and in the U.S. that meant coming into daily contact with the vile system of "white supremacy."

But if it was bad for him, it was worse for the plain, ordinary Negro men and women who were suffering the brunt of the anguish and misery of hunger and unemployment and lynch terror.

He sought after the reasons, but made little progress.

Then, one day in London in 1934, he spent the afternoon with his dear friend Hewlitt Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury. The Dean told him of the wondrous experiment taking place in the vast land known as the Soviet Union, saying, "There is nothing more fundamental about Christianity than the one brotherhood of man. All that I hear about Russia grips and inspires me. It is majestic in range, practical in detail, scientific in form, Christian in spirit. Russia would seem to have embarked on a task never yet attempted by any modern or ancient state. It is a plan well worth studying."

Six days later Paul Robeson was in the Soviet Union!

"How can I describe my feelings," he says, "upon entering the Land of Socialism? All I can say is that the moment I came there I realized that I had found what I had been seeking all my life. Here was equality in practice, not in fine words. Here I walked with dignity, my black skin evoking only friendly curiosity instead of the hatred I had known all my life."

His stay in the Soviet Union proved to be the happiest period of his life and, upon leaving, he asked permission for his only son, Paul, to remain there for a while and go to school. "I want my son to grow up in happy and peaceful surroundings, not to know the blight of jimcrow."

From the Soviet Union Robeson went to Spain, where the Spanish people were fighting for a free and dignified life against the armies of fascism. Here Robeson saw the struggle in process and immediately indentified himself with it, with the Republic. He sang, exhorted and inspired the Spanish people in their fight. Once, outside imperilled Madrid, a loud speaker was set up and Robeson sang his songs directly to the men in the fighting lines.

Now his ideas have come into the sharpest focus and he sees his role clearly. "I do not believe in art for art's sake.. My art, my work and my life must serve the cause of freedom. Nothing else is important." He has become a singer of democracy—drawing ever closer to his source of strength, the people. In 1939 he visited the Scandinavian countries and in Oslo, Copenhagen and Stockholm received tumultuous, unprecedented ovations which became antifascist demonstrations.

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In 1940 he returned to the United States and threw all his immense energy and passion into the fight. And he grew steadily, with a deepening vision and profounder understanding.

He sang, made speeches, walked picket lines, joined delegations protesting injustice. He became the finest example of the "artist as a man of action." After Pearl Harbor he doubled even his own fantastic schedule of work, reaching and influencing ever-greater audiences, rallying them in the fight against the fascist powers.

In 1943 he played in the Theatre Guild's production of Othello on Broadway. I was one of the lucky ones in the theatre that historic opening night, and if the stage holds any greater thrills for me, I cannot conceive of them. For here was not only a single man acting in a play; here was the whole Negro people speaking through the magnificent voice of Robeson.

The next morning even the jaded theatre critics realized what had happened. Their reviews were almost incoherent in their enthusiasm, "The greatest Othello of the 20th century; probably the greatest ever." The play went on to shatter every U.S. attendance record for a Shakespearean production.

Paul Robeson is a man of remarkable genius and range of talents. In addition to being a great athlete, singer, actor and statesman, he is one of the world's foremost linguists — speaking eleven languages, including the rare African tongue of Swanili.

He is one of the most widely traveled men of our times and is equally at home in London, Paris and Prague as in New York, San Francisco and Vancouver. If the term "Citizen of the World" has any application at all, it applies to Robeson.

But most important of all he is the leader of the Negro people in the United States. As a prominent Negro woman described him, "He is the tallest tree in our forest"—a tree against whose fine grain all the blows of his and his people's enemies attempting to cut him down can never prevail.

Peace Arch, Blaine, Wash.

Robeson Show Jams Border Traffic

Vancouver Sun May 19 1952

Leftist singer Paul Robeson's outdoor concert at Blaine Peace Arch Sunday attracted crowds so vast that authorities were forced to close the border for more than an hour.

Traffic, slowed to a snail's pace in the early afternoon, came to a complete halt at 3:30 p.m. as thousands of cars were jammed bumper to bumper for a two-mile stretch north of the border.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police and United States border patrolmen called a halt to all movement while they untangled the mass of autos on both sides of the international line.

FREE HOUR-LONG SHOW

Officials of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, sponsors of the concert-rally, estimated there were 30,000 persons in the crowd that blanketed Peace Arch Park during the free, 1½-hour show, when Robeson threw his voice across the border he cannot cross.

Authorities said they were unable to provide any estimate of the crowd, since few persons at the concert actually crossed the border.

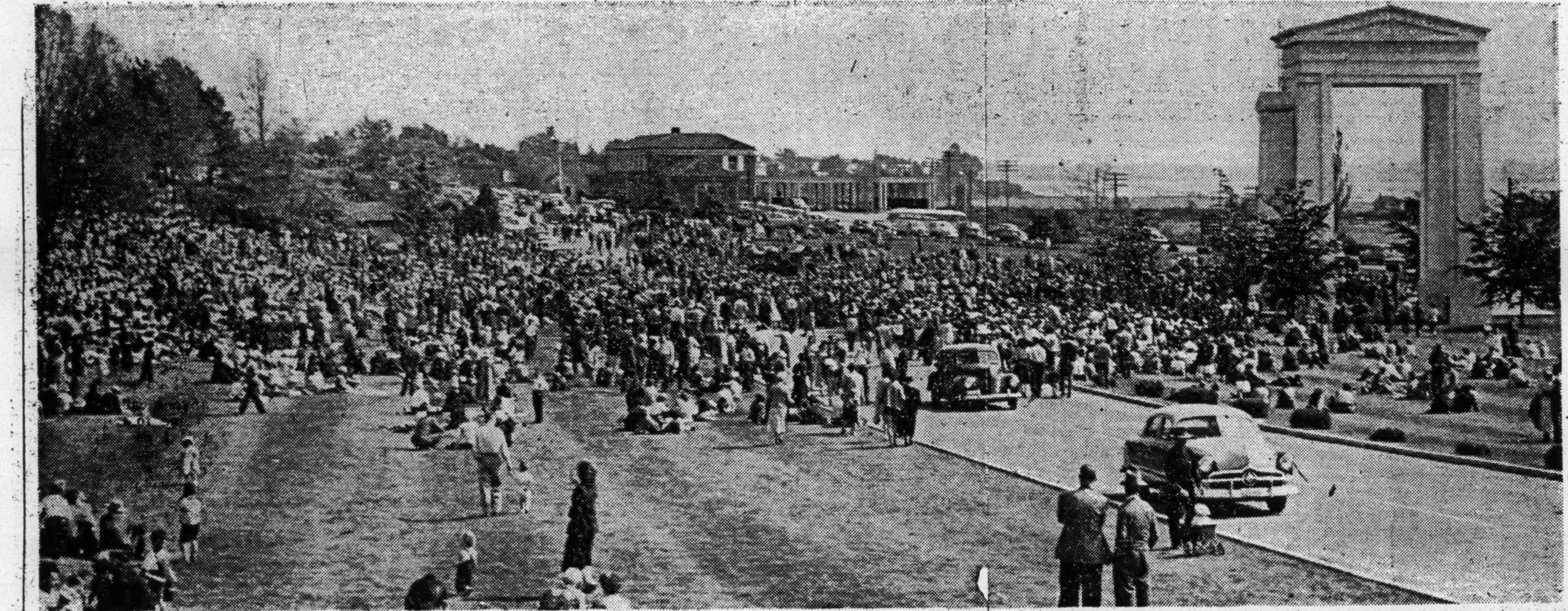
VETERANS IGNORED IT

There were no disturbances reported despite earlier reports that U.S. veterans' groups were sending heckling squads to the concert.

Robeson, who sang more than a dozen songs after speaking briefly about peace, promised he would return for another border concert next year if the U.S. government continued to refuse to let him leave the country because of his leftist sympathies.

Mine, Mill officials said they are considering making the rally an annual event.

Robeson also revealed he would attempt a comeback on the concert stage in the near future.



Border Closed by Traffic Jam as Crowds Swarm to Hear Robeson

CROWDS FROM both sides of the line thronged Peace Arch park Sunday for the concert by Negro singer Paul Robeson. Huge crowd gathered around a stage erected right on the border from which the leftist singer was heard. Traffic jam was so bad that officials finally closed the border for an hour.

The Vancouver Sun

N[illegible]321 VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA, MONDAY, MAY 19, 1952 ***19

Community Relations

Cleveland Plaindealer 6/15/52

Enigma of Paul Robeson . . . Discusses Facts in Case . . .

Areas of Racial Confusion

Men often make errors of judgment which shape their lives into different patterns.

Several people called me in regard to the recent concert which was given in the Central area by Paul Robeson. I noted from their conversation that there is a great deal of confusion as to Robeson's purpose today in America.

Among those who called was a prominent businessman who told me that he had once been a great admirer of Robeson. He wanted to know what I thought had caused Robeson to make the decision that had ruined his career as a singer and actor.

REV L. GILLESPIE

"One never knows what goes on in the human mind," I said. "It is as difficult to understand racial impulses as it is insanity. Things build up in a person's mind for years and suddenly there is an explosion."

"Do you believe him to be a Communist?" he asked.

"That I don't know."

Influence Held Slight

"How strong an influence does he have on Negro opinion?"

"You are asking me a question now that involves the whole area of race relations in this country," I replied. "Let us look at this general situation for a moment and I will explain it to you as I see it.

"Robeson's activities will continue to be the subject of debate and discussion among Negroes for years to come. As to his influence on their thinking I do not feel that it is very strong."

"Do Negroes consider him somewhat of a racial hero?" he asked.

"Suppose we look at it this way. Robeson was great enough in his profession to convince a good many Negroes that he gave up his career for a racial cause. This point we might call the commercial of his action. People listened to it and waited for the rest of the show.

"Second, other than some foolish statements he has made in regard to the racial paradise to be found in the Soviet Union, Robeson's complaints about racial practices in this country have been factual. Indeed, what he has said in this regard has been said thousands of times by Negroes who don't even have the time of day for the Communists. The best that he has been able to do is to add melodrama to the situation by creating the myth that he was being persecuted for his convictions."

Woman Disagrees

A few days later a woman who had attended the Robeson concert called me to air her v on the subject. She suggested I have her as my radio gue that she could give her side of the Robeson story.

"Just what is your side?" I asked, curious to know what she had to say.

"My side of the story," she said, "is that Robeson has succeeded in proving to most anyone but the racial bigots, who resent his outspoken championship of the racial cause, that he is not and has never been a Communist.

"People don't seem to understand that the turning point in Robeson's life was when he found out that fame and fortune are empty achievements when a man must face discrimination in his own country. He is in his present role only exercising his right as a free citizen to examine his government and pass judgment on it."

"Granted what you say is right, do you feel that Robeson should allow himself to be used by the Communists for the purpose of confusing the racial issue with that of communism? You are, of course, acquainted with the fact that the purpose of Communist propaganda is to confuse and warp men's minds."

Has Not Lost Faith

"What about democracy confusing us?"

"This is not a question that I or probably anyone else can answer. Nonetheless, I think of myself as a man who believes in democracy. I wish with all my heart that the democracy was fully enjoyed by Negroes in every area of American life.

"In my time I have witnessed some great changes in race relations in this country. Looking back on the years I remember some good advice my father once gave me. 'It is better to struggle toward freedom and achieve it than to take freedom for granted and lose it,' he said.

"For some people the struggle has caused them to lose faith in democracy. It has not for me."

"I have never thought of it in quite that way," she said. "You know," she confessed rather slowly, "Paul Robeson has been a sort of hero to me. I love to hear him sing and act. When he said that he had given up his career to fight for Negro rights I believed him."

There is an important fact brought out in what this woman had to say. For when Robeson decided to use his prestige and talent in the interest of Communist propaganda among Negroes he took advantage of the gullibility of his Negro admirers.

We must remember that his present place in the public eye is the result of his own decision. This decision has defied explanation. His own reasons, I hasten to add [illegible]

Denver Post Photo.

ROBESON CONCERT COMMITTEE MEMBERS—Members of the committee which is handling arrangements for the Paul Robeson concert in Denver are (left to right) Mrs. Miriam Morton, wife of the Denver head of the Civil Rights congress, an organization termed "subversive" by the U. S. attorney general; Morris Wright of 875 Shoshone street, an employe of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, and Mrs. Cora Peters, 2536 Downing street.

Backers Deny Robeson Concert To Include Communist Flavor

See story on page 1 also.

By JOHN SNYDER.
Denver Post Staff Writer.

Three members of the Denver committee sponsoring the appearance here of Paul Robeson, Red-loving concert singer, denied Saturday that the concert will have anything to do with Communism.

Robeson, though he has never stated publicly whether he is a Communist, long has been on record as being in vigorous support of Soviet policies and Communist ideologies.

At one time, in a speech in New York, he said he loved the "Soviet people more than any other nation." And in some of his concerts the singer has mixed songs with pro-Red political comment.

This will not be the case in Denver, however, the committee members said, when Robeson appears on the city auditorium stage the night of May 27.

'Wrong Address,' Claim

Members of the Paul Robeson concert committee protested Saturday that their headquarters is not the last known address of the Communist party of Colorado, as previously reported in The Denver Post.

The committee—in charge of arrangements for the Communist-sympathizing singer's concert in the city auditorium here May 27—pointed out that its office is in room 207 of the Bank block at 1026 Seventeenth street.

The last known office address of the Colorado Communist party, they said, was 929 Seventeenth street, the Quincy building. The party now has only a Denver postoffice box number.

"CONCERT ONLY."

"This is booked as a concert and it's going to be a concert," Morris Wright of 875 South Shoshone street, a committee delegate, declared.

Interviewed with Wright, an employe of the International Mine, Mill & Smelter workers, were Mrs. Miriam Morton of 3435 Marion street and Mrs. Cora Peters of 2536 Downing street. All are members of the Paul Robeson concert committee.

Robeson's concert, the committee members said, will consist of numerous songs by the concert artist. Additionally, the program will include "local artists portraying the culture of the Mexican-American residents of the area, as well as that of the American Indian."

TICKETS MOVE "BRISKLY."

Tickets, which have been on sale about three weeks, are "moving briskly," Wright said. They are available at two locations, the committee headquarters in room 207 of the Bank block at 1026 Seventeenth street and the Dennis Record shop at 2556 Washington street.

There are three prices for tickets. They are $1.25, $2.50 and $5.

Those persons purchasing $5 seats will be entitled to attend a back-stage reception after the concert and will be able to shake hands with Robeson.

The singer's last concert in Denver was in 1943 when he sang at the University of Denver. He has been in the city since then, but not as a singer.

BACKED WALLACE.

In 1948, he campaigned here for Henry Wallace, presidential candidate of the Progressive party, on a "love Russia" platform.

Wright said Robeson is coming here from a series of concerts on the Pacific coast and in the Pacific northwest region. Next Sunday he is scheduled to sing at the Blaine arch on the American-Canadian border between Washington and British Columbia.

Just where the singer is going after his Denver appearance was not immediately known.

Simple installation is one of the advantages of the new gas-fired incinerators available in several sizes for home use. Connection with the regular house gas supply and a ventilating flue linked with your chimney is all that's necessary to put the incinerator in operation.

ADVERTISEMENT

Peoples World 5/20/52

40,000 hear Robeson sing

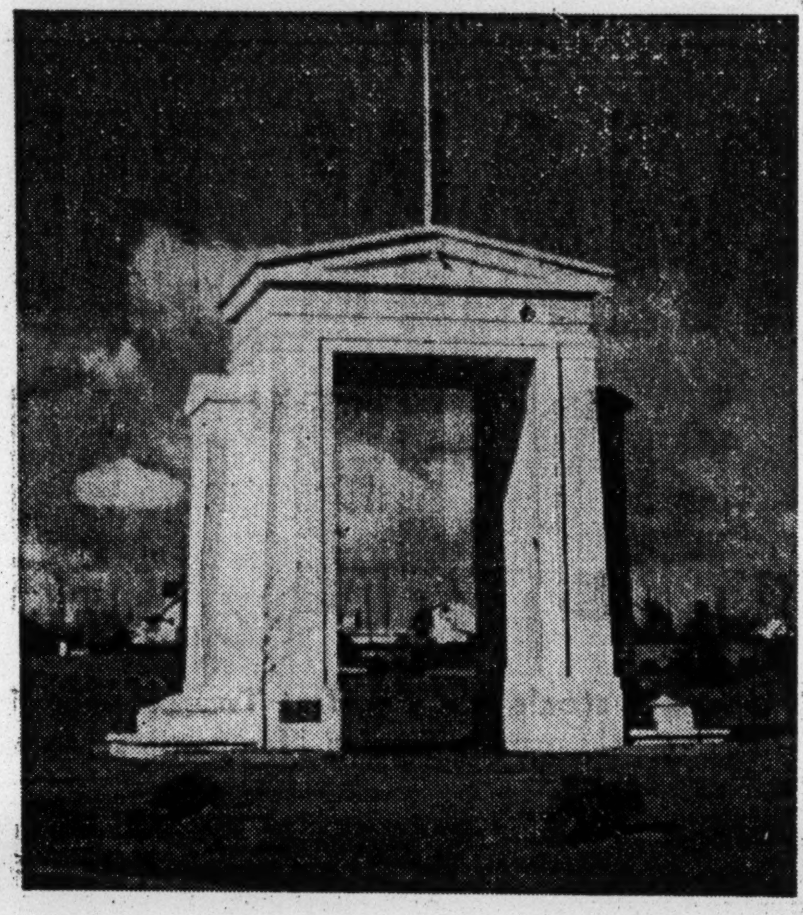
By WILL PARRY

PEACE ARCH PARK, on the U.S.-Canadian border, May 20—Smashing all records for public gatherings in the Northwest, an estimated 40,000 persons from Canada and the U.S. flooded into this sunlit park dedicated to international friendship Sunday to hear Paul Robeson speak and sing.

Men, women and children were massed for a hundred yards on either side of the stately white arch rising majestically above the level greensward.

Other thouands were packed in a vast and colorful arc across the landward stretch of the grounds.

From the time of Robeson's arrival at 2:30 p.m. until his departure at 4:30 p.m. a steady stream of Canadians poured past their immigration officials into the grounds.



THE PEACE ARCH at Blaine, Wash., on the Canadian-United States border.

ROADS JAMMED

Thirty packed buses from Vancouver, B.C.—"all we could charter"—brought a sizeable section of the throng. And Canadian sponsors estimated that at least 5,000 cars from British Columbia were backed up five or six miles into Canada from the park entrance.

At 3 p.m., with the crowd still building rapidly, a U.S. Immigration official estimated that 25,000 persons were present.

Some latecomers said they had walked three miles past densely-packed rows of parked cars on the Canadian side. Thousands were unable to reach the site before the program ended.

The chairman of the Canadian committee, Ted Ward of Mine-Mill, despite an early start, was detained until the program was half over by the jam of vehicles and people North of the border.

Thousands came from the U.S. side, from Seattle 110 miles away, from Tacoma, Olympia, Vancouver and Spokane, from Bellingham, Blaine and Sedro-Woolley. Among those from the latter city were a delegation of CIO Intl. Woodworkers.

Planned attempts to stir up trouble never got started. Despite radio broadcasts that asserted Bellingham "veterans" were ready to "heckle" Robeson, not a single heckler was in evidence. There were, however, hundreds from Bellingham who had come to hear and cheer the great Negro leader.

Robeson's opening remarks were broken with frequent applause.

"I have been in many parts of the world, I have traveled in many lands and fought many battles," he began. "I am deeply moved to see that nothing can keep me from my friends in Canada.

"I intend to continue to fight for peace, for a decent life for all humanity, especially for the rights of my people in this America of ours.

"This is a very historic occasion. It can mean that I will be able to sing again everywhere, to sing freely. What is being done here will ring—is ringing now—around the world," said Robeson.

MORE SONGS

Later Robeson sang "one that comes from the very depths of the struggle of my people in America—'No More Auction Block for Me'." Then came the ballad of the "Four Rivers," then the recitation of a passage from Othello.

As Robeson sang, hundreds of Americans signed Init. 183 petitions, to place on the Washington state ballot on November the basic program of peaceful coexistence the great Negro artist has come to symbolize.

After the singing, the speaking, after signing hundreds of autographs "for children only, I'm sorry," after shaking hands with other hundreds, the giant Negro people's leader moved slowly back across the U.S. line and out of Peace Arch Park, against escorted by scores of Negro and white trade unionists.

At the line, Robeson turned and waved a final farewell to the hundreds who had followed to bid him Godspeed.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 20 — Paul Robeson will make the following appearances in the Bay Area:

- **THURSDAY night,** Macedonia Missionary Baptist Church, 2135 Sutter st., San Francisco, 8 p.m.
- **FRIDAY night,** Berkeley High School Community Theater, Allston wy. and Grove st., 8 p.m.

Inadvertently, the San Francisco appearance was listed incorrectly for Saturday in Tuesday's edition of The Daily People's World. The concert will be Thursday evening, and backers said today the box office will be open from noon on that day.

John Flowers of the San Francisco Negro Labor Council urged today that all persons with NLC fair employment practice petitions turn them in at the concert.

Californians Protest Scheduled Concerts by Paul Robeson

By JOHN SYNDER.
Denver Post Staff Writer.

A storm of protest arose in California Monday over the use of public auditoriums by Paul Robeson, the concert artist with Soviet sympathies who is scheduled to sing in Denver's city auditorium May 27.

Robeson, it was announced, has been denied permission to sing in San Francisco's famous opera house on May 22 because officials there said his appearance would be an "insult" to the city's war dead.

At Berkeley, Cali., where Robeson is set to sing on May 23 before he comes to Denver, the board of education okayed use of the high school auditorium despite a mass protest meeting attended by 1,000 persons.

The California uproar over the Negro concert singer's tour followed disclosure in Denver that one-fourth of the proceeds from his concert at city auditorium on May 27 will go to the Council on Africa Affairs, an organization listed by the U. S. government as "subversive and Communist."

Despite this disclosure both Mayor Newton and Waldo Cockerell, city commissioner of supplies, said they see no reason to cancel the city's already-negotiated contract for the Robeson appearance here. The mayor said that despite his personal feelings about Robeson he believed any responsible group is entitled to rent the auditorium "unless their purpose is subversive." He said he had been assured that Robeson planned only a concert—nothing more.

In California Mayor Elmer Robinson of San Francisco said it would be "a desecration and an insult" to let Robeson sing in the opera house.

He blasted Robeson's "outspoken support of Communist ideology." The singer has been accused of wanting to be a "black Stalin" among Negroes.

Arrangements for the Denver concert are being made by the Paul Robeson concert committee— a volunteer group of about fifty persons with headquarters in room 207 of the Bank block at 1026 Seventeenth street. They have made a down payment on the city's $225 auditorium rental charge.

Robeson long has been identified as a strong crusader for Soviet "peace" policies and Communist ideologies. In June of 1949, he was quoted by the Moscow radio as calling Russia "the country I love above all." The radio quoted Robeson as saying, while visiting Russia that month:

"I always have been, I am now, and will always be a loyal friend of the Soviet Union. I am taking away with me new ideas, new sentiments, and strength newly acquired here. And all this will serve me as a new weapon in the struggle for the cause of peace."

In July of the same year, a ex-Communist told the U. S. house un-American activities committee that Robeson was a Red party member for many years and was assigned to "certain secret work that was intercontinental—in connection with his concert work."

Denver,

Office, 938 Bannock Street THE DENVER CATHOLIC REGISTER

Thursday, May 22, 1952

Robeson's Commie Record Recalled as Concert Nears

By Ed Miller

PAUL ROBESON, the dark darling of world Communism, will sing May 27 in the Denver city auditorium.

Robeson is a man with a magnificent voice and a soft head.

He once said that American Negroes would not fight on the side of America in any war against Russia.

He appeared as a defense witness in the trial of the 11 top American Communists in New York city in 1949.

And after the trial he vowed he would get Judge Medina impeached.

And after that the Russians named a mountain after him.

Then, when a Negro newspaper editor asked him whether he were a Communist, he said it was none of the editor's "damned business."

* * *

ROBESON, whose appearance in Denver will benefit the Council on African Affairs (listed by the government as "subversive and Communist") is remembered for his great successes on the concert stage, in musical comedy, and in straight drama.

He is also remembered as being the storm center of two bloody riots that have occurred at his concert appearances in the past three years.

The second one, in Peekskill, N. Y., in September, 1949, marked the resurgence of Red Frnt combat squads. Such units had been organized by the Communists in the U. S. first in 1934 and had held regular training sessions at summer camps.

During the war years the use of combat squads had declined as the party made greater and greater use of goon squads from captive unions.

The combat units re-emerged, however, at Robeson's concert in 1949—and in force.

According to the Westchester County Grand Jury, which investigated the full-scale battle, a "security guard" of 2,500 Reds was on hand well before the hour scheduled for Robeson's provocative appearance.

"Their leader wore the uniform of a United States army lieutenant," says the report. "They were stationed in military formation, shoulder to shoulder," forming a perimeter around the concert grounds. "This force remained in position for eight to ten hours. They were armed with baseball bats, bottles, pepper, and can openers. . . . The security guard was a disciplined force and conducted itself in a military manner under the direction of leaders."

ROBESON'S LAST appearance in Denver was in May of 1948, when he spoke in behalf of Henry Wallace's candidacy for the Presidency on a "love Russia" platform. In 1947 he spoke to the American Youth for Democracy, a Communist front, at Boulder.

The only Negro great still under the Reds' spell (Poet Langston Hughes and Author Richard Wright, among others, have repudiated Communism), Robeson was touted for the Presidential post on the Progressive party ticket in the forthcoming election, but was suddenly replaced by his traveling companion, Vincent Hallinan, attorney for Harry Bridges.

Numerous Denver groups, including a Negro American Legion post, have protested the use of the auditorium by Robeson. One spokesman said that 10 years ago, during the war with Germany and Japan, no Axis partisan could have used a public platform to further subversive intersets. "Then why let Robeson?" he said.

Another noted that many young Denver men will not be able to attend Robeson's concert.

"They are not able to be present," he said, "for at present they are in Korea, fighting against the very things, Paul Robeson stands for."

MCS VOICE
Vol. 10, No. 21 SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA May 23, 1952

The public demand

The facts on Seattle decision that entitled Paul Robeson to sing

Judge Robert M. Jones, confronted by an overflow audience of Negro and white supporters of Paul Robeson. **handed down a decision May 7 that Robeson is entitled to the use of the Civic Auditorium for his scheduled May 20 concert.**

This decision has climaxed three days of bitter arguments between the legal representatives of the city and counsel for the plaintiffs, Peoples Programs and the National Negro Labor Council.

Paul Robeson has fought discrimination wherever he has found it, and is one of the leading Negroes urging the unity of Negro and white. He talks and sings of peace among all peoples of the world.

The position that Paul Robeson holds among the Negro people, one of love and respect, was readily shown by the failure of the city to bring forward any Negro witnesses against Paul other than a cop who was under duress because he is a city employee.

The city officials thought that because some people do not like what Paul Robeson sings about or talks about he should be denied the use of the hall—because Paul Robeson is a Negro who, it is claimed, holds controversial political opinions, that a concert by him would, in the words of the city's complaint, "engender racial antagonism."

The phony line of the city officials was thrown out by the court as unsound. The city attempted to win its case by flooding the court with red-baiting charges, and fell flat on its face.

The two lawyers who so ably and successfully defended Paul Robeson's right to sing, John Caughlin and John Walthew, held that any violence that might occur would come from the KKK or other such groups who did not want Robeson to sing.

Certainly the people who want to hear Robeson sing aren't going to cause any trouble. The counsel for Paul Robeson said the people who want to hear Robeson can come to the Civic Auditorium. "The others who don't," in the words of Judge Jones, "can stay home."

They also said that it is the duty of the city to protect the concert from any disturbances, and that the city's claim that they feared trouble is not ground for violating the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

The pointed out that the Supreme Court has held that this kind of action by a city violates the right of free speech and assembly, and cited several cases to support this argument.

This victory was won through the unity of Negro and white, representatives from a great many organizations, church groups, support by the MCS, ILWU and other unions, together with the legal fight put up by the Council, and is proof that when the people stick together and fight together, our Constitutional rights will be protected and enforced.

—John Roland, Roscoe C. Patterson, Peter Bell.

o

Shelley on disability

A bill to increase the amount of disability compensation received by seamen disabled as a result of service on government-owned vessels during World War II has been introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressman John F. Shelley of San Francisco.

"I know that you will be interested in this measure and you may be sure that I will appreciate your support in securing its passage," Shelley wrote MCS President Hugh Bryson.

Berkeley Citizens Vote to Let Robeson Sing

Special to THE COMPASS

Berkeley, Cal., May 22—Paul Robeson, baritone and actor, who is on a nationwide concert tour, is scheduled to sing here tomorrow night in this city's beautiful new Community Theater as the result of a Town Hall meeting of 1,200 citizens who voted 4-1 to uphold the Board of Education's approval.

By a 3-2 vote, the school board had granted approval on May 6 to the request of the local Negro Labor Council to present the concert in the municipally-owned theater. This action was taken just two days after Mayor Robinson of San Francisco had canceled a contract for Robeson's appearance in the famed War Memorial Opera House.

When the Berkeley action was made public, the American Legion, which was most active in forcing the San Francisco cancellation, went to work on Berkeley Mayor Lawrence L. Cross, a minister whose approving vote had cracked a deadlock on the school board.

Mayor Cross was adamant, however, declaring:

"I have put myself on record favoring the widest possible use of the auditorium. I will not reverse myself now."

The other affirmative votes were cast by Mrs. Mildred Brown, a housewife who made clear her opposition to Robeson's politics but defended his right to sing, and David P. Smith, a prominent Republican who was active in the campaign to send Richard Nixon to the Senate.

The turmoil raised by the Legion had little effect until the issuance of a statement by Alameda County Prosecutor J. Frank Coakely. Coakely's threat that unless the concert was called off "there might be a disturbance" for which "the school district would be liable," was answered by Mayor Cross, who said:

"I have full confidence the Berkeley police force can handle any incident that might arise."

Enough heat had been generated, however, to allow Mrs. Eileen Ready, school board chairman who had opposed renting the theater, to call a special meeting to reconsider the matter.

When the board members entered their meeting room May 10 they were amazed to find 1,200 Berkeley taxpayers already seated in the auditorium.

Mrs. Ready opened the session by reading Coakely's letter. Each board member then arose to defend his vote, but each also declared a willingness to change his opinion after listening to arguments from the audience.

As it turned out, it was the voice of the citizens of Berkeley, a town still smarting from the "loyalty oath" controversy which had divided this university city two years ago, which sealed the issue.

More than 50 persons spoke from the floor, 40 upholding the board's action in renting the theater. Individuals identified with the YMCA, the Friends Service Committee and various church groups defended the action.

A statement signed by a group of veterans was read. It said:

"To allow free expression of ideas in a building dedicated to the memory of our war dead would indicate that their deaths in fighting for the principles of democracy were not in vain."

Board member Smith then called for a standing vote from the audience. More than four-fifths of those present approved the board's action. The board then took another vote, which again resulted in a 3-2 decision in favor of granting use of the theater.

Cicero Cops Aided

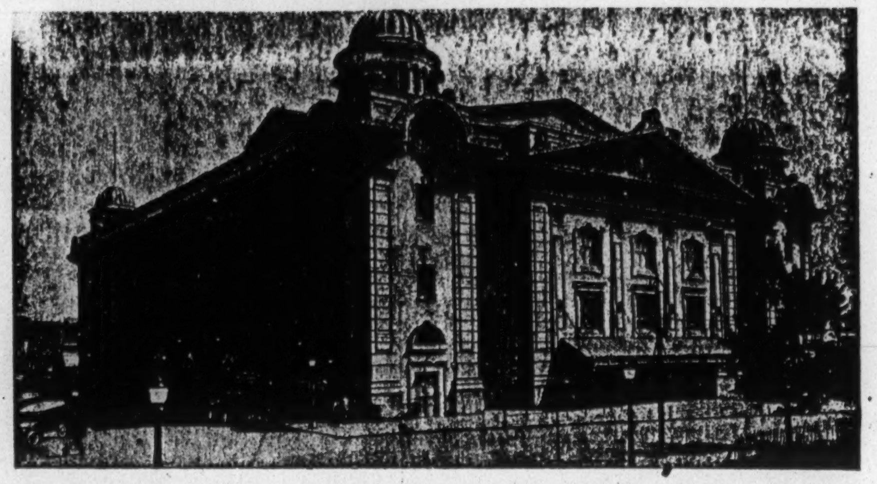
Profs Challenge Prexy on Ouster

(Continued from Page 5)

course strictly lawful, but an offi-

Managing Editor Of The Compass

★ ★ THE DENVER STAR ★
We Dedicate Our Journal to the Uplift of the Race, Morally, Socially and Intellectually
Established 1888
Denver, Colo., May 24, 1952



This is the Denver City Auditorium where Paul Robeson sings and uses the singing art to enjoyment and en- tertainment of the public.

ROBESON WILL SING AT THE AUDITORIUM

ROBESON GIVES GENEROUS OF HIS VOICE TO THE AUDIENCE

Peace Arch Park, on the U. S. Canadian Border— The biggest public gathering in the history of the North west took place here May 18 when some forty thousand people came together to hear the great Paul Robeson sing.

More than thirty thousand Canadians were here at the border. They came to their side of the Border. Robeson sang from the U. S. side.

In January of this year, Mr. Robeson was to have appeared at a union convention in Vancouver, B. C. He was barred by the U. S. Immigration Service.

This week the people of the two countries—from British Columbia and Washington State — showed how they felt about freedom of the border toward the great Paul Robeson as a symbol of international understanding and peace.

Thirty packed buses from Vancouver, B. C., — "All we could chart-er" — brought a sizeable section of the throng. In addition Canadian sponsors estimated no fewer than 5000 cars from all parts of British Columbia were backed up five or six miles into Canada from the park entrance.

Cupping his hand to his ear in a gesture familiar to all who have heard him, Robeson gave generously of his rich baritone voice. He sang "Old Man River" and "Water Boy", and dedicated "Joe Hill" to the hard-rock miners.

With accompanist Lawrence Brown, Robeson sang the stirring spiritual "Every Time I Feel De Spirit". Then followed "No, John, No," and "Loch Lomond."

Later Robeson sang "No More Auction Block For Me." Then came the glorious ballad of the "Four Rivers," then in a surge of dramatic intensity the recitation of a passage from Othello.

Denver artists who will appear on the concert stage with Paul Robeson May 27 are:

The Alvardo Trio, popular interpreters of Mexican music, who will sing "Jalisco No Te Rajes."

Celia G. Olvera, presenting the Mexican folk dance "Chipapanecas."

Clinton Irving, Denver University music student, playing his own piano composition.

Keve Bray, Colorado University drama student, who will read Langston Hughes' poem "Freedom Train."

On the 20th, he sang at Civic Auditorium in Seattle. Use of the Auditorium had been cancelled at one time, but indignation at this denial of free speech and free assembly resulted in reversal of policy and permission to use the Auditorium. A Democratic Party convention in Seattle had voted in support of Mr. Robeson's right to appear in concert.

At Berkeley, Calif., Mr. Robeson will appear in the newest and finest hall in the city—a high school auditorium seating six thousand. The school board of Berkeley, with the Mayor, Dr. Lawrence Cross, participating as ex officio member, voted unanimously to make this hall available for the concert.

Mr. Robeson's Denver appearance will be at Civic Auditorium on Tuesday, May 27, at 8:15 p. m. Sponsor it the Paul Robeson Concert Committee, a group of some eighty persons of Denver and viciinity.

Tickets will be on sale at the Civic Audiaorium box office, Curtis, near 14th, on the day of the concert and the preceding day. They may be obtained now at the concert headquarters, 1026 17th St., Room 207, at the Dennis Record Shop, 2556 Washington St., and Lou's Music Box, 2756 S. Colorado Blvd.

The Paul Robeson Concert Committee, Myrtle Tulley, Secretary, Morris Wright, Members of Publicity Committee.

Milwaukee
Sentinel
5/23/52

500 Turn Out For Robeson Concert Here

Paul Robeson, the great Negro baritone who has been enmeshed in a series of bitter controversies over his pro-Communist utterances, sang at the Auditorium here Thursday night without any incidents—and also without much of a crowd.

Though the Robeson voice was just as rich and eloquent as ever, less than 500 persons were in a 3,500 seat hall to hear it. The concert was staged under the auspices and for the benefit of the United Freedom Fund which Milous (Mike) Walker, Negro musician and local chairman, says is to be used to fight for Negro liberties.

RED TAINT DENIED

Walker had denied any Communist taint about the fund, but nonetheless a good many of the brethren, real and fellow traveling, were among those present. Notable figures in the audience were Harold Christoffel, head of the Allis-Chalmers union in its Red days and now appealing a federal perjury charge for saying he wasn't a Communist; Mrs. Josephine Nordstrand, the hardy perennial of the travelers; Michael Essin, top man in the former People's Progressive Party; Paul Babich, Al Hirsh, Carl Sewtz, Gerald Rose, Mortimer Altman, and John Hilty.

In leasing Bruce Hall, Walker had guaranteed there would be no political speeches, and none at least was apparent to the naked ear of the non-Marxian layman.

Robeson sang a program which ranged from Moussorgsky to the famous "Water Boy," from folksongs in English, Russian and Hebrew to "Ol' Man River." One Moussorgsky song about no bread for the passerby brought a Robeson comment that this "explains one of the reasons why many changes had to be made."

PLEAS FOR PEACE

Some songs were pleas for peace and brotherhood, general and not specific, such as "The House I Live In" and a bit about the "four rivers," the Thames, the Mississippi, the Yang-tze and the Don, all flowing into one ocean. Still another was about Joe Hill, a martyred labor organizer of other days.

At the intermission Walker, the master of ceremonies, asked for contributions to the Freedom Fund and announced subscriptions for Robeson's paper, Freedom, would be taken in the lobby.

When he finished, Robeson made a little speech, saying this was his most thrilling visit to Milwaukee and that "things are not easy when I fight for peace, for my people and for full citizenship for my people."

Uniformed policemen and members of the subversive squad were among those present, but they didn't have much to do.

VOLUME 36, NUMBER 12 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1952 10 CENTS EVERYWHERE

Denied Use Of Church:

ROBESON CONCERT AT WASH. PARK

DuSable, W. Phillips Auditoriums Also Denied

"It is a conspiracy", charged the Greater Chicago Negro Labor Council," vicious, calculated conspiracy to silence the great artist and leader of the Negro people, Paul Robeson. "It is a conspiracy to violate the basic rights of all Americans—the freedom of speech and assembly."

This charge was leveled against federal, state and city authorities this week by the Council after repeated efforts of the Council and Committee for the Negro in the Arts to secure an adequate place in which to hold the birthday celebration of Paul Robeson with a festival of songs.

However, Robeson will sing Sunday at 3 p.m. in Washington Park, near the entrance at 53rd and South Parkway. The concert will be staged under the sponsorship of the Washington Park Forum in cooperation with the Greater Chicago Negro Labor Council and the Committee for the Negro in the Arts.

SET FIRST AT CHURCH

Originally Robeson's concert was scheduled to be held at Tabernacle Baptist Church. The committee felt that it was fitting that a man, who had spent much of his life in the fig[illegible] rights of his people, sh[illegible] celebrate his birthday in [illegible] greatest of Negro institutions—the church.

However, outside forces brought pressure upon the pastor of that church—pressure of such character as to make it impossible for him to go through with his plans to permit the Robeson concert to take place. Other churches were contacted but when news of the intimidation of their colleague got around, they, too, refused.

Believing that the state was committed to a policy of granting use of state facilities to citizens of the state, the committee applied for the use of the Cottage Grove or Giles Ave. armories.

Presidential candidate aspirant Gov. Adlai Stevenson told the Greater Chicago Negro Labor Council in a letter dated May 22, that the governor's office "confirms the decision of the Adjut-

(Continued on Page 2)

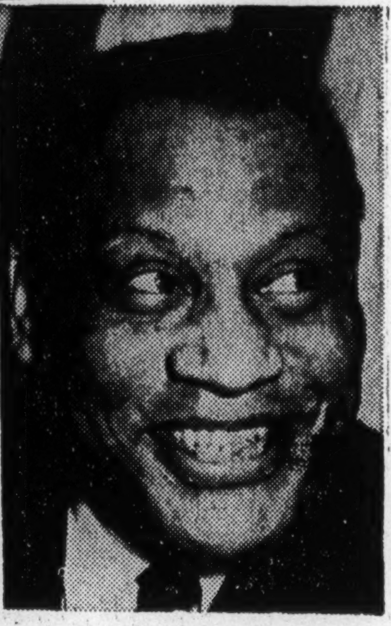
EXTRA!

Mrs. Camille DeRose vs George C. Adams trial comes up Tuesday, June 2nd before Judge Haas, Room 805, County Building.

California

S. F. Chronicle
6/22/52

Robeson Here ---'To Sing, Not Speak'



Paul Robeson arrived in San Francisco last night and he said he wants to attract lovers of music to his two Bay Area concerts, not lovers of controversy.

In fact, except for a reference to Mayor Elmer E. Robinson as "one of the principal fascists of the West Coast," Robeson refused to discuss politics at all at a press conference he held at the Booker T. Washington Hotel, 1540 Ellis street.

"I am here to pursue my career as a singer," Robeson said. "I may come back some other time to give a political speech, but I will not do it now."

Robeson is to sing at 8 p.m. today at the Macedonian Missionary Baptist Church, 2135 Sutter street, and at 8:15 p.m. tomorrow in the Berkeley High School Community Theater. Both performances are under the Negro Labor Council's sponsorship.

Originally Robeson had planned to sing in San Francisco's War Memorial Opera House and in the Oakland Municipal Auditorium. City officials in both communities blocked those performances. Mayor Robinson took the lead in San Francisco's action to bar Robeson.

In connection with the Berkeley concert, the Berkeley Board of Education rejected yesterday an application to let the Negro Labor Council sell souvenir programs at his concert there.

"I am very glad to be able to sing," Robeson said. "My views have no connection with the very essence of my right to sing.

"It happens that throughout the years I have sung many times at the Opera House and the Oakland Auditorium. I am the same guy, and I think it's extremely absurd to turn me down."

When he was asked about the United Freedom Fund, which is to receive the proceeds of the ticket sales at the two concerts, Robeson replied, "It's nobody's business what I do with my money. It has always been part of my life to give part of such funds as I earn to help in the struggle of the Negro in this country."

John Gray, field representative of the fund, who is traveling with Robeson, said the money would help the Council of African Affairs in the independence movement in South Africa, would aid Robeson's monthly newspaper and would assist the Negro Labor Council in its campaign to get better jobs for 400,000 American Negroes.

Robeson's concert tonight is to be the sixth in his present tour. He sang in the Seattle Municipal Auditorium Tuesday after the Superior Court there ruled that city authorities acted illegally in cancelling his original booking there.

There was no trouble anywhere on the tour, and no self-appointed "vigilantes" appeared, Robeson said.

"Trouble?" he repeated. "Quite the opposite. The American people are growing up."

Folder 82

Paul Robeson Says: Fight for Civil Rights Now—Don't Wait for November Elections

Daily Worker

Reentered as second class matter Oct. 22, 1947, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879

Vol. XXIX, No. 158
(8 Pages)
26
New York, Thursday, August 7, 1952
★★
Price 10 Cents

Paul Robeson yesterday declared that what the Negro people need from the two major parties on the civil rights issue is "not more elaborate promises but prompt and effective action."

Responding to the political ferment among Negroes in both parties brought about by the platform concessions to the Dixiecrats, the world-famed baritone and people's leader said:

"Whoever is elected President, Negroes want an FEPC, voting rights and an end to white supremacist terror NOW. There is no reason, if we have the strength and vision to press now for these (civil rights) goals unitedly, why we should have to wait until after the elections to get them."

Last Sunday's mass meeting in Harlem, called by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Robeson said, showed that "the Negro people are determined to end jimcrow and all its attendant evils."

But Robeson, who has headed mass delegations to Washing- n civil rights issues since War II, continued:

hile applauding Mr. Powell's tiative in calling for a rejection of the pledges made to date by the two old parties, we must not sit on our hands. We must demand now, not merely more elaborate promises, but prompt and effective action."

Speaking of Rep. Powell's scheduled meetings with the Democratic Presidential nominee and his Alabama running mate, Sen. John J. Sparkman, Robeson asserted:

"Whatever the results of Mr. Powell's conferences, there should be no mistaking the nature of the popular demand among Negroes. That demand is, not for promises, but for performance now. . . .

"They (Negroes) are in no frame of mind to accept the weasel-worded concessions to Dixiecrats-ism which make up the Democratic and Republican platforms—especially when they are combined with candidates Stevenson, Eisenhower, Nixon and Sparkman, all of whom by word and deed have proven their stubborn opposition to Federal action in the field of civil rights."

The civil rights challenge of the 'political rulers," the statement pointed out, should be met by raising the "banner of non-partisan unity. "Robeson called special attention to the "four million (Negro) Baptists, one million Elks and the millions in other

(Continued on Page 5)

ROBESON

THE DAILY COMPASS

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NEW YORK, N. Y., WED., AUGUST 20, 1952 VOL. IV, NO. 83

No Peekskill Here

By TED O. THACKREY
Editor and Publisher

There will be peace under the stars at Triboro Stadium, Randall's Island, tonight.

Those who wish to attend the meeting, which begins at 7 p.m. under the auspices of the New York Peace Institute, 111 W. 42d St., may participate in the advertised grand rally and concert under the title of "Peace Under The Stars" with the assurance that there will be no repetition here of the riots at Peekskill which disgraced, before the world, our pretensions to being a democratic society.

Much credit must go to Commissioner Robert Moses, the staunch Republican who refused to be intimidated into cancellation of the permit to hold the meeting by the threats of violence addressed to him by Rabbi Benjamin Schultz of the Joint Committee against Communism in New York, Dr. David Cabeen, Americanism chairman of the New York County American Legion, John Coonan Sr., vice commander of the New York County Veterans of Foreign Wars, Rosario Scibilia, commander of the Kings County Catholic War Veterans, Alfred Kohlberg, national chairman of the American-Jewish League Against Communism, and John Condon, Americanism chairman of the New York County Veterans of Foreign Wars.

These men not only warned of violence, they threatened it.

They demanded that the meeting and concert be suppressed, threatening violence if it was not and citing their own threat to invoke a ruling against meetings which threaten to breach the peace.

I think it is a good thing the threateners were so bold and made their purpose so clear. They sponsored violence and incited it. Their responsibility in the event of a breach of the peace is thus on record.

The fact that the meeting and concert is being held as scheduled, under the protection of the law which extends to unpopular individuals and unpopular organizations—as it should—is a demonstration of principled application of democratic theory in practice for which Commissioner Moses and the city administration deserve full credit.

Those who wish to hear Paul Robeson, Mary Lou Williams, Morris Carnovsky and Howard Da Silva, Karen Morley and Earl Robinson, and to listen to Mrs. Octavia Hawkins, Dr. Samuel Buchler, Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, Dr. Jerome Davis, Charles R. Allen Jr., Mrs. Rose Russell and others, may do so with confidence that here their rights will be protected. Those who do not care to attend, or participate, or listen, may stay away. It's as simple as that.

The result will be a victory for democracy over the anti-democratic forces of compulsion, violence and riot which were unleashed with the encouragement of those sworn to uphold the law, in Peekskill. There is no way for democracy to lose. The self-styled patriots who threatened a repetition of Peekskill have been given a lesson in real patriotism by Commissioner Moses.

ROBESON AS SPEAKER FOR NEGROES DENIED

N.Y. times - 4/25/49

The Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., member of Congress from the Twenty-second district and pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, said yesterday that "by no stretch of the imagination" was Paul Robeson qualified to speak for all Negroes in the United States.

Referring to a speech made by Mr. Robeson before the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace in Paris, in which the singer was said to have asserted that American Negroes would never fight against the Soviet Union, Mr. Powell declared:

"In the event of war at any time against any one we will do our part, in so far as it does not conflict with our individual religious beliefs or conscience."

Summarizing the "general feelings of most of the Negro masses, including myself," he added:

"We are Americans. We are against any type of aggressive war on our part or any other nation. We are going to keep on fighting to our very fullest—short of non-violent action—to obtain in America everything that God and the Bill of Rights ordained that we should have, and in the hour of crisis we will be loyal to our nation, reserving the right, however, to criticize constructively as we did in World War I and World War II."

Mr. Powell read his statement at all services in his church yesterday and announced that he would deliver it before Congress tomorrow.

18,000 at Peaceful Night Peace Rally

The "Peace Under the Stars" rally and concert of the New York Peace Institute came off peacefully enough last night at Tri-Boro Stadium, Randall's Island.

The veterans groups that had protested the rally and had predicted violence put in no appearance.

An unexpectedly large crowd of 18,000 heard Paul Robeson sing and the Mary Lou Williams jazz trio perform and heard speeches by Dr. Eslanda Goode Robeson, Dr. Samuel Buchler, Rabbi of the Peoples Synagogue, and others.

The rally launched a "peace-by-election" campaign, initiated by the American Peace Crusade.

Compass 8/21/52

Robeson

(Continued from Page 1)

Negro organizations" soon to meet in convention.

"We should strive," he stressed, "to face the Administration and its Republican opponents with the united demand of the six to ten million (organized) Negroes and their trustworthy allies for full and equal citizenship now in every aspect of our national life."

"We should not have to wait until after election to get civil rights," the statement contended, and proposed these alternatives:

- Candidates press for a special session of Congress "before November for the simple purpose of passing FEPC legislation.
- The President, by Executive Order, to "wipe out segregation in the nation's Capital,
- Issuance of a Presidential Executive "for an FEPC with teeth as Franklin D. Roosevelt did in 1941.

Behind such a program, Robeson said, mass meettngs should be held in the major cities, North and South, similar to the Harlem mass meeting.

Not more unfulfilled promises, but action for payment on the promises is "the need of the hour," Robeson declared.

"None of the candidates for the highest offices in this land," Robeson continued, "take a forthright position on civil rights and back it up with action except the nominees of the Progressive Party—Vincent Hallinan for President, and that great and courageous Negro woman, Mrs. Charlotta Bass for Vice President."

The two old party leaders, the statement charged, "have chosen an alliance with the Dixiecrat South and said to Negroes and the nation: 'Your rights be damned. We are interested in war and conquest, not peace and equality.'"

The Star of Zion
THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
Volume 75 CHARLOTTE, N. C., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1952 Number 39

Paul Robeson Concert Tour

NEW YORK—One of the biggest news stories of the day was not headlined by the daily press, but it can be found in the news columns and music reviews of newspapers across the nation.

The mighty voice of Paul Robeson, was heard in concerts from Massachusetts to California and at the very top of the United States under the Peace Arch on the US Canadian border.

The noteworthy facts are:

He sang to thousands of persons, many who had never heard him before, and to larger numbers of Negroes.

The music critics unanimously acclaimed the artistry of his incomparable singing.

Not one "incident" occured, although after the bloody anti-Negro, anti-Semitic Peekskill affair, there were some who predicted that Paul Robeson would never sing again.

Robeson's recent coast to coast tour and his enthusiastic reception by more than 80,000 music-lovers shatters that false theory.

Even more noteworthy was the way in which challenges to Robeson's right to sing—the public's right to hear him—were slapped down by civic and legal authorities. In every case a victory was won for the guarantees the true

(Continued on page three)

America provides for freedom of speech and assembly.

In Seattle, for instance, city officials claimed that Robeson's scheduled appearance in the Civic Auditorium would "engender racial antagonism," Peoples Programs and the National Negro Labor Council took the case to court. Judge Robert M. Jones upheld the paintiffs and Paul Robeson gave his concert.

Again in Berkeley, California, after anti-American protests to prevent Robeson's appearance, the Board of Education voted 3-2 to permit the use of the Berkeley High School auditorium.

It was inevitable that on these occasions certain persons tried to present the world-famed singer and actor as a "controversial" figure.

Said Robeson, "I am very glad to be able to sing. My views have no connection with the very essence of my right to sing."

The music critic of the Denver Post, May 28 edition wrote:

"The voice of Paul Robeson, still a musical miracle, was lifted in glorious song in the city Auditorium Tuesday night . . . the voice is still mighty and moving and used with an actor's understanding of nuance."

The article then degenerated from an objective musical critique to a diatribe against Robeson's militant stand for peace and full equality for colored peoples throughout the world.

But such criticism had no effect upon the thousands of Paul Robeson fans. In Chicago's Washington Park the people thronged to hear him. It was the same in Roxbury, Mass., and in Cleveland.

Climaxing the coast to coast tour was the triumph Robeson scored under the Peace Arch at Blaine, Wash., on the international border. It was the largest gathering ever held in the Northwest. Some 40,000 Americans and Canadians packed the level greensward around the structure. Traffic was blocked for miles around.

Officially, Robeson is prevented from visiting foreign lands, where his fame is tremendous, because of a State Dept. ruling and refusal of a passport. Therefore, he could not accept an invitation from the Canadians to sing for them. But by standing on the American side of the border, Robeson's voice thundered across to his admirers to the north.

"I have been in many parts of the world," he said, I have traveled in many lands and fought many battles. I am deeply moved to see that nothing can stop me from my friends in Canada. I intend to fight for peace, for a decent life for all humanity, especially for the rights of my people in this America of ours. This is a very historic occasion. It can mean that I will be able to sing again everywhere, to sing freely. What is being done here will ring—is ringing now—around the world."

"Controversial statements?" Not to the thousands who flocked to hear Paul Robeson during the tour just completed. And certainly not to the thousands more who will hear him and applaud him when he launches another great tour in November.

Some dates are still available for bookings which are being handled by the UNITED FREEDOM FUND, 53 West 125th St., New York 27, N. Y.

at the Garde Hotel
B. R. Kamins, General

Robeson Booked To Give Concert Here On Nov. 15

11/27/52

Paul Robeson, noted baritone who has been aligned with many left wing causes, will give a concert sponsored by the Peoples Party, Nov. 15, at 8 p.m., at the Weaver High School auditorium.

Also scheduled to appear with the former Enfield resident is Hope Foye, formerly of this city.

Application to obtain the school auditorium was made by the Peoples Party, which according to a spokesman for the board of education is listed as a "responsible party."

Local patriotic organizations and several members of the city council refused comment on Robeson's scheduled appearance. Sunday, although Harold T. Dyson, commander of the Rau-Locke American Legion Post said that the matter will be taken up at their next meeting, Nov. 5.

Benton States Importance Of Bridgeport, Waterbury

BRII[illegible] Conn., Oct.

Two Robeson concerts planned for Bay area

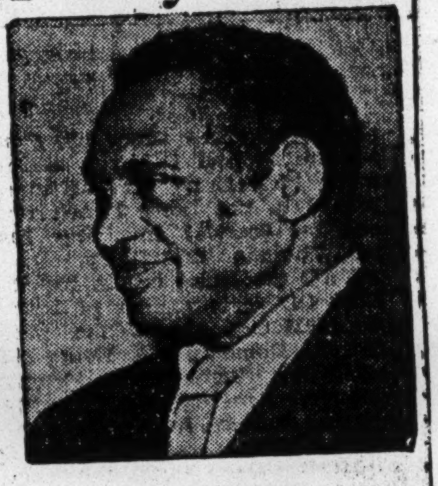
SAN FRANCISCO, April 23—Paul Robeson, great Negro baritone and international people's leader, will sing in San Francisco's War Memorial opera house May 22.

Robeson will give a concert in Oakland on the following night at a hall yet to be named. Robeson's nationwide concert tour is on behalf of United Freedom Associates. He is to be presented locally by the National Negro Labor Council chapters.

The contract for the opera house was to be signed today by William (Bill) Chester, international representative of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union and San Francisco chapter chairman of NLC.

Edward Sharkey, opera house manager and director was quoted as saying the Robeson program would be "strictly a concert." Sharkey said his trustees had been "polled" by telephone and had approved the request for the building.

J. B. Cain, manager of the Civic Auditorium in Seattle, Wash., canceled a contract for Robeson's appearance last week. He claimed he had "noted public disturbances in other cities where Robeson appeared." Cain faces law suit.



PAUL ROBESON
. . . at the Opera House

Denver, Colo.

Robeson Chairman, Publicists at Odds

The Rev. J. J. Taylor, chairman of the Paul Robeson concert committee, apparently was at odds Saturday with members of his publicity unit over whether there's an "iron curtain" around the United States.

The concert committee is in charge of arrangements for the appearance in the Denver city auditorium Tuesday night of Paul Robeson, noted Negro baritone and Soviet sympathizer.

In their latest "news release" plugging Robeson's concert, the committee's publicists indicated that a curtain similar to that used by Russia is being employed on the borders of the U. S.

The "release" told of Robeson's concert a few days ago at Peace Arch park on the U. S.-Canadian border. The release stated:

"More than 30,000 Canadians were here at the border. They came to their side of the iron curtain. Robeson sang from the U. S. side."

But Saturday, informed of the statement by a Denver Post reporter, the Rev. Mr. Taylor said it was "absolutely new" to him.

"That's the first time I've heard of that," he declared. "Someone called the other night and said they were going to mail something out that I would be interested in, but that's absolutely new to me."

Asked if he thought there was an iron curtain around the U. S., the minister replied:

"No I do not. I wouldn't slightly think that. Robeson wouldn't be allowed to sing here if there was an iron curtain around the country. That's the way it seems to me."

The committee headed by the Rev. Mr. Taylor has "about seventy or eighty" members from Denver, Aurora, Boulder, Colorado Springs and Pueblo, he said. It's handling Robeson's arrangements, but the concert proceeds will be split among four national agencies, officials said.

One of these is the Council on African Affairs, which has been listed as "subversive and Communist" by the U. S. attorney general.

The Rev. Mr. Taylor said the committee members "just appointed" him chairman. "After I got stuck there," he said, "they decided they wouldn't change chairmen."

Denver Rocky Mt News 10/1/52

Paul Robeson Sings To 750 in Denver

Approximately 750 persons gathered at City Auditorium last night to hear a concert by Paul Robeson.

At his one-night appearance, sponsored by the Paul Robeson Concert Committee in co-operation with the Negro Labor Council of Denver, he sang a number of ballads and folk songs.

Among his repertoire were "Over the Mountains" and folk songs that included "I Got a Home in a Dat Rock," and "Every Time I Feel De Spirit."

their fund solicitation.

S. F. Examiner
5/22/52

Program Ban On Robeson

Berkeley Board Rejects Souvenir Sales

Supporters of Paul Robeson will not be permitted to sell souvenir programs at his concert in the Berkeley High School auditorium tomorrow night.

The ban on the programs was voted by the Berkeley board of education. Mayor Laurance L. Cross, an ex-officio member of the board, was not present, but the other four members split 2-2.

Permission to sell the programs was sought by Carl Brooks, representing the East Bay chapter of the National Negro Labor Council, the group that attempted unsuccessfully to get approval for Robeson's appearance in the War Memorial Opera House.

Cross, who had indicated he would have a sample program for the board, said he was unable to bring one because of printing delays.

Board member David P. Smith said he favored permission if the board were allowed to see a copy of the program before the concert.

Smith and Mrs. Mildred M. Brown voted for granting permission. They were opposed by Mrs. Eileen A. Ready and A. J. Sackett.

The board had granted Robeson's request to sing by a 3-2 vote, with Mayor Cross, Smith and Mrs. Brown on the affirmative.

Dr. Thomas L. Nelson, Berkeley superintendent of schools, said the State education code does not allow literature to be sold on school property. Exceptions have been made where sample copies were first shown to the board, he added.

Robeson, known for his left-wing sympathies, was denied the use of the Opera House by the board of trustees on April 28.

Democrat Michael O'Brien in the general election.

Cleveland Post
5/10/52

Nearly 600 Hear Paul Robeson In Concert

An estimated 600 crowded into the once beautiful Paradise auditorium, 2226 E. 55 St., to hear internationally known Paul Robeson, presented in concert by the Cleveland Negro Labor Council, Tuesday evening.

The hall, with its smudged pea-green paint and cracked plaster, resounded with cheers and applauds each time the baritone appeared.

Also present were a number of plain clothes police, unnecessary since the concert progressed without incident.

Robeson's concert engagement was canceled here several years previously, because of his alleged "affiliations."

The baritone sang several of his favorite selections, such as "Water Boy" and "Old Man River."

Also appearing was concert soprano Martha Schlamme, in Cleveland for other singing engagements, and the East End a Cappella Chorus.

The concert was the third in a U. S. wide tour. It started in Boston several weeks ago.

THE VOICE - Official organ of the Marine Cooks and Stewards

The Voice (MC&S) 5/23/52

The facts on Seattle decision that entitled Paul Robeson to sing

Judge Robert M. Jones, confronted by an overflow audience of Negro and white supporters of Paul Robeson. handed down a decision May 7 that Robeson is entitled to the use of the Civic Auditorium for his scheduled May 20 concert.

This decision has climaxed three days of bitter arguments between the legal representatives of the city and counsel for the plaintiffs, Peoples Programs and the National Negro Labor Council.

Paul Robeson has fought discrimination wherever he has found it, and is one of the leading Negroes urging the unity of Negro and white. He talks and sings of peace among all peoples of the world.

The public demand

The position that Paul Robeson holds among the Negro people, one of love and respect, was readily shown by the failure of the city to bring forward any Negro witnesses against Paul other than a cop who was under duress because he is a city employee.

The city officials thought that because some people do not like what Paul Robeson sings about or talks about he should be denied the use of the hall—because Paul Robeson is a Negro who, it is claimed, holds controversial political opinions, that a concert by him would, in the words of the city's complaint, "engender racial antagonism."

The phony line of the city officials was thrown out by the court as unsound. The city attempted to win its case by flooding the court with red-baiting charges, and fell flat on its face.

The two lawyers who so ably and successfully defended Paul Robeson's right to sing, John Caughlin and John Walthew, held that any violence that might occur would come from the KKK or other such groups who did not want Robeson to sing.

Certainly the people who want to hear Robeson sing aren't going to cause any trouble. The counsel for Paul Robeson said the people who want to hear Robeson can come to the Civic Auditorium. "The others who don't," in the words of Judge Jones, "can stay home."

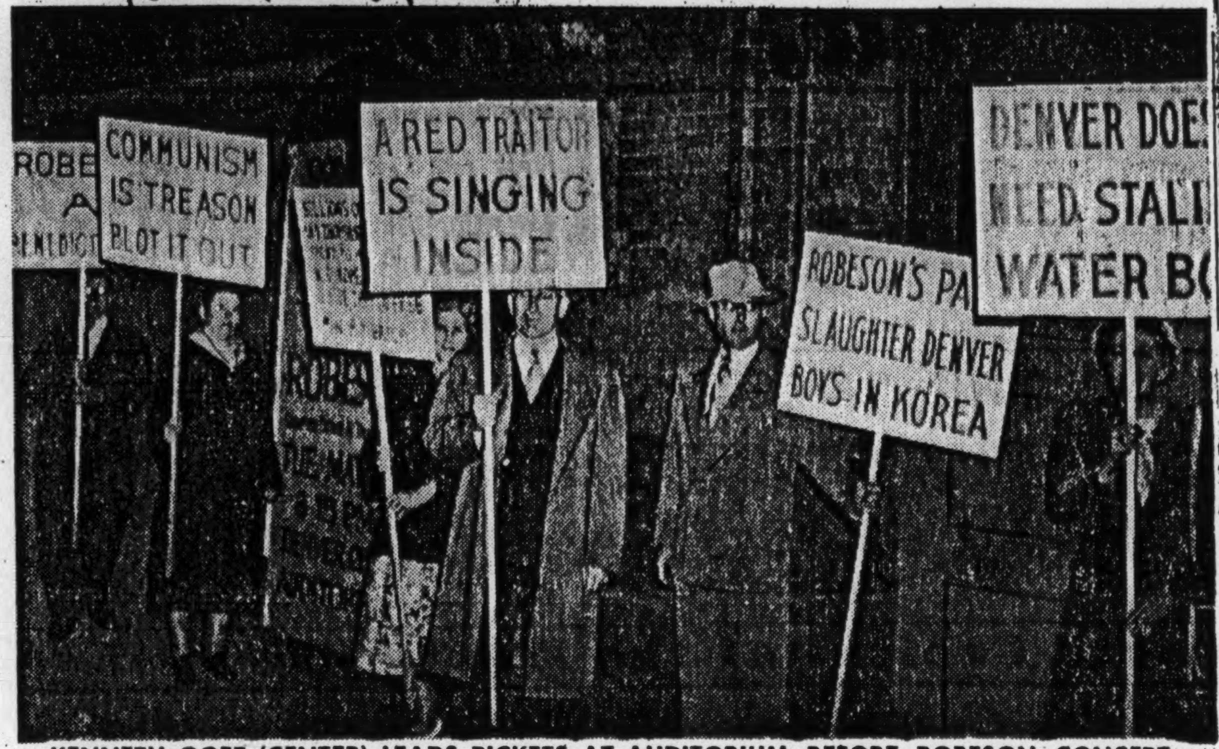
They also said that it is the duty of the city to protect the concert from any disturbances, and that the city's claim that they feared trouble is not ground for violating the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

The pointed out that the Supreme Court has held that this kind of action by a city violates the right of free speech and assembly, and cited several cases to support this argument.

This victory was won through the unity of Negro and white, representatives from a great many organizations, church groups, support by the MCS, ILWU and other unions, together with the legal fight put up by the Council, and is proof that when the people stick together and fight together, our Constitutional rights will be protected and enforced.

—John Roland, Roscoe C. Patterson, Peter Bell.

Denver Post 6/28/52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A RED TRAITOR IS SINGING INSIDE
ROBESON'S PA
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KENNETH GOFF (CENTER) LEADS PICKETS AT AUDITORIUM BEFORE ROBESON CONCERT.

Robeson Blasts Post, U. S. State Department

By JOHN SNYDER.
Denver Post Staff Writer.

Paul Robeson, the richly-voiced baritone with Communist sympathies served notice here Tuesday night on "vigilantes in Denver and Peekskill" that he will continue his fight "for the people of the world."

The giant Negro concert star, long a staunch supporter of Soviet "peace" policies, made the statement in a fiery blast at The Denver Post and the U. S. state department that closed a three-hour musical program in the city auditorium.

Robeson, the star of the show, sang to an enthusiastic audience of approximately 800 men, women and children. There were 2,500 vacant seats.

In the audience were persons long associated with Denver Communist-sympathizing groups, curiosity seekers, some persons who wanted merely to hear Robeson sing—and a liberal sprinkling of plain-clothed detectives.

NO HECKLERS APPEAR.

But if the officers were expecting trouble, they were disappointed. Not a heckler was heard during the entire show.

Seven placard-carrying pickets led by Kenneth Goff of Englewood, director of the Anti-Communist League of Colorado, paraded in front of the auditorium's main entrance for more than an hour before show time, but it was a peaceful and quiet operation.

One shout—"Go back to Russia"—was yelled from a pasing car just a few minutes before the concert started, but didn't even get an answer.

Robeson, in his blast at The Post, said he had more trouble staging a concert in Denver than anywhere else in the country. Even in San Francisco, where he was barred from singing in the Opera house, he said the San Francisco Chronicle "battled" for his right to sing as a standard of American free speech.

"DIDN'T ATTACK ME."

"It (the Chronicle) did not attack me every day as did The Denver Post," he shouted.

The Post, in the last two weeks, has published several articles about the Robeson concert. The articles pointed out that one-fourth of the proceeds will go to the Council on African Affairs. This organization has been listed as "subversive and Communist" by the U. S. attorney general.

The state department, Robeson said, answered his fight for a passport so that he could travel abroad with the statement that he "could be embarrassing to the state department."

"I assure you," he told the cheering audience, "that I shall continue to be embarrassing to the state department.

TO CONTINUE FIGHT.

He said he wanted "vigilantes, whether they be in Denver or Peekskill," to know that he was going to continue "his fight . . . for the Negro people . . . and for the people of the world."

It was in Peekskill, N. Y., that eleven persons were injured in August, 1949, during an anti-Communist riot that broke up a scheduled concert by Robeson.

During the concert, several persons were introduced on the stage and paid tribute to the singer. One of these, Mrs. Cora Peters of 2536 Downing street, presented a $500 donation.

The money, she said, was presented to Robeson "on behalf of the citizens of Denver . . . our state and our neighboring states."

PRESENTED WITH PIN.

Another speaker was Maurice E. Travis, secretary-treasurer of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. He praised Robeson as "one of the world's greatest artists, a great man, a real democrat and a real American."

Robeson, Travis said, "continues to be a symbol of the fight that goes on against oppression of minority groups everywhere." For "carrying on the fight for all workers everywhere," Travis presented Robeson with a special gold pin with his union's insignia.

The Rev. J. J. Taylor, chairman of the Paul Robeson Concert committee and the Denver chapter of the National Negro Labor council—one of the groups sponsoring the concert here—told Robeson that, through his singing, he "has portrayed the hopes and dreams of the people."

Denver Post Photos.

PAUL ROBESON AND UNIDENTIFIED USHER ENTER AUDITORIUM.

The Michigan Daily

Latest Deadline in the State

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1952

Hallinan, Robeson To Speak Today

. . . VINCENT HALLINAN

. . . PAUL ROBESON

West Park Set As Site Of Meeting

By MARK READER

Paul Robeson and Vincent Hallinan, candidate for president on the Progressive ticket, will be the main speakers at a rally to be held at 3 p.m. today in West Park, located north of W. Huron, between 7th and Chapin Sts.

The rally, entitled, "How to Win the Peace in 1952—Now" is sponsored by the Progressives who had originally scheduled the meeting for tomorrow evening at the Masonic Temple.

The Masons rejected the Progressives request for use of their auditorium tomorrow which forced rescheduling of the meeting.

* * *

MEANWHILE, Judge James R. Breakey of the circuit court turned down a request for an injunction against the Masonic Temple for allegedly breaking a contract with the Progressives, yesterday morning.

In reaching his decision the judge stated that on the basis of the claims presented in the bill of complaint he could not try the case due to insufficient evidence and faulty presentation.

Breakey pointed out that the Progressives had failed to serve their papers in a proper manner to the Masons, presenting them to the wrong people, and had not corrected their bill so that it would meet the requirements of state law.

* * *

ATTORNEYS for the Progressives, John Houston, of Pontiac, and John Ragland, of Ann Arbor, offered to correct the errors in their bill immediately.

Judge Breakey denied this request. He stated that if the complaint was to be re-amended it would constitute a new bill which would have to be submitted to the court again.

Breakey also ruled that the Progressives alleged contract was not a contract because it did not say to whom the money was paid, and when the rally was to be held.

The Progressives then moved to dismiss their claims.

Later they announced that speakers at today's rally would also include local candidate for congress Dave Luce and John Shepard, of the psychology department, candidate for the state Senate.

Robeson Tells His Own Story

In An Extemporaneous Talk, the Great Negro Singer Tells How and Why He Joined the Struggle of the Working People, Black and White.

By Paul Robeson

The following is the text of an extemporaneous talk given by Paul Robeson before several hundred members of Toronto's Negro community this week in the Afro-Community Church:

Friends: I find myself quite at home behind the pulpit in your church. For, you see, in my youth I often took the service for my father, who was himself a preacher, when he could not be present.

I made my home in England for ten years. There I knew one of your Canadian compatriots, Gilbert Holland of Hamilton. He understudied me in "Show Boat" and took over the role in many parts of England.

"If I have done anything, I relate it not to my own achievement, but to the struggles and development of my people. I must therefore take some issue with the reverend gentleman's statements. I have come myself from a very poor background. My own father was a slave, who educated himself, became a preacher. I was reared in New Jersey in the direst poverty. I suffered the same prejudices as any other colored boy. My father wanted me to get an education; he struggled, and sacrificed to that end. I have cousins, however, who were not so fortunate. They have remained in the same conditions as those of their forbears.

LABORED FOR OTHERS

So you see it is not quite as you think. From a child I labored not only for myself, but for others, the colored people of New Jersey and of the United States. Then I went to England in 1928. There I realized the position of my people in other parts of the Empire—in Africa, in the West Indies. There always came that question: For whom am I struggling, for myself? No. I remembered my father was a slave; his relatives are still very poor sharecroppers on the farms of North Carolina.

I was struggling not for the few privileged ones of my race who were fortunate enough to go to law school; not for the residents of 149th Street, New York, where our very few wealthy Negroes live, but for the fifteen million impoverished and humble folk of my race in the United States. Their condition was so abject that those who managed to escape it were at times ashamed of their race. When I got to England I learned to be very proud of my race. There were 150 million Negroes in Africa. If I was struggling for the Negro I was also struggling for them. There were the millions in the West Indies. At no time in my life did I feel that my struggle was for myself. If my father's example meant anything, it meant that every one of those millions, given the proper opportunity, might also attain adequate living, be useful citizens in the lands where they lived.

Any songs I sing I have grown up with. They were part of my background. I have a deep pride in the creations of the peasant folk of America, and the part my accompanist, Lawrence Brown, and many others have played in making this folk music known in many parts of the world. In Hungary, Austria, Germany, Russia I found something in common between their folk music and ours.

CULTURE NOT ISOLATED

Dvorak when he composed his New World Symphony found these simple Negro melodies had all the pathos, yearnings, human emotions for the basis of one of the great modern symphonies. I found in England this culture was not isolated. It prevailed throughout Africa in many forms. I learned an African dialect; here is a greeting from this Nigerian dialect:

(Here Mr. Robeson chanted a rhythmic, pulsing measure, swaying to its beats.)

Here in London were people studying native rhythm, while these people were naturally speaking it.

I had a very dear friend from Granada who taught me the West Indian folk songs. There was Catherine Dunham from America who interpreted folk dancing. I found something basic, something in common between all folk music, in Martinique, in America.

I learned a couple of other dialects, and read a lot of folk poetry. I was proud to find that in my folk expressions there was a sorrow that could be compared with the Icelandic sorrow, with the Slavic sorrow, emotions that were common to the great epic poems of all people. I felt so proud of my background, because I felt close to this great body of human kind, of my own peoples wherever they might be.

However, I took a trip one day into other parts of England; to the Welsh coal mines. I was amazed to find that the poor Welsh miner was treated exactly the same by the English upper classes as the poor Negroes of the south were treated by the Bourbon whites. The Slavs of southern Europe lived under the same conditions. In other parts of the world, in North Africa, India, the working peoples of these nations were mistreated and kicked around like the poor are kicked around all over the world. I happen to be a great admirer of the Chinese people. I saw the Japanese try to smash them from the face of the earth.

FOUND HUMAN PATTERN

I learned that there is a human pattern that cuts across nations and races, down to the very essence of humankind. I had to face this: whether a few shall dominate and subjugate the world for their own profit, while millions suffer.

PAUL ROBESON

And for ten years I became part of the life and the struggle in England. What was that part? As far as Africa and my own people were concerned, it shaped itself into the argument that people who had a culture as the people of Africa had as much right to determine their own destiny as any other peoples.

Again the question: for whom am I struggling? It was brought home to me very forcibly in London. There was a girl, a princess from Basutoland, in England, who wanted help for her people. I was tremendously interested, and did help. There was another African boy, Samongo, a very dear friend of mine. He was from Portuguese East Africa, close to the border of Basutoland. He had been to Columbia University, had become one of the most brilliant pupils of Franz Boaz, the world's leading anthropologist. Samongo had gone back to Portuguese East Africa as a missionary and would be living just across the border from Basutoland. I asked the princess if she knew him. She said: "Mr. Robeson, you cannot understand. I am a princess. The people of this tribe were our slaves. Quite apart from my ever knowing Samongo, he could only have been my slave."

So I saw that the problem was not as simple as it looked; to me it was quite inconceivable. Again I asked myself the question: "For whom am I struggling?"

As I looked about at my own people in America it was very clear . . . Ninety-five per cent of the American Negroes were as my father had been; my father's relatives today are poor, laboring, struggling people. And I thought: If I were fighting for anybody I would have to fight for them. I said to the princess: "My father was a slave. My interest in others must therefore be with the slaves of Africa and not with the princes."

The thing took shape once more in London just before I left in 1939. There was trouble in the West Indies, and I was sorry to see that the struggling laborers of the West Indies were shot down not always by white policemen.

My sympathies were quite determined. In England, though not a citizen, I was part of the Opposition because I saw that the struggle was a very wide one and that our struggle as a colored people was related to the struggles of many other people. We must know that. Up to this time in America and in the West Indies, in any part of the world, it

CANADIAN TRIBUNE

has been assumed that we must always be on the side of those in power, or those whom we think will always be in power, perhaps.

I had to decide very early, and led by my sympathies with my father and his people, even in my early days, when my struggle was very bitter, I was on the side of the oppressed and ignorant. In London I was interested in the working people of America, the West Indies, India, Africa, in opposition to the English ruling classes, on purely a class basis. I took a stand on the side of British Labor, and though that Labor was not clear even in its treatment of the West Indians, I feel that the essential labor problems are the same for all the laboring masses.

The workers must look for their allies not to the top, but to the bottom. I feel that is so in America, in England, the West Indies, Africa, in all the nations of Europe, where a struggle is going on which has today crystallized.

We know about this struggle. I was in England when it crystallized. We know what oppression means. We have all experienced it. I was in Spain. I saw the people's struggle against Fascism. I was in Germany. I know that Hitler would make me a slave forever. But all these forces of Fascism, not only in Germany, Italy, Japan, but in Canada, the United States, the West Indies, are crystallized today to a point where they may be smashed. If they are smashed it will mean quite a different world not only for the peoples of Europe but also for us. I feel it is a struggle which we must enter.

I have related the colored people to that struggle. I have been in many parts of the world. I have not been afraid to say what I have seen and felt. I have been very proud to express it. I was on the side of Loyalist Spain because I saw the forces that would enslave not only Spain but all of mankind. I said at the time that if the Fascist forces were given their way in Spain, there would be civil war in England.

I saw great rays of light at different times in England itself, coming from the very liberal forces.

I was very fortunate at one period to strike one land, one-sixth of the world's surface, where I found no color prejudice at all, but complete equality of man with man. That was in the Soviet Union. Today as I travel throughout Canada and the United States I notice this: no one seems to be very clear about the issues.

In your Toronto Star, I think, I read yesterday that the Archbishop of York might succeed the Archbishop of Canterbury.

I have met William Temple, the Archbishop of York. He was at one time an active member of the Labor Party. He has never made any secret of his Socialist views. It is interesting that there are forces in England, in which we may see even the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the advocate of a quite different world; a world where there is some possibility of complete equality; where there is no idea that one man is inherently superior to another. This is no simple conclusion many have reached. I have discussed these things with some of the world's greatest thinkers—with Priestley, Wells, Shaw and Laski. So I feel today as I travel throughout the world that there is a chance to defeat Hitler, to defeat the forces of Fascism.

At that time of Spain, the forces were not understood. Because of that misunderstanding, thousands of Englishmen have died, thousands more will die, thousands of colored boys will die. So today as I go through America and Canada I see we face another problem. There is no doubt Hitler can only be defeated by all nations who stand with Britain against Hitler, but who also stand with the Soviet Union. I find great hesitation among many on this side to even bring up the matter. This is asking for sudden death. This is courting suicide. The Archbishop of York was not afraid to admit it. That must be the most important point I could stress if we really want to rid the world of Hitler and Fascism. I must stress this point because I refuse to live in a world of slavery.

There must be an all-out effort to see that we win. We as colored people must act very clearly, and must not help those very forces in Canada, England, the United States, that would play upon certain of our prejudices and in the end confine us all to complete slavery. We can be with the forces of progress. Let us see that we are.

Sings for the People

in life to become a lawyer. But even before he got his diploma he had already turned his back on the legal profession. Today he remembers his study of law and political science at Columbia Law School only as something that helped him to an understanding of what he considers the main problems of human society.

In 1918 he first achieved prominence as a member of the all-American football team. After some years of professional football he played the lead in Eugene O'Neill's Emperor Jones in 1923. In 1925 he appeared in the same play in London.

He considers one of the most important years in his life was 1934, when he went to the Soviet Union for the first time.

What prompted him to go? "The same thing that would motivate any American Negro like myself," he said. "I felt a responsibility to my own people. I was interested to see for myself whether the people there were free."

What he found impressed him profoundly. There was no color problem. There was no race prejudice. Russian and Jew, Ukrainian and Uzbek, Mongol and Tartar, white and black—all were equals. As a musician and a keen student of the cultures of all race groups, he was especially impressed by the state policy of fostering the music and lore of the national minorities. He found the problems that confronted the Negroes in the U.S. had been solved.

"Since then I have made by position clear," he said. "I have been and am now a firm admirer of the Soviet Union. I am convinced the future of the world is closely tied up with that of the Soviet Union."

In the same year Robeson placed his son in a school in Russia, and for the next four years, while making his home in London, he visited the Soviet Union frequently, remaining for periods of from three weeks to three months, studying at first hand social and national questions in many parts of the country.

Robeson is no cloistered artist, remote from the everyday life of the man in the street. He scorns the ivory tower. In England, where at one time he had thought he would make his permanent home, he was in the thick of the political battle against appeasement, and during the Spanish war worked strenuously on behalf of the Loyalist Government. In the same period, he said, he became interested in Africa, visiting North Africa and the West Indies.

Shortly after the war broke out he had to make an important decision. "It became obvious to me," he said, "that my place was in America." He came back to the United States, bringing his son and wife with him.

He feels the fight of Negroes in America and elsewhere for emancipation will be advanced by the defeat of the Axis, and is working for ever greater Negro participation in the war effort of the United Nations. That, he said, was the basic question facing Negroes at this time.

The songs he sings, Mr. Robeson said, "are the songs of the people," and he expressed the hope he would be able to undertake concert tours for the "two-bit" audiences for those who cannot afford to pay standard concert prices. In his own words: "I have the same outlook on the concert stage as elsewhere. I am not interested in the 'highbrow houses.' I want to sing for the common people." In Toronto he was vindicated by two sell-out, stormily enthusiastic concerts.

Robeson studied Greek and Latin in his university days. Since then he has learned Hebrew, Russian, Chinese and a number of African languages. With a system of his own, as he puts it, he has "broken the back" of every European language and can perform Othello in any country on the continent.

A man of deep culture, the world and its peoples constitute his research laboratory. Six foot four, broad-shouldered, deep-chested, with a voice of unparalleled depth and resonance, he considers himself an artist in the ranks of progressive humanity. He is not concerned with the hoi-polloi and the blue bloods. He has dedicated his talents to the workers of America, white and black, to the miners of Wales, the dock hands of Glasgow, his people in Africa—the men who labor in the Old World and the New.

Steel Restrictions

Sewing and washing machines, vacuum cleaners, toasters, grills, and scores of other appliances will soon become very scarce owing to restrictions on steel.

THE CANADIAN TRIBUNE

THESE DAYS:

12/30/52

What Jose Ferrer Says About Robeson

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

Paul Robeson is an artist of merit who has become so absorbed by Soviet Russia that he no longer can be regarded as American in any other category but nominal citizenship. He is at this moment the most vehement protagonist of Soviet Russia in this country and his services have been acknowledged by Joe Stalin.

Indignation against Robeson is usually expressed by patriotic Americans who have never been tempted by so-called left-wingism. Yet, no one has ever denounced Paul Robeson with such accurate pin-pointing of his unforgivable sins against his native land as Jose Ferrer, actor, who has also been attacked for some of his associations.

Ferrer's language is important because he expresses the problem of the artist who insists on freedom of expression but rejects treason. This is what Ferrer said about Robeson:

"Any American who accepts an award from the Soviet Union today does a tremendous disservice not only to his country but to the cause of peace throughout the world. It seems to me to be very clear that up to now the Soviet Union has discredited itself as to believability of intention and honesty of purpose.

Injures Negro Cause

"I have always felt deeply about the minority groups and their problems. In the case of Paul Robeson, his action in accepting Stalin's so-called 'peace prize' seems to me to be particularly reprehensible because he is doing almost irreparable harm to his own race, and grave injury to the cause of all Negroes. He pretends to be their spokesman, and he is not. I do not believe that Paul Robeson has anything fundamentally in common with Ralph Bunche, Marian Anderson, Joe Louis, Dorothy Maynor, Jackie Robinson, and other Negroes who are winning the uphill battle for Negro rights.

"Nor does he have very much in common with the Negro soldiers in Korea, who are helping to fight the battle for freedom against Communist aggression and dictatorship.

"Anyone who is in the arts must have freedom of expression. As an artist I insist on this privilege for myself and for all others. In its attempts to control artistic and creative expression, Communism is indistinguishable from Fascism or any other form of dictatorship. This is all the more reason to deplore the course which Paul Robeson has chosen."

The acknowledgment of the undeniable truth that "Communism is indistinguishable from Fascism" is emotionally difficult for many of those who in the hey-day of Hitlerism were willing to accept Stalin as an alternative. Their error was that there really is no alternative to evil. It is impossible to say that Stalin is less a devil than Hitler, for both were bred by the same Hegelian sire and only differed in the method of achieving an identical end.

Conclusion Same as Hitler's

Even in the matter of anti-Semitism, Stalin reaches the same position as Hitler did and for the same ends, namely, that any independence of thought or action is repugnant to him. To the very few Negroes who visit his country, Stalin can well present a facade of equality because he has no Negro population in his country, but he does have Jews in sufficient number to require him to reach a conclusion about them and his conclusion is the same as Hitler's was.

Jose Ferrer, therefore, has hit the nail on the head when he establishes the truth that when Robeson serves Stalin, he betrays not only the United States but the Negroes as well. It is a too usual, even though unjust, human trait to generalize from the particular. A handful of Negroes are Communists; therefore the illogical—and logic is perhaps the most difficult and unused of mental exercises—conclude that all, or most, or a great many Negroes are Communists.

Robeson, in particular, stands out like a sore thumb because he is so prominent and active and such a great artist. When he sings "Ole Man River" or "Water Boy," one almost forgets that he is a servant of Stalin's power. It is a pity because Robeson might have been of great service to his race and to this country. Instead, he is abhorred by most Americans and should be.

Jose Ferrer has served his country well by making the issue clear-cut and understandable. It is not the
Robeson that brings him opprobrium in his na
it is his treachery to its ideals and institutions.

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N Y Post

Lost Voice

12/27/52

The melancholy decline of Paul Robeson hit new depths this week with his self-righteous acceptance of a "Stalin Peace Prize." As the world learned long ago, these prizes are annually awarded by the Kremlin to men of other nations who have faithfully echoed Moscow's war-cries. Robeson says he is "greatly honored" by the award. What would he have said of an American who accepted a medal from Adolf Hitler for similar propaganda services?

It is often said in Robeson's defense that his devotion to communism is the result of democracy's failure to provide dignity and equality for all people of all color and creeds. But this excuse grows thinner each year. The flagrant anti-Semitism of the Prague trials has once again exposed the cynicism of the Soviet tyranny. When it serves the purpose of Russian diplomacy, other minorities will be just as ruthlessly marked for destruction.

Paul Robeson could have been a thunderous voice against social injustice and oppression everywhere. But his denunciations of American outrages were long ago rendered hollow by his blind blessings for Russia's slave system.

Jottings in Pencil

KEENAN WYNN, WHOSE ESTRANGED WIFE is hitting the news pages with Dan Dailey Jr., may make a few paragraphs himself. He's doing the Hollywood spots with the grooviest blues-killer—Denise Darcel . . . Alec Guinness is wild about Julie Wilson—in a professional way, that is. He's caught the London version of "South Pacific" three times since Julie took over for Mary Martin, and is seeking her as his romantic vis-a-vis in his next picture.

DENISE DARCEL
Capering with Keenan

A local model intends to name a Hollywood muscle-boy as the father of her unborn child. It will be headline fodder unless she is talked—or bought—out of it . . . Georgia Gibbs, ailing, was unable to go on with the show at the Capitol yesterday. Dolores Hawkins was rushed in from Long Island as her replacement.

LIBRARIANS REPORT a run on books dealing with the Christine Jorgensen problem and its biological and psychological solutions. There are huge waiting lists for the better books on the subject. Never happened before all the Denmark stories . . . A local statistician has figured out that Janis Paige's evening gowns for her act cost $62.50 per ounce.

Burt Lancaster may be the next big Hollywood name to brave the Broadway legitimate stage. Burt has been flooded with scripts as a result of the surprisingly respectful reviews he drew for his performance in "Come Back, Little Sheba," and he's strongly tempted by two of those he's read . . . Judy Garland and Sid Luft are occupying Charles Cushing's plush suite at the Carlyle. He turned it over to them and left for Florida, which is nearer Ethel Merman, anyway.

Hangover Recipe

I MAY BORE YOU NOW with this information—but you'll thank me later. Top corrective for queasy stomachs is a concoction consisting of equal parts of plain tomato juice and milk, thoroughly mixed. (Just stash this away where you'll be sure to find it New Year's Day. In the ice bag or aspirin bottle, for instance!)

BROADWAYITES ARE BUZZING about the acting of Peter Brandon in the forthcoming play, "Josephine." Some predict he may be the next Montgomery Clift . . . One of the big movie studios will have a crew of 21 newsreel cameramen assigned to the Inauguration . . . Midtown bookies have made Rudolph Halley a six to five favorite to win the nomination for mayor, but admit these odds would change if Hogan entered the picture.

The left-wingers have lost one of the last of their swank salons. Frederick Vanderbilt Field, who staged many a pinko party for the more prominent brethren, has sold his mansion on W. 12th st. near Fifth ave. . . . The next big hotel in Miami Beach, the Fontainbleau (being built by Ben Marden, ex-owner of the Riviera) may cost $12,000,000 before it is completed.

YOU MAY THINK you're chic, but did you know? The latest in sterling tableware is a hoity toity serving set designed for dishing out bagels and lox, and christened likewise. (What, no silver cream cheese spreader?)

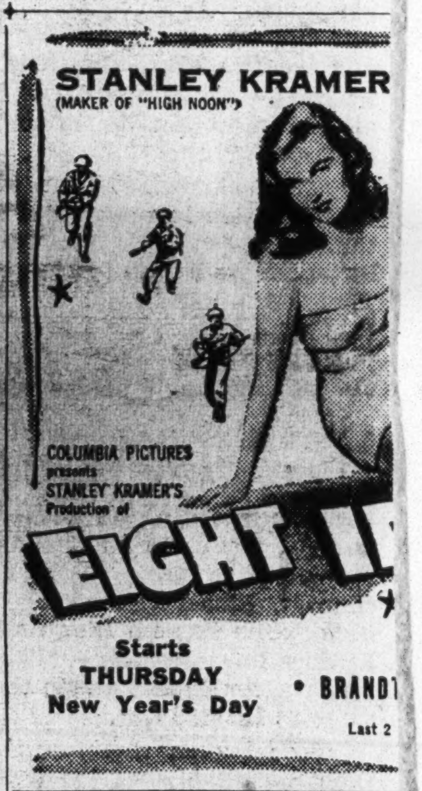
Wooing Vera Ellen

JOHN HART, the Lone Ranger of TV and radio, is hi-yo-silvering Vera Ellen of the flickers . . . Eileen Herrick, formerly one of the beauties of Gotham's cafe society, will be wearing black for her first six months as a Haitian bride. Her new mother-in-law died the other day, and custom on the island is very strict.

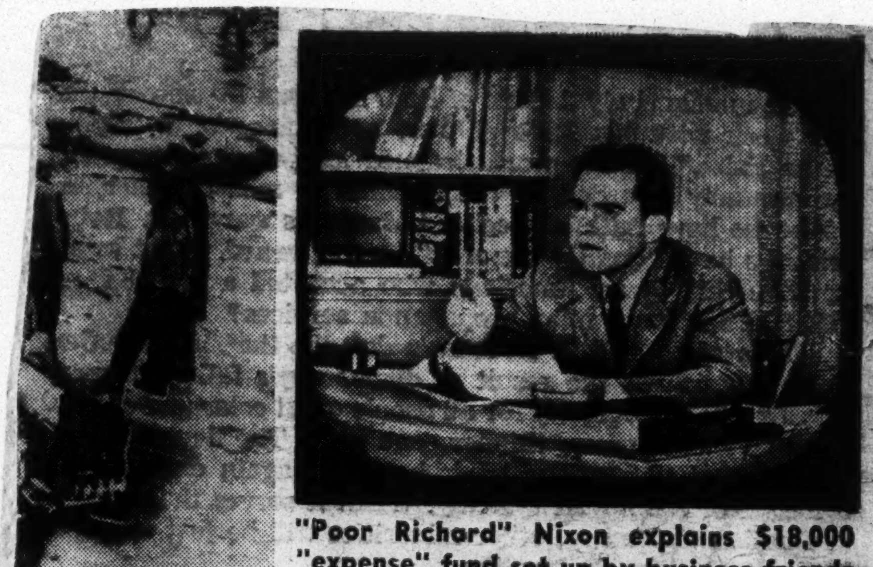
[illegible] tevens, a Los Angeles [illegible] eater magnate (sure, [illegible] I said!) is heading [illegible] t group that would [illegible] the Copacabana...

He puts them on all 10 fingertips while he slams the drums to keep his skin from splitting.

YUL BRYNNER has a hangover cure, too: passion fruit nectar with a dash of bitters



THE CELEBRATED
PRIZE-WINNING
BROADWAY PLAY
BECOMES A DEEPLY
MOVING MOTION
PICTURE!
starring the entire and
original Broadway cast



Associated Press Photos

"Poor Richard" Nixon explains $18,000 "expense" fund set up by business friends. His nationwide TV speech cost $75,000.

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Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!
Коммунистическая партия Советского Союза
ПРАВДА
Орган Центрального Комитета
Коммунистической партии Советского Союза
№ 356 (12558) | Воскресенье, 21 декабря 1952 года | ЦЕНА 20 КОП.

За выдающиеся заслуги в деле борьбы за сохранение и укрепление мира представителям демократических сил различных стран мира присуждены международные Сталинские премии «За укрепление мира между народами» за 1952 год.

Горячий привет лауреатам международных Сталинских премий мира!

Ив Фарж — общественный деятель, Франция.

Сайфуддин Китчлу — председатель Всеиндийского Совета Мира.

Элиза Бранко — деятельница Федерации бразильских женщин.

Поль Робсон — известный певец и общественный деятель, США.

Иоганнес Бехер — поэт, Германская Демократическая Республика.

Джеймс Эндикотт — священник, магистр искусств, Канада.

Илья Эренбург — писатель.

В КОМИТЕТЕ ПО МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫМ СТАЛИНСКИМ ПРЕМИЯМ «ЗА УКРЕПЛЕНИЕ МИРА МЕЖДУ НАРОДАМИ»

17 и 20 декабря под председательством академика Д. В. Скобельцына состоялись заседания Комитета по международным Сталинским премиям «За укрепление мира между народами».

Комитет рассмотрел поступившие предложения о присуждении международных Сталинских премий за текущий год и принял решение по этому вопросу.

Ниже публикуется постановление Комитета о присуждении международных Сталинских премий «За укрепление мира между народами» за 1952 год.

О присуждении международных Сталинских премий «За укрепление мира между народами» за 1952 год

Постановление Комитета по международным Сталинским премиям «За укрепление мира между народами» от 20 декабря 1952 года

За выдающиеся заслуги в деле борьбы за сохранение и укрепление мира присудить международные Сталинские премии «За укрепление мира между народами» следующим представителям демократических сил различных стран мира:

1. Ив. Фаржу — (Франция);
2. Сайфуддину Китчлу — председателю Всеиндий-
3. Элизе Бранко — деятельнице Федерации бразильских женщин;
4. Полю Робсону — (США);
5. Иоганнесу Бехеру — писателю (Германская Демократическая Республика);
6. Джеймсу Эндикотту — священнику (Канада);

—III— (see below!) Passage deals specifically with Paul's contribution.

Лауреаты Сталинских премий мира

◆

Акад. Д. В. СКОБЕЛЬЦЫН

Председатель Комитета по международным Сталинским премиям «За укрепление мира между народами»

◆

Состоялось очередное присуждение международных Сталинских премий «За укрепление мира между народами». Новая группа выдающихся представителей демократических сил различных стран мира — Ив Фарж, Сайфуддин Китчлу, Элиза Бранко, Поль Робсон, Джеймс Эндикотт, Иоганнес Бехер, Илья Эренбург — получает заслуженную награду, отмечающую большой вклад, внесенный каждым из этих деятелей в дело борьбы за сохранение и укрепление мира во всем мире.

В этом году присуждение международных Сталинских премий совпало с окончанием Конгресса народов в Вене, ярко показавшего возросшую мощь сил мира и дальнейшее расширение рядов международного движения борцов за мир. Непреодолимое стремление всех народов к мирному сотрудничеству лежит в основе этого мощного морального и политического движения, охватывающего сегодня весь мир. Каждый год мы узнаем все новые и новые имена стойких борцов за дело мира.

Присудив премии за 1952 год, Комитет по международным Сталинским премиям мира убежден в том, что он выразил чувства миллионов людей во всем мире, знающих и горячо одобряющих деятельность названных в постановлении Комитета представителей народов.

Патриоты Франции с удовлетворением прочтут среди награжденных имя францу-

кий народ Индии с удовлетворением встретит присуждение международной Сталинской премии одному из его лучших представителей, не раз доказывавшему на протяжении своей жизни свою преданность народным интересам.

В другой части света самоотверженно борется бразильская патриотка Элиза Бранко. В прошлом работница текстильной фабрики, она прошла суровую школу жизни. В рядах Федерации бразильских женщин она ведет кипучую деятельность в защиту мира и прав женщин. 7 сентября 1950 года имя Элизы Бранко прогремело на всю страну. В этот день она смело выступила перед солдатами, выстроенными для военного парада в штате Сан-Пауло. Развернув перед ними знамя со словами: «Наши сыновья не поедут солдатами в Корею», она обратилась к ним с пламенной речью: «Солдаты, наши сыновья, отказывайтесь ехать в Корею! Мы не допустим гибели наших близких. Мы не хотим новой армии сирот, разрушенных очагов и слез матерей!»

За свое выступление Элиза Бранко была арестована и приговорена к тюремному за-

культуры могут и должны сыграть значительную роль в демократическом решении национальных задач своей страны. К числу именно таких немецких деятелей культуры принадлежит Иоганнес Бехер, старый антифашист, певец труда и борьбы, чье литературное творчество, а также практическая деятельность вдохновляются идеями борьбы за единую и миролюбивую Германию, за демократический путь развития немецкой нации. Сборники стихов поэта, его публицистика зовут немецкий народ к новой жизни, к строительству демократической республики, равноправной и уважаемой в семье миролюбивых государств.

Сталинская премия мира присуждена канадскому священнику, магистру искусств, доктору теологии Джеймсу Эндикотту. Д-р Эндикотт провел многие годы своей жизни среди китайского народа, будучи миссионером объединенной церкви Канады в Китае. Здесь он сам убедился в справедливости требований угнетенных народов, имеющих такое же право на свободу и обеспеченную [illegible] ли на земле. В Китае он выступил с разоблачениями реакционности и продажности гоминдановского режима и приветствовал победу народной революции.

Вернувшись в Канаду, д-р Эндикотт включился в активную борьбу за мир, поняв, какую опасность несет народу поли-

За выдающиеся заслуги в деле борьбы за сохранение и укрепление мира присудить международные Сталинские премии «За укрепление мира между народами» следующим представителям демократических сил различных стран мира:

1. Ив Фаржу — (Франция);

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3. Элизе Бранко — деятельнице Федерации бразильских женщин;

4. Полю Робсону — (США);

5. Иоганнесу Бехеру — писателю (Германская Демократическая Республика);

6. Джеймсу Эндикотту — священнику (Канада);

7. Илье Эренбургу — писателю (СССР).

Председатель Комитета академик **Д. В. Скобельцын**

Заместители Председателя Комитета **Го Мо-жо** (Китай)
Луи Арагон (Франция)

Члены Комитета:
М. Андерсен-Нексе (Дания)
Джон Бернал (Англия)
Пабло Неруда (Чили)
Ян Дембовский (Польша)
Михаил Садовяну (Румыния)
А. А. Фадеев (СССР)

20 декабря 1952 года
г. Москва

II

ВЫДАЮЩИЕСЯ БОРЦЫ ЗА МИР МЕЖДУ НАРОДАМИ

Сотни миллионов сторонников мира во всех концах земного шара от всего сердца приветствуют сегодня новую группу лауреатов международных Сталинских премий «За укрепление мира между народами».

Постановлением Комитета по международным Сталинским премиям за выдающиеся заслуги в деле борьбы за сохранение и укрепление мира международные Сталинские премии присуждены виднейшим представителям демократических сил различных стран мира: Ив Фаржу (Франция), Сайфуддину Китчлу (Индия), Элизе Бранко (Бразилия), Полю Робсону (США), Иоганнесу Бехеру (Германская Демократическая Республика), Джеймсу Эндикотту (Канада), Илье Эренбургу (СССР).

Учреждение Президиумом Верховного Совета СССР в 1949 году международных Сталинских премий мира в связи с семидесятилетием И. В. Сталина явилось еще одним проявлением глубокой преданности советского народа делу всеобщего мира, непреклонного стремления советских людей крепить узы дружбы и сотрудничества с народами всех стран.

На XIX съезде Коммунистической партии товарищ Сталин подчеркнул, что интересы Советского Союза неотделимы от дела мира во всем мире. Присуждение международных Сталинских премий мира новой группе выдающихся общественных деятелей различных стран, активно участвующих в борьбе за мир, вновь наглядно выражает неотделимость интересов нашей Родины от дела мира во всем мире.

I(a)

Ив Фарж, Сайфуддин Китчлу, Элиза Бранко, Поль Робсон, Иоганнес Бехер, Джеймс Эндикотт, Илья Эренбург... Всеобщим уважением миролюбивого человечества окружены эти выдающиеся деятели международной демократической общественности, посвятившие себя благородному делу борьбы за мир и дружбу между народами.

Присуждение международных Сталинских премий мира за 1952 год происходит в знаменательные дни.

Только что завершил свою работу Конгресс народов в защиту мира в Вене, в котором участвовали многочисленные представители народов большинства стран мира. На Конгрессе было наглядно продемонстрировано, что движение миролюбивых народов против угрозы новой войны выросло в гигантскую, непреодолимую силу. Конгресс вновь выявил непреклонную волю сотен миллионов людей отстоять мир, обуздать свору злейших врагов человечества — поджигателей новой войны.

В борьбе против растущей угрозы войны выковывается великая антивоенная коалиция различных классов и социальных слоев, заинтересованных в сохранении мира.

«Современное движение за мир, — указывает товарищ Сталин в своем гениальном труде «Экономические проблемы социализма в СССР», — имеет своей целью поднять народные массы на борьбу за сохранение мира, за предотвращение новой мировой войны. Следовательно, оно не преследует цели свержения капитализма и установления социализма — оно ограничивается демократическими целями борьбы за сохранение мира».

II(b)

Имена новых лауреатов международных Сталинских премий мира еще раз свидетельствуют о том, что движение за мир непрерывно растет, ширится и крепнет. В ряды активных борцов против угрозы войны становятся все новые миллионы людей всех рас и национальностей, самых различных политических и религиозных убеждений. Среди лауреатов за 1952 год мы видим представителей народов Франции, Индии, Бразилии, США, Германской Демократической Республики, Канады и СССР. Ранее, как известно, международными Сталинскими премиями были отмечены выдающиеся заслуги в борьбе за мир видных общественных деятелей Китая, Франции, Италии, Японии и ряда других стран.

II c

Активная деятельность лауреатов международных Сталинских премий мира олицетворяет движение за мир широчайших народных масс во всех странах. Общепризнаны заслуги в этом движении Ив Фаржа — французского общественного деятеля и Иоганнеса Бехера — известного немецкого поэта.

В лице Сайфуддина Китчлу — председателя Всеиндийского совета мира — люди доброй воли во всех странах приветствуют растущее движение за мир народов Азии. Борьба против агрессии американских империалистов в Корее, борьба в защиту мира становится кровным делом миллионов людей в странах Азии, Ближнего и Дальнего Востока.

II(d)

Рядом с именем Китчлу стоят имена Элизы Бранко — деятельницы движения народов Латинской Америки в защиту мира и Поля Робсона — страстного борца за мир и свободу. Присуждение Элизе Бранко и Полю Робсону международных Сталинских премий отражает тот важный исторический факт, что на борьбу за свободу и независимость, за мир и прогресс подымаются все более широкие народные слои стран Западного полушария, что терпят провал усилия империалистической реакции задушить движение народных масс против новой грабительской войны, подготовляемой американскими миллиардерами и миллионерами.

В почетном списке лауреатов международных Сталинских премий мира стоит также имя канадского священника, магистра искусств, доктора теологии Джеймса Эндикотта. Громко звучит в Канаде голос этого горячего поборника дела мира, смело разоблачающего преступные действия поджигателей новой войны, зовущего всех честных людей Канады и других стран на активную борьбу за мир.

Международной Сталинской премией мира отмечена неутомимая общественная деятельность советского писателя Ильи Эренбурга, который проводит огромную работу по широкому распространению человеколюбивых идей мира.

Присуждение международных Сталинских премий «За укрепление мира между народами» Фаржу, Китчлу, Бранко, Робсону, Бехеру, Эндикотту, Эренбургу несомненно будет встречено единодушным одобрением людей доброй воли во всех странах. Великая армия защитников мира почерпнет в этом присуждении новые силы для самоотверженной борьбы за мир во всем мире.

Чествуя новую славную плеяду лауреатов международных Сталинских премий мира, народы Советского Союза вместе с миролюбивыми народами всех стран провозглашают:

Да здравствует мир между народами!

Долой поджигателей войны!

стойких борцов за дело мира.

Присудив премии за 1952 год, Комитет по международным Сталинским премиям мира убежден в том, что он выразил чувства миллионов людей во всем мире, знающих и горячо одобряющих деятельность названных в постановлении Комитета представителей народов.

Патриоты Франции с удовлетворением прочтут среди награжденных имя французского прогрессивного деятеля **Ив Фаржа**. С этим именем у каждого француза связано представление о страстном патриоте своей родины, уже много лет борющемся в рядах самых активных защитников ее национальной чести и свободы. Таким знают Ив Фаржа широкие круги французского народа. В годы гитлеровской оккупации он стоит во главе Национального комитета борьбы против насильственного угона французов в Германию. В послевоенные годы, как только на горизонте обозначилась угроза новой войны, подготовляемой американскими империалистами, Ив Фарж одним из первых становится в ряды борцов за сохранение мира. Он — бессменный руководитель национальной организации французских сторонников мира и активный участник международных конгрессов борцов за мир. Вместе со всеми патриотами он борется за национальную независимость Франции, за ее выход из унижающих ее агрессивных союзов и установление сотрудничества с миролюбивыми государствами.

В 1952 году Ив Фарж побывал в Корее и Китае. Результатом этой поездки явилась его книга «Свидетельство о Китае и Корее», которая произвела огромное впечатление на общественное мнение Франции, так как исходила от человека, объективность и бескорыстность которого стоят вне всякого сомнения. Представитель общественных кругов, которым дороги честь и независимость Франции, Ив Фарж является живым олицетворением широкого, демократического характера движения в защиту мира.

В этом году впервые присуждается Сталинская премия мира представителю народов Индии. Д-р **Сайфуддин Китчлу** широко известен в своей стране и в других странах Азии как один из активных борцов за сохранение мира в этой части света и во всем мире, как последовательный борец с американской агрессией в Корее и решительный противник политики возрождения японского империализма.

Старый участник и руководящий деятель национально-освободительного движения народов Индии, неоднократно подвергавшийся преследованиям со стороны колонизаторов, д-р С. Китчлу вполне закономерно пришел к идее активной борьбы за дело мира. Обеспечение национальной независимости народов ныне тесно связано с успехами всемирного движения в защиту всеобщего мира. В своей речи на недавнем Конгрессе сторонников мира Азии и Тихого океана в Пекине д-р С. Китчлу указывал: «Империалистические державы стремятся использовать экономическую отсталость значительного большинства стран Азии, чтобы заставить нас принять их политику войны и позволить им взять под контроль наши ресурсы. Мы должны сорвать эти попытки, мы должны положить конец войнам, которые ведутся на нашей земле».

Д-р С. Китчлу принадлежит к правящей партии Индии—Индийский национальный конгресс. Своей деятельностью в рядах сторонников мира он подтверждает ту истину, что защита мира является делом людей самых разных политических убеждений и партийной принадлежности. Вели-

военного парада в штате Сан-Пауло. Развернув перед ними знамя со словами: «Наши сыновья не поедут солдатами в Корею», она обратилась к ним с пламенной речью: «Солдаты, наши сыновья, отказывайтесь ехать в Корею! Мы не допустим гибели наших близких. Мы не хотим новой армии сирот, разрушенных очагов и слез матерей!»

За свое выступление Элиза Бранко была арестована и приговорена к тюремному заключению. Ни бесчеловечный режим, ни истязания не сломили воли этой мужественной женщины. Из тюрьмы она шлет страстные письма женщинам Бразилии, вдохновляя их на борьбу за мир: «Сторонники мира Америки и Азии, где бы они ни находились, победят,—говорится в одном из ее писем,— ибо они знают, чего они хотят — мира. Наша идея восторжествует, потому что правда на нашей стороне. Мы боремся за жизнь!»

Имя Элизы Бранко стало символом борьбы бразильских патриотов против участия их страны в агрессивной войне в Корее, в которую втягивают Бразилию американские империалисты. Под давлением широкого общественного движения, развернувшегося в странах Латинской Америки, Элиза Бранко была освобождена. Огромные массы народа провожали свою любимицу из тюрьмы до здания Федерации бразильских женщин. В Бразилии учреждена премия имени Элизы Бранко, которая присуждается активным участникам движения в защиту мира. Имя Элизы Бранко по праву стоит теперь в ряду имен лауреатов Сталинской премии мира.

Сталинская премия мира присуждена всемирно известному певцу и общественному деятелю США **Полю Робсону**. Имя Робсона стало знаменем угнетенного негритянского народа, знаменем всех честных американцев в их борьбе с империалистической реакцией, подготовляющей гибельную для американского народа войну. Мужественно переносит Робсон травлю и преследования. Его стойкость и убежденность в конечной победе прогрессивных сил Америки вдохновляюще действуют на миллионы американцев, живущих в атмосфере военной истерии и полицейского террора. Американским реакционерам не удается заглушить мощный голос Робсона, ставший голосом самого народа, грозно предупреждающего поджигателей войны. На многотысячных митингах, окруженных часто полицейскими кордонами, бесстрашно звучат песни Робсона и его речи, преисполненные глубокой веры в силы народа. В страхе перед его правдивым словом американские власти лишили Робсона права выезда из страны. Но Робсон — вместе с защитниками мира всех стран. На международных конгрессах борцов за мир голос Робсона, записанный на пленку, звучит вместе с голосами представителей других народов.

Присуждение Полю Робсону Сталинской премии мира будет встречено с удовлетворением всеми честными людьми Америки, для которых постановление Комитета означает, что их усилия находят себе признание со стороны международной прогрессивной общественности.

В списке лауреатов международных Сталинских премий стоит имя известного немецкого поэта **Иоганнеса Бехера**. В настоящее время, когда Германия происками англо-американских империалистов разъединена, а западная ее часть сведена на положение полуколонии и поставщика пушечного мяса для американских военных авантюристов, деятели немецкой

справедливости требований угнетенных народов, имеющих такое же право на свободу и обеспеченную [illegible]ди на земле. В Китае он выступил с разоблачениями реакционности и продажности гоминдановского режима и приветствовал победу народной революции.

Вернувшись в Канаду, д-р Эндикотт включился в активную борьбу за мир, поняв, какую опасность несет народу политика правящих кругов, привязавших страну к колеснице американского империализма. Вскоре Джеймс Эндикотт стал признанным лидером канадских защитников мира, которые в его деятельности находят для себя пример подлинного служения благу народа.

В 1952 году д-р Эндикотт вновь посетил Китай. Здесь он убедился в чудовищном злодеянии американских империалистов — в применении ими бактериологического оружия. У себя в Канаде д-р Эндикотт выступил с гневной книгой, озаглавив ее «Я обвиняю!». Он привел неопровержимые свидетельства, подтверждающие варварские действия американских войск в Корее и Китае, и призвал всех людей доброй воли в Канаде к усилению борьбы за отозвание канадских войск из Кореи. Ни попытки привлечь его к судебной ответственности, ни травля со стороны газет не испугали д-ра Эндикотта, убежденного в правоте дела мира и смело ставшего в ряды его защитников. Словом и делом д-р Джеймс Эндикотт борется за мир во всем мире, а следовательно, за жизненные интересы народов Канады, так же заинтересованных во всеобщем мире, как и другие народы.

Сталинская премия мира присуждена советскому писателю **Илье Эренбургу**. Имя Эренбурга неразрывно связано с послевоенным движением народов в защиту мира. Блестящий публицист, талантливый романист, Илья Эренбург способствовал широкому распространению в мире идей, которыми вдохновляются сегодня миллионы борцов за мир во всех странах. Враги мира не раз испытывали на себе разящую силу сатиры Эренбурга. В своих острых памфлетах, так же как в романе «Девятый вал», Эренбург разоблачил ничтожность и внутреннюю пустоту американских претендентов на мировое господство, так называемых носителей «западной культуры», прикрывающих фразами о «защите культуры» корыстные интересы торговцев смертью, мечтающих о миллиардных прибылях в будущей войне.

Чествуя сегодня Эренбурга как лауреата Сталинской премии мира, советские люди усматривают в награждении этого выдающегося советского писателя проявление того признания, которым пользуется во всем мире наша социалистическая культура, имеющая основным своим содержанием возвышение человека, победу сил прогресса над силами реакции.

Советский народ горячо приветствует новую группу лауреатов международных Сталинских премий «За укрепление мира между народами» и желает им полного успеха в их благородной деятельности.

Интересы Советского Союза неотделимы от дела мира во всем мире, сказал наш вождь И. В. Сталин. Присуждение международных Сталинских премий мира представителям разных народов, разных политических убеждений и партийной принадлежности является еще одним проявлением мирных устремлений советского народа, его готовности к сотрудничеству с широкими слоями всех народов в таком демократическом деле, как защита мира во всем мире.

The Afro-American January 3, 1953

Robeson Gets 'Glad Tidings'

Paul Robeson, actor, singer and crusader for peace in the United States, seen reading the cablegram from Moscow, advising him that he was one of the eight persons chosen throughout the world as recipients of the annual International Stalin Peace Prizes, which carry a stipend of 1,000,000 Russian rubles, equal to about $25,000 in American currency. Denied a passport previously, he has announced his intention of renewing with the U.S. State Department the request so that he can receive the award in person.

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leaders in the abolitionist movement. A special tribute will be paid to the pioneers in the fight for freedom.

Touring Club Honors Rockefeller's Memory

WASHINGTON (ANP)—One of the highlights of the Washington Educational Touring Club for 1952 was the presentation of a plaque to the Rockefeller family in memory of the late John Davidson Rockefeller Sr., philanthropist, humanitarian, and friend to all mankind.

The silver plaque was awarded "In the Spirit of Good Will" at the Rockefeller Center in New York by George H. Wallace, founder and president of the club, and received by John D. Rockefeller III, who expressed deep appreciation for th honor paid to

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Justice Douglas Gets Hillman 1952 Award

NEW YORK (ANP) — The annaul $1,000 Public Service Award of the Sidney Hillman Foundation was voted to Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. The foundation was formed in 1947 to perpetuate the life work of the late leaders of the Amalgamated (CIO).

The Afro-American

BALTIMORE, MD., JANUARY 3, 1953

Paul Robeson Elated

By JAMES HICKS

NEW YORK—Singer Paul Robeson declared Monday that the $25,000 peace award given to him Sunday by Russia's Joe Stalin is the "highest honor I could receive" and said he will immediately apply to the State Department for a passport to Russia so he can go there and accept the money in person.

Robeson told the AFRO in exclusive interview in his midtown apartment Monday: "There is no honor that could come to me more important than this one. It represents the feeling of millions of people and the affection and respect they have for what I've been trying to do."

On Stalin's Birthday

Moscow announced Sunday that Robeson had been declared winner of one of the Inrnational Stalin Peace Prizes an that as such he would receive 0,000 Russian rubles, equal to $2 00 in American money, for his ork in the interest of peace in e world.

The Stalin awar are made annually on Stalin irthday. The Russian premie is 73 years old Sunday.

Recalls tatement

"Maybe wh id in Paris in 1949 is becoming a tle more clear to my people now," Robeson said.

He said Monday e never made

(Continued Page 2)

—Paul Robeson

(Continued from Page 1)

such a statement but that the press had distorted what he had said. "What I really said in Paris was this," Robeson went on:

"I pointed out that Russia did not want war against anyone. That all over the world she was defending the rights of colonial black peoples against the colonial powers.

"And I said since Russia is doing all this for black peoples, do you think that if a war comes that a black man is going to pick up a gun and shoot Vishinsky?"

"Wouldn't Make Sense"

Elaborating further on his Paris speech, Robeson said what he had meant was that it would not make sense for black people to go to war against the nation that was helping them most.

He added, however, that what he had said had been taken completely out of "context" and made to appear that he had said American colored citizens would never fight Russia if the two countries should go to war.

"I did not say I was speakin colored people in Par [illegible] beson said. "I was speaking for millions of black people in a fight for world peace. In order to understand me it's important that people understand what I'm fighting for

Should Exchange Culture

"I am, I have been, and I expect to remain a friend of the Soviet peoples. We in America get along in the world with 400 million Hindus.

"We get along with Moslems and people of many other faiths and creeds, so why can't we get along with a Russian society based on socialism and communism?

"I believe we can. I believe we can trade with them and exchange our culture with them as we do with our other allies. We did it during the war when they were our allies. Why can't we do it now?"

Robeson them went on to say that his visits to Russia has convinced him that the Russians want peace in the world.

Must Make Peace

"If we want peace, we must make peace with Russia. This is all I have asked of my own people in Paris or any other place. Do you want peace? Do we need to accept the idea that war is inevitable? This is the context of the fight I am making."

Robeson said he considers his award from Stalin as important as the Nobel Peace Prize.

The telegram expressed the hope that Robeson could come to Moscow to accept the award; and Robeson, who has had his passport cancelled by the State Department, said he would immediately apply for another to go there.

"I will accept this prize with humility," he said. "It represents millions of people in the world who want peace. It is another way of Russia saying 'We want peace.'."

Robeson would not comment when asked what he planned to do with the award money, but he did reveal his plans for the coming year.

Text Of Cablegram

The cablegram from Robeson to Dmitry Skobeltsyn, chairman of Committee on International Prizes Moscow in reply to Skobeltsyn's cablegram informing him:

"Deepest thanks for your cablegram and deepest thanks to the committee. For the peace fighters in America this award has the greatest significance. Already the prize has called forth profound gratification and pride among many sections of the Negro People and the Progressive Forces of our land.

"For me personally it is a most moving experience — a great award and honor which I shall cherish all my life. Again, my deep and sincere thanks.

"I shall apply for a passport during the next few days. Hope to be successful. If not, shall inform you of further possibilities. All my best to the soviet people. Warmest birthday greetings to your great leader. Peace we shall win. Happy New Year."

(Signed)
PAUL ROBESON

Afro American
10 JAN 1953

AT TERRELL LUNCHEON—Paul Robeson (right), noted singer, was among the hundreds of well-wishers who attended the birthday luncheon for Mrs. Mary Church Terrell (left), 90, at the Hotel Statler on Saturday. Mr. Robeson and his wife, Mrs. Eslanda Robeson, donated $90 to the Mary Church Terrell Fund to End Segregation in the Nation's Capital.

Donors give $5,200 to end D.C. segregation

WASHINGTON

Donations of $5,200 in cash and pledges for the Mary Church Terrell Fund were announced, Saturday, following a birthday luncheon honoring 90-year-old Mrs. Terrell at the Hotel Statler.

Goal of the fund is $50,000 to be used in aiding organizations seeking to end racial segregation and discrimination in the Nation's Capital.

It is hoped that through these efforts all jim crow in Washington will be abolished by Mrs. Terrell's 100th birthday, which will also be the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

700 Attend Luncheon

More than 700 guests, many of them from out of town, attended

Discrimination Laws of which Mrs. Terrell is chairman.

Mrs. Terrell, in her remarks, paid tribute to Mrs. Stein and other members of the Co-ordinating Committee for their "untiring work" in the "long campaign—the longest and hardest campaign of my long career," which ended when the Supreme Court outlawed discrimination in D.C. restaurants this past June.

Faith In Democracy

Wearing a two-piece blue dress which complimented her snowy hair, Mrs. Terrell also cited the recently-announced open - door policy of D.C. movie houses and urged her listeners to help continue to break down barriers which prevent the United States

The Rev. Mr. Elmes read a sonnet dedicated to Mrs. Terrell and written by Georgia Douglass Johnson, local poetess.

Solo By Mme. Evanti

Incidental music at the luncheon was provided by the Howard university string ensemble, conducted by Louia Vaughn Jones. Mme. Lillian Evanti, soprano, sang an original composition written from the words of Christina Rossetti's poem, "The Birthday."

Trustees of the Mary Church Terrell Fund to End Segregation in the Nation's Capital are:

Mrs. Terrell, Mrs. Luke I. Wilson, the Rev. Mr. Elmes, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

AFRO Editorial Page Jan. 3, 1953

". . . No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . ."

14TH AMENDMENT,
U. S. CONSTITUTION.

More 'Tabloid' Annual Awards

DUMBEST SUGGESTION OF THE YEAR: Advice to NAACP by **John Lewis Clark,** self-styled political analyst, that lobbying efforts should be halted in Washington now that the Republicans are back in power. Shuddering thought of the year: Idea of **Richard M. Nixon** ever becoming President of the United States. Most vindictive journalists of the year: **Walter Winchell's** column crusade against **Josephine Baker; Joseph Bibb's** bitter assault on **Walter White.**

Most important legal case of the year: Arguments before the U.S. Supreme Court seeking to end segregated elementary schools in four states and the District of Columbia. Jurist of the year: **Judge Harold Stevens,** NYC, for his calm and deliberate handling of a case which could have smeared **Tallulah Bankhead.** Martyr of the year: **John McCray,** fighting S.C. editor, forced to serve 60 days at hard labor on a chaingang in what many believe was political reprisal.

ROMANCES OF THE YEAR: Pearl Bailey and **Louis Bellson Jr.; Robert McAllester** and **Grace Cunningham** over the protest of Earlham College officials. Night club sensations of the year: **Sugar Ray Robinson, Eartha Kitt, Dorothy Dandridge.** Actress of the year: **Ethel Waters** in "Member of the Wedding." Top records: **Pearl Bailey's** "It Takes Two To Tango;" **Mills Brothers'** "Glow Worm;" **Nat (King) Cole's** "Somewhere Along the Way;" **Patti Page's** "I Went to Your Wedding."

ATHLETES OF THE YEAR: Joe Black, Archie Moore, Monte Irvin, Larry Doby, Satchel Paige. Sports disappointments of the year: Cleveland Indians, Brooklyn Dodgers. Sports mileposts: **Joe Louis** cracks lilywhite Professional Golfers' Association tourney; **Zack Clayton,** first colored referee of heavyweight championship bout; First colored players on Dallas, Texas and Savannah, Ga., baseball teams.

BEST NEWS OF THE YEAR: Segregated elementary schools ended in Illinois, Delaware, Arizona, New Jersey; New Mexico, Pennsylvania and colored pupils admitted to a Baltimore technical high school; Klan leaders convicted in North Carolina; Supreme Court outlaws segregated interstate travel on buses and trains; **Dr. W. E. B. DuBois** acquitted in federal court. Equality crusaders of the year: The eight professors who resigned at the University of the South because the board refused to admit colored students.

Civil Liberties champions of the year: Members of the school board and city officials of Hartford, Conn., for insisting that **Paul Robeson** be allowed to sing and speak. Civil liberties chumps: Members of the school board at Englewood, N.J., for refusing to let **Mrs. Mary M. Bethune** speak at a high school, a decision that they later shame-facedly reversed. Events most helpful to Communists: Brutal beating of the **Rev. Amos Carnegie** on a bus in Georgia; Second assault conviction of **Mack Ingram** for looking at a N.C. white girl from a distance of 75 feet.

. . . And Speaking Of People

First colored captain of "New York's finest" is amiable **George Henry Redding,** 51, a veteran policeman of 25 years. Promoted on Christmas eve, **Captain Redding** will get $6,880 a year . . . **Ella Fitzgerald** has made a date at Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, for a throat operation . . . **Herbert Brownell, Eisenhower's** patronage agent, has his eye on NYC Court **Justice Francis Rivers** as a possible U.S. District Court judge. His present appointment, which expired Dec. 31, pays $5,000 more than the federal post.

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CAPSULE—1952

Continued From Page 12)

and Jews for successful fight against theatre discrimination in Washington, D.C. ..... Hattie McDaniel's Hollywood home reported up for sale, following death of famed radio and screen star in November ... Jo Baker reported planning her fourth anti-American blast from Buenos Aires, Argentina, while appearing at the Maipo Theatre ... Randolph Edmonds honored at Florida A. and M. College on 25th year in educational theatre .... Mahalia Jackson, gospel singer, forced to cancel European concert tour and return to Chicago home because of serious illness ... Muriel Rahn's tab version of "Carmen Jones" signed to play Woodrow Wilson high school, Port Arthur, Tex., next year, which will mark the first time the school auditorium will be open to colored ... Paul Robeson, baritone, continued fight against "gag" of his expressions .... Deep River Boys returned from Europe after singing before more than a million persons ..... Sarah Vaughan signed to leave for Europe on Jan. 13 .... Louis Armstrong returned from tour of Germany and Scandinavian countries .. A Canada Lee Foundation launched in New York .. Berlin, Germany, critics acclaimed soprano Helen Thigpen....Carl Barriteau, Trinidad bandleader, freed of violating bankruptcy laws in Scotland ... Singer Jo Baker snubbed U.S. State official in Argentina; flayed by Cong. A. Clayton Powell for anti-U.S. statements ... Earthe Kitt, Broadway star, and millionaire John Barry Ryan 3rd denied marriage rumors ... Pearl Bailey and husband, Louis Bellson, returned from Europe for American honeymoon ...Sheldon Hoskins, ballet master for "Carmen Jones," awarded three-year scholarship to Saddler Wells Ballet School in London ... U.S. filed $1,396 income tax lien on estate of late Hattie McDaniel for 1949-'50 earnings ... Singer Marian Bruce lost $15,000 in gowns when fire destroyed her Riverside Drive apartment in NYC ... Capt. Hugh Mulzac exhibited a one-man art show in N.Y. ... Louis Armstrong received New England All-College Conference scroll .. Ella Fitzgrald underwent throat operation in NYC ... Sam Ward, Royal theater manager, Baltimore died of heart attack .. Critics laud Muriel Rahn's 10-man "Carmen Jones" unit.

Afro - American
10 JAN 1953

See What The AFRO Says About It

Ike's Landslide

31 Win Legislative Positions; Race Relations Make Progress

High Court Asked To Outlaw Jim-Crow Schools; Colonials Defy White Rulers

The political field really held the spotlight in 1952. Rumblings of "time for a change" which began early in the year, resulted in the drafting of General Eisenhower and Gov. Adlai Stevenson as candidates and ended Nov. 4 with the landslide election of Eisenhower.

Carried into office during the mammoth election were Representatives Adam Powell and William Dawson who were re-elected, and 31 colored legislators in various areas across the nation.

Included in the latter group were Julius Archibald who became New York's first colored state senator, and W. C. Erwin who was elected to the school board in Augusta, Ga., the first colored member since Reconstruction days.

Progress was made in education as the University of Tennessee agreed to admit colored applicants to its law and graduate schools; Talladega College became Alabama's first racially mixed educational institution; a U.S. District Court ordered Louisiana State University to open its doors to medical students;

School Hearing

Chancellor Collins Seitz of Wilmington, Del., ordered white schools open to children of both races declaring that jim-crow schools are a violation of the 14th Amendment.

But the most momentous event was the arguments before the United States Supreme Court asking that body to rule that jim-crow schools violated the Constitution. States making their plea before the tribunal were Kansas, Delaware, South Carolina, Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Race Relations

Race relations made progress and suffered some set backs. Marian Anderson sang before r

Washington, E. C. Pope and W. A. Stewart; the AME's in Chicago elected:

The Revs. Howard T. Primm, 50, New Orleans; Frederick Jordan, 50, Los Angeles, and E. C. Hatcher, 50, of Nashville and Philadelphia. In Philadelphia where the Central Jurisdiction of the Methodists met, the Revs. Edgar A. Love and Matthew W. Clair Jr., were selected to fill the posts of retiring Bishops A. P. Shaw and Edward Kelly.

In Sewanee, Tenn., eight of nine faculty members of the University of South School of Theology, resigned when the board of trustees ruled not to admit colored students; while in Pittsburgh, the Presbytery voted approval of the Rev. Virgil Moccia, white, as pastor of Bidwell st. Presbyterian Church.

Most prominent in the news was the unrest of the colonials in Africa who showed resentment over continued white oppression. In Kenya, (East Africa), tribesmen formed the Mau Mau who pledge to drive the white man from their country;

South Africans defied the jim-crow (apartheid) laws of Malan's government and were arrested in masses; Tunisians and Moroccoans started uprisings because their demands for independence from France were ignored.

And the tribesmen from Tanganyika accused the British of making a 78,000 acre land grab. The United Nations agreed to study these problems.

COLUMBIA, S.C. — John McCray, militant editor of Lighthouse, and Informer, was jailed on a probation violation charge. This followed his defeat of Byrnes' plan to swing South Carolina to Ike.

PAUL ROBESON

Paul Robeson, famed singer, was one of eight persons chosen to receive the annual International Stalin Peace Award. The prize is worth approximately $25,000.

AFRO Editorial Page Jan. 10, 1953

"... No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States ..."

14TH AMENDMENT,
U. S. CONSTITUTION.

OPINION

I like to pay taxes—that's the way I buy civilization.

—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

Way Off The Beam

George S. Sokolsky, the syndicated columnist, after all these years of indifference has suddenly become concerned about colored Americans.

His belated interest stems from the fact that Paul Robeson has accepted the Stalin Award for peace.

Mr. Sokolsky charges that in accepting the prize, Mr. Robeson is "doing almost irreparable harm to his own race" and betrays colored Americans generally.

That's so much hogwash. Frankly, we think Mr. Sokolsky is way off the beam. For our part, he can save his sympathetic interest for a more appropriate occasion.

Like so many others, he has fallen into the unfortunate habit of condemning the whole for what one individual says and does.

It is no secret that Paul Robeson, a sensitive individual, is obsessed with a fanatical abhorrence of segregation and discrimination.

He has on more than one occasion expressed a preference for Russian racial laws and customs to those of America.

When he speaks, he speaks for Mr. Robeson and Mr. Robeson alone, certainly not for 15 million Americans who chance to be his color.

Oddly enough, Mr. Sokolsky has never charged Alger Hiss' betrayal to everyone who graduated from the Harvard Law School as Mr. Hiss did or who happens to possess a white skin as he does.

He has yet to argue that blame for the treacherous act of the Rosenbergs should be assessed against all persons of the Jewish faith.

The truth of the matter is, and Mr. Sokolsky knows it, Paul Robeson has betrayed no one, certainly not his race.

And who is it that doubts if he had in a[illegible] [illegible]trayed his country, Mr. Robeson would now be sharing a federal cell with the rest of those persons convicted under the Smith Act.

Birmingham, Ala. — How is Paul Robeson going to collect that $25,000 Stalin Award if the State Department won't give him a passport so that he can go to Moscow?

EDWARD WELCH

Chicago — I think the government should give Paul Robeson his passport so that he can go to Russia for his Stalin Award, then refuse to let him back in America.

JAMES HALL

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

AFRO- AMERICAN
10 JAN 1953

Award For Robeson Set New Precedent

By ARTHUR RANDALL
(Assistant to Managing Editor)

The 10 most significant news according to my viewpoint and not stated in the order of their importance, are as follows:

Mr. Randall

The election of Gen. Dwight Republican, as President of the United States.

The breakup of the numbers racket in most of our large cities, which caused thousands of the game's hirelings to have to find legitimate jobs.

The United States Supreme Court hearing cases fought on the principle that segregation itself is discrimination.

Robeson Sets Precedent

The award of the Annual Stalin peace prize to the first American ever to have won one—Paul Robeson.

Resignation of eight faculty members from the University of the South because the board refused to admit students who were not white.

Arrest and conviction of more than a score of Klansmen in North Carolina, who had tried to carry on a reign of terror in the state.

The achievements of colored athletes in the Olympic games at Helsinki, Finland, last summer, certainly rate top mention among the year's noteworthy.

Joe Black's performance for the Brooklyn Dodgers in the World Series also was phenomenal and rates attention.

The story about Washington's Rev. Earl L. Harrison, who was convicted of a paternity charge brought against him by a former choir singer of his Shiloh Baptist Church was one of the most sensational events of they year.

Also of a sensational nature was the feud between Miss Josephine Baker and Columnist Walter Winchell over a Stork Club incident that had most of the nation's news-men lined up in opposing camps.

News of progress was that of several United States cities adopting anti-discrimination and FEPC ordinances, especially the city of River Rouge, Mich., where the bulk of the work of processing the world's Ford Motor cars is carried on.

Mrs. McCollum Convicted

The conviction of Mrs. Ruby McCollum on a first-degree murder charge in Florida for slaying the white father of her illegitimate baby served to call to the nation's attention again the fact that little justice exists for colored people in the south. If the situation had been reversed, there would never have been any trial.

On the international front, Korea and the Africa have brought to the press the biggest stories.

In Korea, the story hinges about how we are to get our armed forces out of the land without losing face in the eyes of the world.

In Africa, the situation is haping up so that the world will soon know whether we shall continue to assist the colonial powers which are exploiting the darker peoples or shift to a position of encouragement to the underprivileged, with our economic weapon—Point Four.

Afro American
10 Jan 1953

ican 10 Jan 1953

See What The AFRO Says About It

Newsy Events

Election Of Ike 52's Biggest Story

By CLIFF MACKAY, Editor, AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers

Mr. Mackay

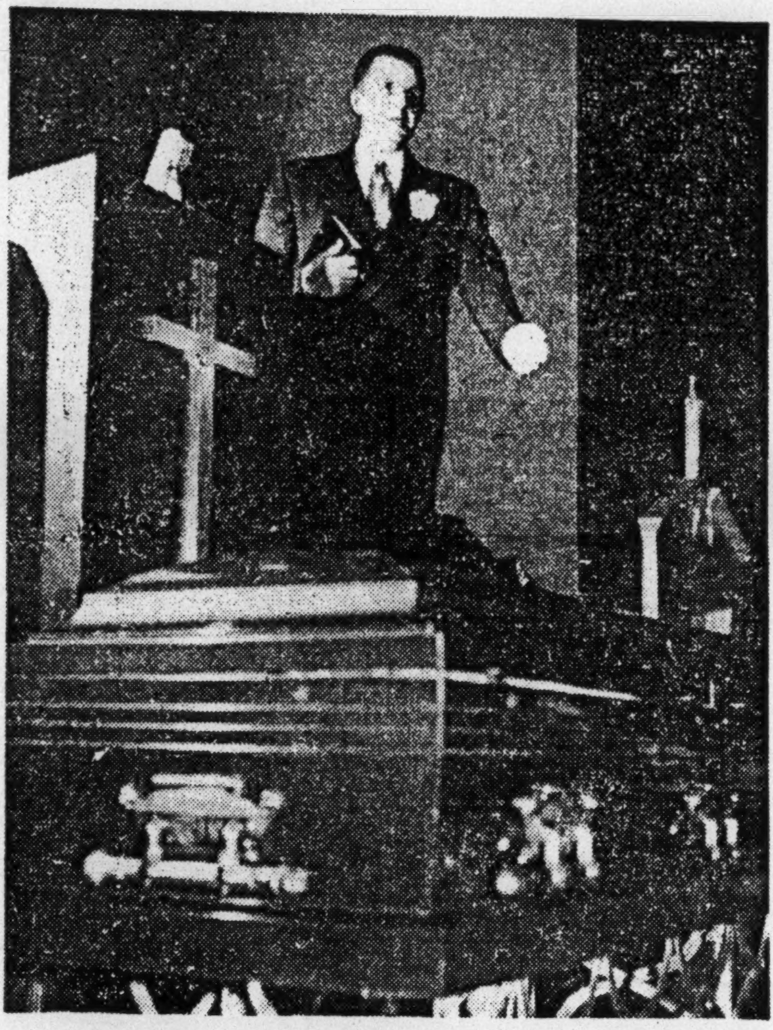
1. Election of General Eisenhower as president.
2. Funerals for J. Finley Wilson and C. C. Spaulding.
3. Arrest and conviction of Klansmen in North Carolina.
4. President Truman's addresses at Howard Commencement and in Harlem during presidential campaign.
5. Marriages of Robert McAllester and Grace Cunningham over protests of Earlham College authorities; marriage of Louis Belson Jr., and Pearl Bailey against wishes of his father.
6. Paul Robeson's concert at Hartford while 3,000 policemen stood guard.
7. Resignation of eight faculty members at University of the South because board denied admission of colored students.
8. Rev. Earl Harrison convicted of paternity on accusations of Olivia Holmes.
9. Failure of Dodgers to win 1952 world's baseball championship.
10. Argument before U. S. Supreme Court of five school cases seeking outlawing of segregated elementary schools.

Birmingham Post-Herald

MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1953 ALABAMA: Partly cloudy and mild.

Godless Stalin Gets Christian Service Here

Minister Says America Cannot Meet Communism By Caricaturing It Or With Investigations



'STALIN'S FALSE GODS REMAIN'—So said the Rev. Wayne Dehoney when he preached a funeral for Josef Stalin, dead dictator of Russia, at Central Park Baptist Church yesterday. The casket was empty.

Josef Stalin got a Christian funeral service here yesterday.

The Rev. Wayne Dehoney, pastor of the Central Park Baptist Church, preached over an empty bronze casket before a shining gold cross on his pulpit.

The godless Russian dictator went to his tomb last Monday to the roar of cannon and screaming whistles—but without benefit of clergy.

Some 2000 worshippers heard the Rev. Dehoney's sermon in the light-filled glass and brick sanctuary of the church.

"This casket here represents all that Josef Stalin stood for," the 34-year-old minister said. "And this cross represents all that Jesus Christ [illegible] for.

"You are on one side or the other."

False Gods Remain

Dehoney said he decided on the service because "no religious services were held in connection with the burial of Stalin:

"Now Stalin is gone, but his false gods are not gone with him," the minister warned.

He told his listeners that they, too, were potential Stalins.

"An honest searching of our own hearts brings the stark realization that we too are serving these same gods," he said. "The world is full of men who have missed the mark—sin has perverted and twisted us and slanted us toward these same ends."

The death of Stalin has changed nothing, Dehoncy declared.

"God has got rid of him . . . and still the MIGs fly in Korean skies and 10 men step forward to seek the place he left."

Communism grew as a protest

See CHRISTIAN, Page 2

Continued from Page 1

against injustice, Dehoney said, and wins millions of followers with promises of world brotherhood.

"The tragic thing is that while Christianity preaches brotherhood, the Communists are practicing it," he said.

~~No 'White Supremacy'~~

"The colored people of this earth who outnumber the white seven to one are turning from us to them, because there is no doctrine of white supremacy' in communism."

America cannot meet the threat of communism by "caricaturing" it, he said. "And certainly we can't meet it with investigations. Rabble rousing investigating has become the easy path to political prominece."

And "neither can we meet the issue of communism with guns and bombs alone," he said. ". . . . You can't stop ideas with bullets and tanks."

"The only answer to communism is a vital dynamic life-changing Christian faith, courageously proclaiming its total doctrine.

"Herein is the only and final answer to communism and to all it and this man stood for:

"Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."

"The world at its wort today," concluded the minister, "is calling for Christians at their best."

The empty casket was provided by Angwin-Service of Ensley.

The Rev. Dehoney closed his funeral sermon with an appeal to those present to "take your stand for Him, in the church today," and as the choir sang the old Christian invitation hymn, 26 from the congregation made their way down the church aisle.

Only six of those who came were church members, transferring their membership. The other 20 were taking their stand for the first time for Christ and His church.

Boston Chronicle

BOSTON, MASS., SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1953 PRICE FIVE CENTS

Robeson Sings To 25,000 At Canada Border

PEACE ARCH PARK, U. S.—Canada Border near Blaine, Wash.—Paul Robeson sang songs of peace and freedom to an international audience of at least 25,000 at his second annual outdoor concert here Sunday, August 16.

Despite overcast skies, people poured in an uninterrupted stream for five hours across the borders of Canada and the U.S. onto the broad green plain and grassy hillside overlooking the massive Peace Portal for which the park was named.

As Robeson crossed the border with an honor guard on Negro and white trade unionists at 2 p. m. he was immediately met and surrounded by a cheering Canadian-American throng which proudly escorted him to an improvised truck-bed platform beneath the great arch.

Among those greeting the great Negro artist were leaders of the British Columbia district of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, sponsors for the second consecutive year of the international day of song and brotherhood.

The huge outdoor concert was born last year after U.S. Immigration authorities had denied Robeson permission to enter Canada to sing at the Mine-Mill Union convention in Vancouver, B. C. The decision was quickly made that "if Paul can't come to us, we'll go to Paul." The first concert, in May, 1952. with somewhere between 30,000 and 40,000 persons in attendance, was the result.

Paul Robeson

As Robeson mounted the makeshift "stgae" with his accompanist, the young Negro concert pianist Allan Booth, formerly of Newton, Mass., the beautifully-landscaped park overlooking Boundary Bay came alive with thousands standing, cheering, and waiving in salute to this great American and champion of freedom.

✓

AFRO-AMERICAN 10/3/1953

RECEIVES PEACE PRIZE— Paul Robeson, the internationally celebrated singer. was awarded the Stalin Peace Award by Howard Fast, novelist, at the Hotel Theresa Skyline room recently. The cash award of 100,000 rubles, ($25,000 in American money) goes with the gold medal.

Robeson receives $25,000 Stalin peace prize in NYC

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK — Singer Paul Robeson received the $25,000 International Stalin peace award Wednesday along with a gold medal bearing the image of Joseph Stalin.

The award was presented to Mr. Robeson by author Howard Fast in ceremonies held at the Theresa hotel.

The award, made each year on Stalin's birthday, Dec. 21, was one of 10 such grants made by Russia to persons throughout the world for "outstanding services in the struggle against warmongers and for the strengthening of peace."

Made Last December

Announcement of the award to Mr. Robeson was made last December but there had been some question as to how and when he would be able to get the 100,000 rubles ($25,000) which went along with it.

The U.S. State Department had refused Mr. Robeson a passport to Russia to personally go and receive the money.

Mrs. Paul Robeson told the AFRO Friday however, that the Chase National bank had notified Mr. Robeson that the money had been deposited to his account here in New York.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who addressed the meeting at which the medallion was presented, said the chairman of the international committee granting the award, Professor Dimitri Skobeltyson, of Moscow University, had requested Mr. Fast to make the presentation to Mr. Robeson.

Fast Makes Award

Before presenting Mr. Fast, Dr. DuBois said:

"From these facts I think this audience will easily understand how great an honor has thus come to America, to the colored race and to Paul Robeson. He is thus placed among the great men of the world and recognized as prime mover in the greatest cause of our day, peace. He is without doubt the best known American on earth to the largest number of human beings."

He added that "only in his native land is he without honor and rights."

Mr. Fast, in making the presentation, said, "It is no accident that almost all the world regards Paul Robeson as one of the grandest and bravest sons of the United States of America."

An audience of some 300 persons of which about 25 per cent were white, witnessed the ceremony.

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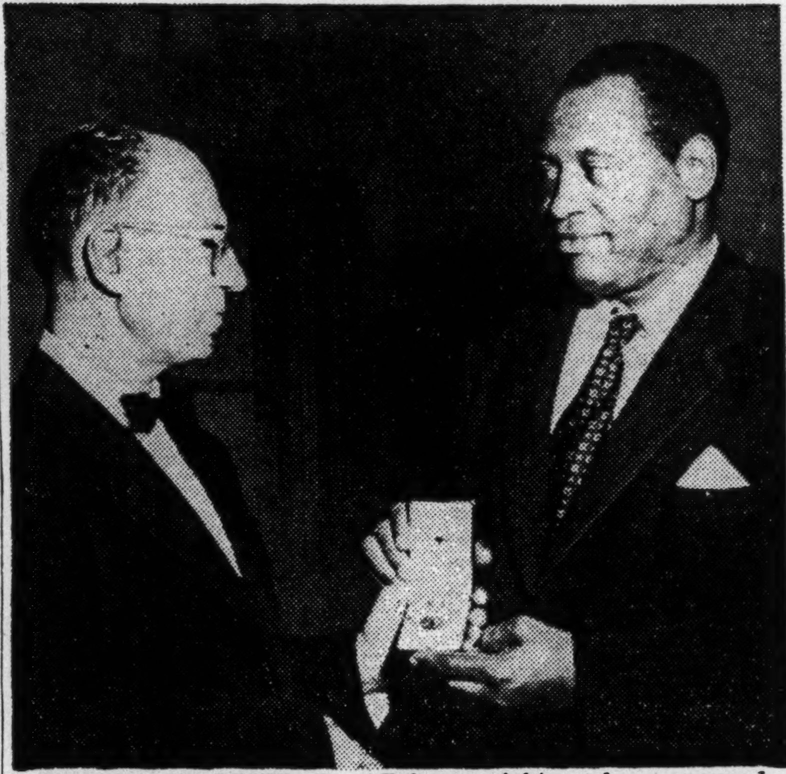

GETS PEACE PRIZE—Paul Robeson, right, as he was awarded the Stalin International Peace Prize last Wednesday by author Howard Fast . . . The award includes a gold medal imprinted with a portrait of the late Soviet premier; a citation, and 100,000 rubles ($25,000) . . . About 300 persons attended the reception, at which Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Fast and Robeson spoke.—Campbell Foto.

and granddaughter Paulette Carrie of Crowley, La. Mrs. Briggs is mother of the League Treasurer, Mrs. N. Byers.

ADVERTISEMENT

Science Shrinks Piles New Way Without Surgery

Finds Healing Substance That Relieves Pain—Shrinks Hemorrhoids

New York, N. Y. (Special)—For the first time science has found a new healing substance with the astonishing ability to shrink hemorrhoids and to stop bleeding—without surgery.

In case after case, pain was relieved promptly. And, while gently relieving pain, actual reduction (shrinkage) took place.

Most amazing of all—results were so thorough that sufferers made astonishing statements like "Piles have ceased to be a problem!"

The secret is a new healing substance (Bio-Dyne©)—discovery of a world-famous research institute.

Now this new healing substance is offered in ointment form under the name of *Preparation H.** Ask for it at all drug stores—money back guarantee.

*Trade Mark.

GET THE HABIT OF READING THE EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE AMSTERDAM NEWS. YOU'LL LIKE IT.

HOTEL ROOMS

ПРАВДА
Орган Центрального Комитета
Коммунистической партии Советского Союза
№ 360 (12562) | Четверг, 25 декабря 1952 года | ЦЕНА 20 КОП.

Поль Робсон — борец за мир и свободу

От собственного корреспондента «Правды»

...В переполненном до отказа зале звучит красивый, сильный голос певца. Затаив дыхание, с горящими глазами люди жадно ловят волнующие слова песни. Это песня мира. В ней — ненависть к темным, злобным силам войны, твердая, непоколебимая уверенность в победе сил мира. «Наши силы растут. Мир победит войну»,— мощно гремит голос певца.

Этот голос хорошо знают миллионы людей: поет выдающийся борец за мир, за дружбу и сотрудничество между народами Поль Робсон.

Весь свой большой талант Робсон отдает благородному делу борьбы за мир.

Робсон — один из видных прогрессивных общественных деятелей Соединенных Штатов. Американские реакционеры боятся голоса Робсона, его пламенных песен и речей, зовущих к борьбе против поджигателей войны, за мир и дружбу народов.

Честные люди всего мира никогда не забудут событий в Пикскилле летом 1949 года, когда озверевшие американские фашисты при попустительстве властей пытались физически расправиться с Робсоном. Перед Робсоном закрыты двери радио- и телевизионных студий. Крупные торговые компании не хотят продавать патефонные пластинки с записью песен Робсона. Владельцы больших зрительных залов отказываются сдавать их для концертов этого выдающегося певца.

Американские власти не пустили Робсона — члена Всемирного Совета Мира на Конгресс народов в защиту мира. Но в эти дни с особой силой звучал голос Робсона на митингах и собраниях сторонников мира, призывавший умножать ряды борцов за мир в США.

Сторонники мира во всех странах высоко оценили заслуги Робсона — неутомимого, самоотверженного борца за мир. В 1950 году Второй Всемирный конгресс сторонников мира присудил ему Международную премию мира.

Сейчас Поль Робсон удостоен почетного звания лауреата международной Сталинской премии «За укрепление мира между народами».

Мы посетили Робсона в тот день, когда до него дошла радостная весть о присуждении ему этой высокой награды. Он встретил нас с широкой, счастливой улыбкой, крепким дружеским пожатием рук.

— Сегодня самый большой, самый счастливый день в моей жизни,— взволнованно говорит Робсон. — Весть о присуждении мне международной Сталинской премии «За укрепление мира между народами» быстро облетела всех моих товарищей по борьбе за мир. Я получил и продолжаю получать массу поздравительных телеграмм и писем. Многие не знакомые мне люди при встрече на улице останавливают меня, горячо поздравляют, желают успехов, обещают свою поддержку в борьбе за мир.

Мне оказана величайшая честь. Но почетная награда, которой я удостоен за мой скромный вклад в дело мира, принадлежит не только мне. Я отношу ее ко всем честным американцам, поднимающим свои голоса в защиту мира.

Я думаю, что выражу не только свое личное мнение, но и мнение моих друзей по борьбе за мир, если скажу, что высокая награда, которая присуждена мне, накладывает на нас, сторонников мира в США, обязанность еще активнее и настойчивее бороться в защиту мира. Движение за мир в США еще не приобрело необходимого размаха. Нам нужно много и напряженно работать, чтобы превратить его в широкое народное движение, чтобы вовлечь в это движение многие миллионы американцев, независимо от их расы, идеологии, социального положения и религиозных убеждений.

Сегодня, как никогда, я уверен в том, что движение за мир будет расти и шириться среди американского народа, несмотря на все трудности и препятствия.

Мне хотелось бы особо подчеркнуть,— продолжает Робсон,— что награждение меня международной Сталинской премией мира имеет важное значение для борьбы негритянского народа за свою свободу в США и повсюду, где негры подвергаются расовому и социальному угнетению. Борьба за свободу негров и других колониальных народов неотделима от борьбы за мир. Я глубоко убежден в том, что присуждение мне почетной Сталинской премии мира явится серьезной моральной поддержкой освободительной борьбы всех угнетенных народов.

Прошу «Правду»,— сказал в заключение Робсон,— передать советским людям глубокую благодарность за высокую оценку моей скромной деятельности на благо мира и дружбы между народами. Я хочу заверить моих друзей, как в Советском Союзе, так и в других странах, что отдам все свои силы благородной борьбе за наше общее дело — за мир, за свободу и равенство людей всех рас и национальностей, за счастье всех простых людей на земле.

И. ФИЛИППОВ.

г. Нью-Йорк, 24 декабря.

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!

Коммунистическая партия Советского Союза

ПРАВДА

Орган Центрального Комитета
Коммунистической партии Советского Союза

№ 268 (12836) | Пятница, 25 сентября 1953 года | ЦЕНА 20 КОП.

Выступление Поля Робсона

После моей поездки в Москву я писал в журнале «Нью уорлд ревью»: Я совершил поездку по Советскому Союзу и видел собственными глазами, что может произойти с так называемыми отсталыми народами. На Западе — в Англии, Бельгии, Франции, Португалии, Голландии — африканцы и индийцы, многие из народов Азии считались настолько отсталыми, что должны были пройти чуть ли не века прежде, чем эти, так называемые колониальные народы могли бы стать частью современного общества. Но в Советском Союзе якуты и ненцы, киргизы и таджики пользовались полным почетом и уважением, и им помогали продвигаться вперед с неимоверной быстротой в этой стране социализма. Никаких пустых обещаний, вроде тех, которые постоянно слышат цветные народы в США, только дела.

Сегодня в Юго-Западной Азии, в Латинской Америке и в Вест-Индии, на Среднем Востоке и в Африке живут десятки миллионов веками угнетаемых колониальных народов, рвущихся к свободе. Какое мужество, какие жертвы, какая твердая решимость не успокаиваться, пока не будет достигнута победа!

Сейчас я вновь говорю, как я не раз говорил прежде, что я был, есть и всегда буду твердым и несгибаемым другом советского народа.

Сегодня борьба идет главным образом за мир, за то, чтобы многие народы жили вместе, за совместное существование многих образов жизни, и она требует все большего и большего от всех слоев человечества. Эти требования становятся все шире и глубже в Америке наших дней. Я недавно разъезжал по всей нашей стране. Я пел и разговаривал более чем с 80 тысячами американцев и канадцев — все они трудятся и борются за мир во всем мире. Десятки тысяч других американцев хотят мира. Они обеспокоены — обеспокоены тем, что сравнительно небольшая группа людей, находящихся у власти, говорит о мире, но открыто рвется к войне.

Все слои американского народа выражают это недовольство и глубокое беспокойство. Оно исходит от представителей профсоюзов, от всех политических партий, от священников, либералов, от огромных слоев негритянского и еврейского населения, американцев итальянского, пуэрториканского и мексиканского происхождения — поистине от всех групп, которые в действительности создали Америку. Должны быть и имеются пути к тому, чтобы заставить американский народ понять, что мир изменился и что его нельзя вернуть вспять.

Советский народ, как мы видим, стоит на страже мира. Он будет продолжать создавать свой социалистический образ жизни — быстро переходя в стадию изобилия. Подобно тому, как результаты 1789 года оказали глубокое влияние на европейский континент и за его пределами, так, исходя из исторической необходимости, но на новом, более высоком уровне своим трудом, мудростью и мужеством народы многих стран, воодушевленные и руководствующиеся опытом Советских республик, уже в течение многих лет строят новый образ жизни. Народы Албании, Болгарии, Чехословакии, Венгрии, Польши, Румынии, Восточной Германии, Северной Кореи и могучего Китая стоят на прочной основе. Эти страны нельзя уничтожить ни духовно, ни физически. Их путь в будущее начертан мудро и уверенно.

Конечно, мы, как американцы, можем и должны понять это. И это понимание должно быть доведено до многих миллионов наших граждан. Другие народы также верят в свои исторические судьбы, в свое человеческое достоинство. Они любят рядовых людей и верят в них, верят в единство человечества, о котором говорил здесь Говард Фаст. Любой переход на путь попыток ослабить узы, связывающие эти новые общества, может привести лишь к уничтожению всего того, что дорого нам. Таким образом, как американцы — американцы, глубокими корнями связанные с нашей землей, — мы должны удержать наших носителей зла, где бы они ни поднимали свои головы и ни возвышали свои набожные голоса — внутри страны или в международных организациях. Нас вдохновляют многие наши мужественные руководители, те, кто заключен в тюрьмы, и те, кто находится на свободе, многие из которых живы и находятся сейчас здесь, с нами, а многих нет в живых, кто пожертвовал и кто жертвует своей жизнью ради того, чтобы мы и наши дети унаследовали достойную и полную изобилия землю.

Мы можем гордиться тем, что живем в наше время и стоим на передовых позициях борьбы за наш народ.

Писатель Говард Фаст (слева) вручает Полю Робсону диплом лауреата и золотую медаль.
(Снимок принят по фототелеграфу из Нью-Йорка).

Недавно я был в Окланде. Из-за преследований там было трудно давать концерты. Но я шел к людям, и вместо того, чтобы бороться за аудиторию в тысячу человек, я выступал и пел перед пятью или шестью тысячами в один день, направляясь из одной церкви в другую и с одного собрания на другое. В одной церкви на концерте священник приветствовал меня и сказал: «Я слушал вас, я слушал доктора Дюбуа... Здесь были многие из ваших смелых борцов». Он сказал собравшимся: «Я хочу, чтобы вы знали, что эти борцы за мир и многие, подобные им, принимают на себя удары, направленные на нас».

Удары, направленные на нас! Не может быть более прекрасного участия. Как можно называть это жертвой, когда один принимает на себя удары или часть ударов, направленных на весь свой народ, — на весь свой народ!

Мы можем гордиться тем, что нам выпала привилегия участвовать в этой великой борьбе за прочный мир; что мы можем стоять плечом к плечу с доктором Дюбуа, с Говардом Фастом, со многими другими, находящимися здесь сегодня, или, как говорит Говард Фаст о Сакко и Ванцетти в своей прекрасной книге, наши жертвы, как и их последняя жертва, как жертва Розенбергов, освящены надеждами народов всех культур, всех цветов кожи, всех убеждений и всех стран.

Мы выполним нашу историческую задачу. И эта награда американским борцам за мир поддерживает нашу веру в это.

Великий русский поэт Пушкин не ошибся в своем пророчестве, осуществившемся в течение столетия 1835—1935 гг.

«Здравствуй, племя
Младое, незнакомое! не я
Увижу твой могучий поздний возраст...»

Великий вождь, именем которого названа священная награда мира, знал, что к концу этого столетия все эти народы, для которых он работал, — черные и белые, желтые и коричневые, — безусловно, заслужат приветствия бессмертного Пушкина. Привет вам, новое племя людей, молодое, но знакомое, известное своими огромными героическими делами, строительством новой жизни, нового достоинства, осуществлением одного из завершающих шагов в долгих и полных труда, но победоносных исканиях человечества.

* * *

Все стоя приветствуют Робсона. Со всех концов зала несутся возгласы: «Вечная дружба между советским и американским народами!», «Слава и честь нашему другу Полю Робсону!», «Мир во всем мире!».

Коммунистическая партия Советского Союза
ПРАВДА
Орган Центрального Комитета Коммунистической партии Советского Союза
№ 268 (12836) | Пятница, 25 сентября 1953 года | ЦЕНА 20 КОП.

Вручение международной Сталинской премии «За укрепление мира между народами» американскому общественному деятелю Полю Робсону

НЬЮ-ЙОРК, 24 сентября. (ТАСС). 23 сентября в Нью-Йорке, в концертном зале отеля «Тереса», в присутствии многочисленных представителей передовой американской общественности состоялось вручение международной Сталинской премии «За укрепление мира между народами» выдающемуся борцу за мир, известному прогрессивному деятелю США По[illegible] Робсону.

Концертный зал отеля заполнен до от[illegible]за. Приветствовать лауреата пришли пр[illegible]ставители американских прогрессивных [illegible]ганизаций, комитетов защиты мира в городе Нью-Йорке, представители интеллигенции, профсоюзов, рабочей печати. Среди присутствующих — рабочие, ученые, писатели, артисты, художники.

В зале находится известный американский писатель Говард Фаст, кандидат в вице-президенты США на выборах 1952 года от прогрессивной партии Шарлотта Басс, секретарь Национального комитета прогрессивной партии США Болдуин, член Всемирного Совета Мира Уиллард Эпхаус, председатель Национального комитета Коммунистической партии США Уильям Фостер, редактор журнала «Мэссиз энд Мейнстрим» Сэмюэль Силлен, писатель Фредерик Филд, бывший губернатор штата Миннесота, ныне один из лидеров прогрессивной партии Элмер Бенсон, известные художники Рокуэлл Кент и Чарльз Уайт и многие другие представители передовой общественности США.

6 часов вечера... На трибуну концертного зала поднимаются Поль Робсон, Говард Фаст и известный американский ученый доктор Уильям Дюбуа.

Торжественное собрание открывает Говард Фаст. Он предоставляет слово доктору Уильяму Дюбуа, который зачитывает Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР от 20 декабря 1949 года об учреждении международных Сталинских премий, которые присуждаются гражданам любой страны мира за выдающиеся заслуги в деле борьбы против поджигателей войны и за укрепление мира. Дюбуа сообщает участникам собрания, что Поль Робсон не смог выехать в Москву для получения международной Сталинской премии, так как государственный департамент Соединенных Штатов отказал ему в выдаче заграничного паспорта. Он подробно рассказывает о жизненном пути Робсона, о его борьбе за мир, за лучшее будущее американского народа.

Присутствующие в зале, говорит Дюбуа, легко поймут, какая великая честь выпала на долю Америки, на долю негритянского населения, на долю Поля Робсона. Поль Робсон является одним из великих борцов за величайшую цель наших дней — мир. Без всякого сомнения он является в настоящее время таким американцем, который известен подавляющему большинству людей на земле. Его голос слышен в Европе, Азии, Южной Америке и на островах всех морей.

Бурными аплодисментами встречают присутствующие оглашение приветственной телеграммы, поступившей на имя Поля Робсона, от советских писателей Александра Фадеева, Алексея Суркова, Константина Симонова, Михаила Шолохова, Ильи Эренбурга, Николая Тихонова, Александра Твардовского, Леонида Леонова, Константина Федина, Федора Гладкова, Федора Панферова, Анатолия Софронова, Бориса Горбатова, Вадима Кожевникова, Бориса Полевого. Говард Фаст зачитывает приветственные телеграммы, поступившие от Китайского народного комитета защиты мира, председателя Союза польских писателей Леона Кручковского, из Франции — от г-жи И. Фарж и г-жи Эжени Коттон, от Бельгийского союза защиты мира и от многих других организаций и общественных деятелей европейских и других стран, а также от организаций и отдельных граждан Соединенных Штатов.

Говард Фаст оглашает телеграмму председателя Комитета по международным Сталинским премиям «За укрепление мира между народами» академика Скобельцына, в которой говорится:

«Дорогой друг!

К моему глубокому сожалению, не имею возможности лично приветствовать Вас в эту торжественную минуту. Я передаю Вам от Комитета по международным Сталинским премиям мира самые теплые чувства и пожелания дальнейших успехов в Вашей благородной деятельности.

Присуждая Вам премию, наш Комитет, состоящий из представителей демократической общественности различных стран мира, хотел этим выразить то признание, которым пользуетесь Вы во всем мире благодаря Вашей неутомимой борьбе за сохранение мира и взаимопонимания между народами. Миллионы мужчин и женщин разных национальностей знают, ценят и любят Вас, как выдающегося деятеля, истинного патриота своей страны и друга всех народов.

Мы хотели также выразить наши дружеские чувства великому американскому народу. Мы уверены, что народ Вашей великой страны так же, как и другие народы, не хочет войны и стремится к миру и дружбе со всеми народами.

Мы надеемся, что усилия миролюбивых людей разных наций, объединившихся в борьбе за мир, увенчаются успехом. В числе этих людей благодарное человечество назовет и Ваше имя, дорогой Робсон.

Пользуясь случаем, я передаю Вам и Вашим друзьям, собравшимся на это торжество, дружеские приветствия миллионов советских людей, мысли и чувства которых в эту минуту с Вами».

После оглашения текста приветственной телеграммы Говард Фаст произносит речь, в которой отмечает огромное значение международного движения сторонников мира. Он говорит:

«Комитет по международным Сталинским премиям мира просил меня вручить диплом лауреата и золотую медаль Полю Робсону.

Я, безусловно, сознаю, что эта просьба сама по себе является немалой честью. Мы живем в эпоху, когда многомиллионное население мира начало осознавать, что в интересах дальнейшего существования человеческого рода война недопустима.

Мы теперь достигли такого этапа в развитии человечества, когда сотни миллионов людей, объединившихся в могучем движении мира, смело провозглашают, что жизнь священна. Борьба за мир далеко не легка; это самая грандиозная, самая трудная и в то же время самая благородная борьба, на которую когда-либо поднимались люди. Поэтому и герои борьбы за мир — это самые мужественные, самые благородные герои.

Само собой разумеется, что эта борьба особенно трудна в тех районах, откуда исходит наибольшая угроза войны. Сегодня я стою рядом с человеком, который сделал особенно благородным замечательное качество — мужество.

Не случайно почти весь мир считает Поля Робсона одним из самых благородных и храбрых сынов Соединенных Штатов Америки. Он воплощает в себе самое лучшее в нашей стране. Он полностью отдал себя священной борьбе за мир. Он посвятил свою жизнь и деятельность, сердце и все свое будущее борьбе за мир и благосостояние человечества. Он начал мощную и благородную борьбу за свободу своего народа, борьбу за свободу человечества. В этой борьбе он, как великий гигант, возвышается над морем ненависти и лицемерия, холодного террора и жгучих репрессий, лжи и обмана.

Сегодня он заслуженно получает эту замечательную награду, высшую награду, которой человечество может удостоить кого-либо из своих сынов. Поль Робсон — лауреат международной Сталинской премии мира — стоит в рядах борцов, посвятивших свою жизнь человечеству. Я выражаю Вам, Поль Робсон, свою любовь, пытаясь вместе с тем выразить любовь миллионов моих соотечественников. Вручаю Вам премию мира».

Говард Фаст под бурные аплодисменты собравшихся вручает Полю Робсону диплом лауре[illegible]

С ответным слово[illegible] лаур[illegible] международной Стал[illegible]ой премии П[illegible] Робсон.

Jet Oct 8, 1953

N. J. Supreme Court Nixes Plea Of Ga. Fugitive

A convict who twice escaped from a Georgia prison camp and fled to New Jersey was slated for return to Georgia when the New Jersey Supreme Court refused to review the extradition case. Attorneys for Jesse Dukes, who sought to avoid his return to Burke County, Ga., to finish a 15-to-25 year auto theft term, said they may ask New Jersey Gov. Alfred Driscoll to recall the warrant.

Robeson Awarded Stalin Peace Prize In N. Y.

Singer Paul Robeson, who was denied a passport to go to Moscow to receive his $25,000 Stalin Peace Prize, was awarded the bound citation and a gold medal by novelist Howard Fast in ceremonies at Hotel Theresa in New York. Robeson, who was named last December as one of seven international winners, told reporters arrangements have been made for him to receive the money later.

Yesterday In Negro History

October 3, 1904—Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune founded Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute in Daytona Beach, Fla. In 1923 she merged the school with Cookman Institute, a boys' school, and it became Bethune-Cookman College.

October 2, 1863—Dr. Alexander T. Augusta, the first Negro to be commissioned in the medical department of the U. S. Army, was appointed surgeon of the 17th Regiment U. S. Colored Volunteers. He was a major.

October 7, 1821—William Still, whose book, *The Underground Railroad,* is a remarkable record of the history of American slavery, was born a slave in Burlington County, N. J. His father purchased his freedom.

William Still

Gold [illegible]
will finally reunite them.

STALIN PRIZE PRESENTED

Robeson Gets 'Peace' Award From Howard Fast

The gold medal and inscribed citation of an International Stalin Peace Prize for 1952 were presented to Paul Robeson yesterday at a gathering of 300 persons in the Theresa Hotel, 125th Street and Seventh Avenue. The singer said he expected soon to receive the $25,000 cash award that goes with the prize.

Mr. Robeson was one of seven persons chosen as winners of the prize on Dec. 21 by a committee in Moscow. Their names were announced on the late Premier Joseph Stalin's seventy-third birthday. The singer, unable to obtain a passport from the State Department, could not go to Moscow to accept his prize.

The presentation was made yesterday by Howard Fast, author. Mr. Robeson was congratulated by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, educator and writer. Mr. Fast called the Stalin prize the highest that "the human race can bestow on any one of its members."

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N.Y. Times 9/24/53

Prize to Robeson

Singer Paul Robeson received yesterday the International Stalin Prize "for strengthening peace" in a ceremony attended by 300 persons at the Hotel Theresa, Seventh Ave. and 125th St. The presentation was made by Howard Fast, novelist.

Mr. Fast said the Moscow jury that awards the annual decoration had asked him to make the presentation, which was announced in December on Stalin's seventy-third birthday. The $25,000 that is supposed to accompany the award was not in evidence, but Mr. Robeson said arrangements had been made for payment.

N.Y. Trib. - 9/24/53

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1953.

SOVIET PRIZE GOES TO HOWARD FAST

Besides the American Writer, Moscow Lists 9 in Award to 'Strengthen Peace'

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Monday, Dec. 21—A Stalin Peace Prize has been awarded to Howard Fast, American author, for "helping to strengthen the cause of peace between the peoples," the Moscow radio said early today.

The award to Mr. Fast was one of ten made by a committee in Moscow. Pierre Cot, a left-wing member of the French National Assembly and former Air Minister, was another recipient. Before World War II, M. Cot was a leader in the Popular Front regime.

The Moscow broadcast regarding the awards did not mention that today was the anniversary of Stalin's birth. He was born Joseph Vissarionovich Djugashvili in Gori, Georgia, on Dec. 21, 1873.

Others who received the Stalin award, according to today's broadcast, were Prof. D. Bernal, British psysicist, who has been a champion of Communist causes; Father Andrea Gaggiero, a former Italian priest; Isabelle Blume, a member of the Belgian Parliament.

Also Leon Kruczkowski, a Polish writer; Pablo Neruda, Chilean poet; Dr. Andrea Andreen of Sweden, chief medical officer at the Clinical Laboratory of the City of Stockholm; Nina Vasilevna Popova, secretary of the All-Union Central Trade Union Council of the U. S.S.R., and Maj. Gen. Sir Sahibsingh Sokhey of India, chairman of the World Health Organization's committee of experts on plague.

Fast Calls It Highest Honor

Howard Fast said in New York last night that he was "surprised and bewildered" at receiving what he called "the highest honor that can be conferred on any person in these times."

"I can only hope," he said, "that this award will contribute further to the struggle for peace and that it may help to prove that between our country and all other countries there can be understanding, peaceful intercourse and mutual respect."

Mr. Fast, 39 years old, is the author of twelve books, the most widely known being several dealing with the American Revolution and Thomas Paine. His books have been translated into as many as eighteen languages and it is estimated that the world publication of all his books totals at least 20,000,000 copies. His most recent work, published last month, is "The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti—A New England Legend."

Two other Americans have been awarded Stalin prizes in the past. They are the Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, retired Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Utah, and Paul Robeson, singer and actor. Mr. Robeson received his prize in New York last September after he had been unable to get a passport to go to Moscow.

Father Gaggiero was defrocked by the Vatican last May after he refused to obey an order to sever relations with the World Council of Peace, a Communist-sonsored group to which he had been elected in 1950.

The Stalin Peace Prize, along with similar awards in the fields of science and the arts, is looked upon by the Communists as a top award—roughly equivalent to the Nobel Prizes. The prizes were established in 1950 as part of the celebrations for Stalin's seventieth birthday. The Stalin Peace Prize has been valued as high as $25,000.

The current awards, The Associated Press said, were decided upon last week by the Committee for International Stalin Prizes, headed by D. V. Skobeltsyn. The committee includes the Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg and the French left-wing poet, Louis Aragon.

1941-45 PRISONERS BACK

20 Yugoslavs Report Being Held in Soviet and Hungary

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Dec. 20 (Reuters)—Twenty Yugoslav citizens have come home after being held for more than eight years as prisoners of war in the Soviet Union and Hungary, the Belgrade radio said today.

Some of them said they believed they were freed because of demonstrations they staged on Oct. 8 to demand repatriation. Hungarian guards opened fire and killed five prisoners during the demonstrations, they said.

Most of the returned prisoners belonged to the Hungarian Army when they were captured by the Russians on the Eastern front.

They said about 100 Yugoslavs, one Belgian, one German, seventeen Austrians and seven Hungarians were still held in a Hungarian camp near the Rumanian frontier.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Excerpts From A Story Appearing on Page 1
# of the
Birmingham (Ala.) Post-Herald, March 16, 1953

Communism grew as a protest against injustice, Dehoney said, and wins millions of followers with promises of world brotherhood.

"The tragic thing is that while Christianity preaches brotherhood, the Communists are practicing it," he said.

"The colored people of this earth who outnumber the white seven to one are turning from us to them because their is no doctrine of 'white supremacy' in Communism."

America cannot meet the threat of communism by "caricaturing" it, he said. "And certainly we can't meet it with investigations. Rabble rousing investigating has become the easy path to political prominece."

And "neither can we meet the issue of communism with guns and bombs alone," he said. "....You can't stop ideas with bullets and tanks."

The quotations are from the Rev. Wayne Dehoney, white pastor of the Central Park Baptist Church in Birmingham.

Broadening the Peace Fight in Negro Liberation Movement

By PETTIS PERRY

IT IS OVER two months now since Eisenhower has taken office. We estimated at the time immediately following the election that reaction had won a victory. This holds forth the most serious problem for the Negro people's liberation movement.

During the elections of 1952, the Negro people increased their representation by 37 percent in various political offices—including the election of a Negro woman to the State Senate in Michigan. The Negro people pressed forward for a civil rights program. And while the movement was not sufficiently united—among the Negro people and labor—this was and is a popular demand of the Negro people. But the Eisenhower administration has shown that the only promise it intends to keep is the one it made to Wall Street and the Dixiecrats.

The Negro people are now faced with the problem of how best to put forward and press their demands for peace. I would say offhand that there are three pressing problems which concern the whole Negro people and the American working class—problems that are of serious proportions.

First is the whole question of all-out support to the peoples of Africa, South Africa, Southwest Africa, Nigeria and Tunisia, making the struggles in support of South Africa central. This is the only place on earth where racism and jimcrowism are worse than in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. It is for this reason that the people of South Africa have taken the path of breaking through the jimcrow oppressive barriers that prevent them from even living in the large towns in their own country and the natives are compelled to live on reservations.

South African people are compelled to carry 16 passes on their person because of the Pass Laws.

It is sufficient to have only one pass missing out of the sixteen for an African to go to jail for violating the Pass Law. If an African decides to have a wedding or a party of any kind and goes to buy beer, he must have a pass for that. It is in the discretion of the bar owner to sell the beer or refuse it. In cases where it is sold, one African is permitted four gallons of beer on his permit. Imagine a wedding or dance with 500 people or so and four gallons of beer.

•

JIMCROW in parks, on railroad stations, etc., is the custom throughout South Africa. If a trade union made up of Europeans accepts one African into its membeship, the whole union is outlawed and made illegal. Such is the condition of South Africa.

Yet, there is all the screaming of U. S. imperialism about the free world western democracy, and American way of life. But where are the servants of imperialism — the Randolphs, the Schuyelers and the rest of them (who pretend to see anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, who constantly rave about the oppression of the Europeans over the African people) — why are they, together with U. S. imperialism, so silent on this outrageous situation in South Africa?

They are silent because U. S. imperialism has tremendous investments of around $80,000,000 in South Africa. The South African government (made up of of non-Africans) is close to the bama and Georgia with respect to the American Negro and is thereby close to the hearts of U. S. imperialism which fully "appreciates" the ideas of "white supremacy."

It is a scandal of the first magnitude that the progressive forces permitted U. S. imperialism to keep Africa off the agenda of the United Nations. This question is of great importance to the Negro people in this country and to the whole peace forces.

The question of Africa is the broadest highway leading to the Negro masses in the fight for peace. Therefore, a movement around the whole question of Africa would for the first time bring into being a mass movement for peace among the Negro people in this country. And this is indispensable for the whole peace movement.

•

THE SECOND very important question is the fight for jobs and job opportunities. That means among other things the most widespread struggle in every industry to break down lily-white shops, to demand admittance of Negroes into all types of industry hitherto closed to them, such as skilled trades in the railroad industry.

In states like New York, Connecticut and others that have FEPC or civil rights legislation on their statute books, it would seem that the most serious effort should be made to compel these Committees to function and by their enforcement of these statutes to bring Negroes into skilled positions in every railroad shop, such as switchmen, brakemen, engineers, firemen, skilled mechanics and others. Here there is no question of interstate commerce and such state campaigns could be very effective.

In states that have no such laws, the most serious efforts should be made for the enactment of a federal FEPC as well as state laws against discrimination in employment. The question of an FEPC in general on a national scale with teeth in it is indispensable for the Negro people and for even simple ordinary American democracy.

In general, it would seem that the program adopted by the Negro Labor Council at its last convention to make railroad a major concentration point for this organization is extremely important from a whole number of angels. For one thing, this kind of campaign would make possible a national unified struggle of this organization and would enable labor and the Negro people not associated with this organization to either unite with it on a national scale or develop parallel action to it. In any case, the fight against lily-white industries as it presents itself in the railroad industry is one of the key problems of our time on the economic front.

•

THE THIRD major problem concerning the Negro people is how best to push forward and extend some of the hard won gains of the Negro people on the political front.

The preparations for the municipal elections of 1953 and the State and Congressional elections of 1954 should already begin to see the emergence of the broadest possible coalition for a full extension of Negro representation, making every guarantee possible to bring forward as a part of this development not only Negroes, but as many as possible, Negroes from the labor movement and from the anti-imperialist fronts. The most far-reaching attention should be given to some of these problems. This is very important for the further strengthening of the whole fight for Negro representation.

This points up the whole question of assisting by every means the right to vote movement in the South, and the whole struggle of the Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South for economic and social improvement. This is important for linking together the struggle of the Negro national minority in the North with that of the Negro nation in the area of Negro majority in the South.

In striving to unfold struggles around these and other issues of the Negro people, everything possible should be done to unify all strata of the Negro population in the broadest possible coalition. Everything depends upon how effective a coalition can be brought into being. It is possible for the progressive forces in Negro life and in the progressive peace movement to make a major contribution by seeking the most far-reaching ways to develop a broad coalition around one or another issue or series of issues, not expecting the movement for the moment to embrace all issues that the progressive movement may be concerned with.

This approach is the key to bringing about some major solutions to some of the problems of the Negro people's movement.

These three points, taken together, envision the basis for a comprehensive peace program among the Negro people.

PEACE
the
ONLY DEFENSE

Letters from Readers

Stalin's Picture

Editor, Daily Worker:

Despite all the sneering, the pictures of Stalin tell the story of his greatness. No barrage of his vermin detractors can destroy this. How can such a venerable face, marked with such fatherly kindness, such human concern and patience, be all the awful things ascribed to him by the anti-human and decadent capitalist press.

One is reminded of the old Chinese maxim: "One picture is worth a thousand words."

Or, in the case of the gutter press, let's make it a million words. C. T.

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Steelworker's Poem Praised

Editor, Daily Worker:

I want to thank you for printing "A Steelworker Talks of Stalin," the beautiful poetic tribute to Stalin in today's Daily.

I find it difficult to say why I love this poem, but I think it is because it rises above sentimentality. It conveys understanding. It analyzes and imparts knowledge while it inspires hope. I suggest you print it in the weekly paper and in permanent form, for others to see and own.

My thanks to Bill Williams.

Robeson sings tribute to 'two who face death for principle'

OAKLAND, June 11 — More than 300 people heard Paul Robeson dedicate "The Song of the Jewish Underground" to "two young people who might face death in a few days because they dared stand on principle," at the California hotel here last night.

In spite of an armed camp atmosphere of plainclothes cops and FBI agents, and a hotel restriction against a speech, Robeson's songs carried forth the message that the people came to hear.

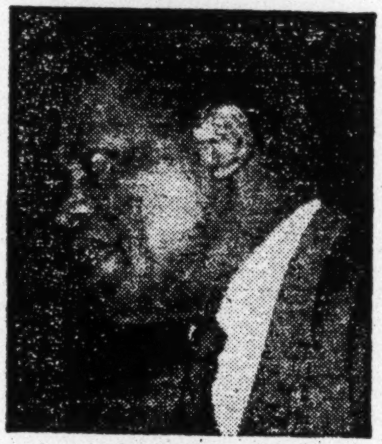
The reception was given for Robeson by the East Bay Negro Labor Council. Chairman Clarence Davis in his presentation of Robeson, said:

"Paul Robeson has done more to inspire that burning desire for freedom than any other living man today."

Such songs as "We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder," "No More Auction Block for Me" and the "Bill of Rights Song" from "Meet the People" brought standing ovations.

In reference to the restriction on a speech, Robeson said: "No one can scare my people from stopping and shaking my hand and saying 'stay in there, Paul . . .' and no force on earth can make me retreat one ten-thousandth of an inch."

Tears came to the eyes of some guests when Robeson sang "The Song of the Jewish Underground" in English and in Yiddish, with an obvious reference to the cause of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.



PAUL ROBESON

'. . . no retreat'

A reading from "Boris Goudinov," by the Russian Negro poet, Alexander Pushkin, and of "Dr. Butts" from "Simple Speaks His Mind," by Langston Hughes also brought ovations.

Mary Helen Jones and Maggie Lofton asked for funds for the newspaper Freedom. Mary Helen Jones said:

"Life magazine may have articles on Africa, but Freedom doesn't give us articles, but the true facts of the African people fighting for liberation."

Robeson said he will be back in California in August. Then, he said, "I hope to be able to speak."

Fri, June 12, 1953

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

THE DENVER STAR

We Dedicate Our Journal to the Uplift of the Race, Morally, Socially and Intellectually

tablished 1888 Denver, Colo., June 27, 1953

ROBESON VISITS DENVER

ROBESON VISITS DENVER

DENVER, Colo., June 24—Mr. Paul Robeson, world famous artist and people's leader, is in Denver today in the course of a national tour. This is his second tour since 1947, when he voluntarily withdrew from his stage and concert career in which he was feared and then smeared.

The first tour, in 1952, included Denver as one of 15 cities. The most notable appearance of that tour was at the U. S.-Canadian border, where he sang and spoke to an audience of some 40,000 from both countries.

This year's tour started Sunday, May 31, in Detroit, where a capacity audience in Calvary Baptist Church attended a concert sponsored by the Foreign Mission Committee and the Evangelistic Commission of the Church.

On Sunday, June 7, Mr. Robeson was in San Francisco for a concert sponsored by the Macedonian Missionary Bapitst Church. A capacity crowd of more than 2,000 attended. Part of the proceeds went to a fund to buy new pews for the church.

This was followed by a banquet in the church dining room, given by the Usher Board of the church in honor of Mr. Robeson.

Later that week, Mr. Robeson was guest of honor at two receptions, one given by management of the Booker T. Washington Hotel in San Francisco, the other by the East Bay Chapter of the National Negro Labor Council, in the California Hotel at Oakland.

During the week of June 14, Mr. Robeson was in Los Angeles. On Sunday, the 14th, he entertained a capacity audience of 1,700 in Embassy Auditorium, sponsored by the Los Angeles Citizens Committee.

On the 20th there was another appearance at the Embassy Auditorium, this time for the anniversary celebration of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order. Again it was filled to capacity.

On the following day, a concert at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles drew an overflow crowd. Speakers were set up in two auxiliary halls.

Mr. Robeson accepted an invitation on the 16th to address the Los Angeles Baptist Ministers' Union.

At Pasadena, Mr. Robeson attended a reception honoring Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, granddaughter ruler of the Elks, and responded to a request for some of the numbers from his current concert tour.

Of course The Star would not expect such mention as above given from the Denver Post or any paper who disagreed with Mr. Robeson's thinking and action. But it is left to the papers of his group and those of the less fortunate to bring forward and tell Mr. Robeson's side of the story, especially when attacked by strong and dominant forces in high control. We know the mention of Africa, bleeding and torn from Nordic English ravages will be unpopular. Kenya and Tunisia will be equally distasteful. But somebody at sometime must tell the truth, so in mention Paul Robeson, who has achieved ,his honored and been honored by our race, he represents some part of a group and fills his niche. Wh [illegible] still trying to kill Paul Ro[illegible] is right, God will protect him. He protects Mary McLeod Bethune. Lay on McDuff and damn be he who cries, Hold! Enough!

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

NCOUVER SUN, VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA Monday, August 17, 1953

Signing autographs at Peace Arch, Blaine, Sunday where he sang to crowd of Canadians from the American side of border, is Negro singer Paul Robeson.

Robeson Heckled at Peace Arch Concert

Singer Paul Robeson was heckled by a small group on the American side as he began his Peace Arch concert at Blaine border crossing Sunday.

RCMP officers estimated about 3000, most of them on the Canadian side, gathered to hear Robeson.

The concert was sponsored by International Union of Mine, mill and Smelterworkers, Regional director Harvey Murphy, chairman, called it a bigger rally than last year.

Robeson, who was barred from leaving United States in 1950, sang Sunday from a truck on the U.S. side of the border.

The RCMP said the singer was heckled by the occupants of 50 cars parked on the Blaine side of the arch. There was no major disturbance.

Washington State Highway patrol officers said the concert was not advertised stateside.

Sponsors had ordered 30 B.C. Electric busses to take Vancouver residents to Blaine but only 10 were filled.

Last year 23 busses were used to transport the crowd to hear Robeson at the border.

Robeson told listeners he has been asked to sing "Othello" in Britain and appear also at the Welsh miners' festival if he can get the U.S. to grant him a passport.

Murphy said Robeson promised to come to Blaine every year for an annual "across the border" concert.

THE SAINT LOUIS ARGUS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1953

Robeson Sings Before 15,000 At Peace Arch

PEACE ARCH PARK, U. S. Canada border (ANP)—Paul Robson, the controversial baritone, sang songs of freedom to an international audience of at least 15,000 persons at his second annual out-doors concert here last week.

Despite tnreatening skies people poured across the borders of Canada and the United States onto the green hillside overlooking the massive Peace Portals for which the park was named.

Robeson crossed the border with an honor guard of Negro and white trade unionists and was met by a cheering Canadian-American crowd which escorted him to an improvised truck-bed platform beneath the arch.

The outdoor concert was born last year after U. S. immigration officials denied Roberson permission to enter Canada to sing at the Mine-Mill Union convention in Vancouver, B. C.

Included in Robeson's recital were: "Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel," "Let My People Go," "Ol' Man River," "Water Boy," "Joe Hill," and the rollicking, "No John No"

ST. LOUIS AMERICAN Thursday, September 3, 1953

PAUL ROBESON CONCERT

Sponsored by the

Paul Robeson Sponsoring Committee

FRIDAY, SEPT. 11

AT

Kiel Aud., Hall No. 1

14th and Market Streets

Tickets are $1.40 and $2.80—tax included

FOR TICKETS CALL OR SEE

REV. O. JONES

1335 Glasgow FR. 0012

Wed., Sept. 9, 1953 St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

Robeson Concert Sponsors Secret

Paul Robeson, left-wing American Negro singer who has been hailed as a hero by Communist Russia, will appear in concert here Friday night under sponsorship of the "Robeson Concert Committee."

The Rev. Obadiah Jones, 1335 Glasgow ave., who said he is chairman of the committee, declined to reveal its sponsorship. He said a group of people "just got together and formed a committee."

Sat., Sept. 12, 1953 St. Louis Globe-Democrat. 5A

Only 230 at Concert by Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson, the singer who has expressed Communist sympathies, gave a concert in Kiel Auditorium last night. He sang to only 230 persons in half-filled Assembly Hall No. 1.

There were a couple of police officers on hand, but no demonstrations occurred.

Robeson, a Negro, sang in English, Hebrew and Russian.

Rev. Obadiah Jones, Negro, part-time pastor of Mount Tabor Baptist Church, 1019 North Compton ave., was chairman of the concert-sponsoring committee. He said some of its number are members of his church, and that proceeds of the concert will go toward the church's building fund.

Wed., Sept. 9, ~~1953~~ ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

CONCERT BY PAUL ROBESON AT AUDITORIUM FRIDAY NIGHT

A concert by Paul Robeson, noted Negro baritone, who became a controversial figure because of his interest in Russia and Communism, will be presented at Kiel Auditorium, Hall No. 1, Friday at 8 p.m.

Robeson's last concert appearance here was Jan. 24, 1947, at Kiel Auditorium, under auspices of the ladies' auxiliary of the Peoples' Hospital. He was here twice in 1948, campaigning in behalf of candidates on Henry Wallace's Progressive party ticket.

Tickets are available at the Kiel Auditorium box office and at the door. The concert is sponsored by a committee headed by the Rev. Obadiah Jones, 1355 Glasgow avenue.

THE SAINT LOUIS ARGUS, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1953

Paul Robeson To Sing Here In Concert Friday

Paul Robeson, the celebrated baritone, will be presented in concert here Friday night September 11, in Kiel Auditorium at eight o'clock.

Robeson, a controversial figure of the concert stage, recently sang before 15,000 persons at the Canadian border. He will be presented here in Kiel Auditorium's assembly hall No. 1.

According to a spokesman for the Robeson party, the bariton has been invited to play "Othello in London. The invitation being extended by the British Actors Equity, which voted to grant him a work permit. He has also been invited to sing at the annual festival of the Welsh miners in Wales, the spokesman said.

Robeson has applied to the State Department for a passport but to date has not received a reply.

Tickets for the concert here are on sale with Rev. Obadiah Jones of 1335 Glasgow avenue. They are $1.20 and $2.00 in advance.

PAUL ROBESON

PEOPLE

International

KING PAUL, QUEEN FREDERIKA & PRINCE CONSTANTINE (LEFT)
On the family cruiser, vacationers.

Names make news. Last week these names made this news:

King Paul and **Queen Frederika** of Greece, after posing at their summer palace with Crown Prince Constantine, 13, for an engaging family photograph, set out from the Piraeus in a cruiser, slipped quietly ashore at Naples and traveled incognito to Austria. They will journey through Europe, sail for the U.S. in late October. At the same time, two other Greek leaders landed in Italy and were feted with maximum pomp and ceremony. Premier **Alexander Papagos** and Foreign Minister **Stephanos Stephanopoulos** were met at the Rome airport by a delegation headed by Italian Premier **Giuseppe Pella.** That evening, going to a reception in Rome's Castel Sant' Angelo, spectacularly lighted by 1,023 flaming oil pots, Stephanopoulos and Papagos were saluted by guards in 16th-century costume. The party in the famed Borgia apartments atop the ancient pile (classically known as Hadrian's Tomb) was the high point of a four-day visit which had the practical end of uniting the Greeks and Italians in pledges of friendship.

• • •

In Hove, England, **Mrs. Clement Attlee,** famed for chauffeuring her ex-Prime Minister husband during his campaign travels, was fined £1 ($2.80) for leaving her Humber Hawk parked without lights for nine hours and "obstructing" a local street.

• • •

For the Metropolitan Opera's Impresario **Rudolf Bing,** there was no Manhattan crag out of the range of two of grand opera's most massive voices. Wagnerian Tenor **Lauritz Melchior,** on his way to a singing job in a Las Vegas hotel, updated an old quarrel with Bing (they had parted company in 1950) by taking him to task for staging opera in English translations. "That is all right for the lesser companies, but the Met should present opera in its greatest form, and that is in the original languages. Besides, you can't understand the words, even if they are sung in English." Wagnerian Soprano **Helen Traubel,** just finished a two-week engagement in a Chicago nightclub, made public a letter she had received from Bing, and thoughtfully appended her answer. Bing had written that opera and popular singing "do not really seem to mix very well" and suggested: "Perhaps you would prefer to give the Metropolitan a 'miss' for a year or so until you may possibly feel that you want again to change back to the more serious aspects of your art." Singer Traubel's indignant reply: "I will be unable to sign the contract the Metropolitan Opera Association has offered me . . . Artistic dignity is not a matter of where one sings . . . To assert that art can be found in the Metropolitan Opera House but not in a nightclub is a rank snobbery."

• • •

Old Groaner **Bing Crosby** was back for his 22nd radio season, but the blue of the night was no longer meeting the gold of the day. While lazing about his Nevada ranch this summer, he had got to thinking about his sunset theme (which he helped compose a quarter of a century ago), decided his public must be as bored with it as he is. Bing put *The Blue of the Night* to pasture, ordered a new instrumental piece to take its place on the Crosby show. Its tentative title: "Bing's Theme."

• •

The late Chief Justice **Fred M. Vinson,** who held the highest legal post in the land, died without leaving a valid will. He had written wills in 1928 and 1930, but neither had witnessing signatures. At probate court in Washington, it was disclosed that Vinson, after a lifetime of Government service, left an estate of $7,163, debts of $6,000.

• • •

In probate office at Nashua, N.H., the estate of the late Republican Senator **Charles W. Tobey,** who left no will, was put at $20,000.

• • •

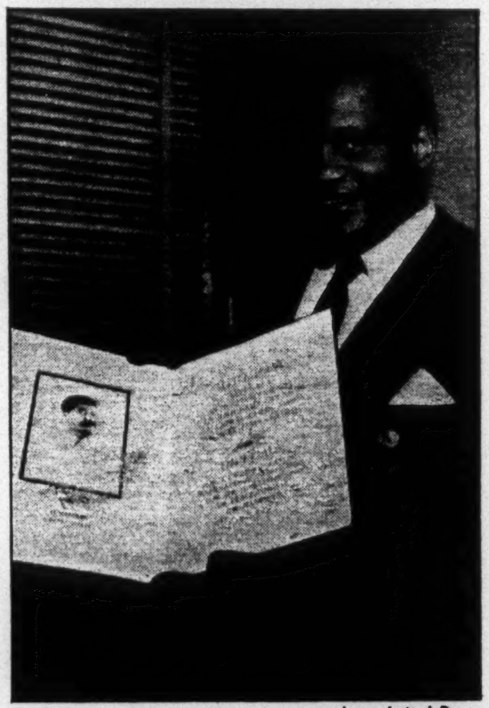
An estate tax appraisal in Manhattan revealed that the late **James V. Forrestal,** investment banker who became the first Secretary of Defense, left a net estate of $1,201,019.

• • •

Actress **Audrey** (*Roman Holiday*) **Hepburn** confessed her surprise at being in the movies at all: "I never thought I'd land in pictures with a face like mine. I've had a complex all my life about being definitely ugly."

• • •

"For outstanding services in the struggle against warmongers and for the strengthening of peace," Baritone **Paul Robeson** received the International Stalin Peace Prize for 1952 (complete with diploma showing a picture of Joe Stalin) in ceremonies in Manhattan. The award, good for $25,000 in cash, would have been tendered in Moscow if the State Department had let Robeson make the journey. The substitute presentation of what Communist Author **Howard Fast** called "the highest award which the human race can bestow upon one of its members" was described by the *Daily Worker:* ". . . There was a hush as the medal, with Stalin's likeness on one side, was pinned on. Then came the misty eyes as Fast embraced the guest of honor, tiptoeing to kiss him on both cheeks." Robeson, "in a voice shaky as few have heard it," said: "I have always been, I am, and I always will be, a friend of the Soviet Union."



Associated Press

ROBESON & FRIEND
From Moscow, love and kisses.

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1953 8

PAUL ROBESON

WILL BE PRESENTED IN CONCERT
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 18 AT 3:30 P. M.
by the Caldwell A. M. E. Zion Church at the Hunts Point Palace
953 Southern Blvd. - 163rd St. — Bronx
Admission $1.20 - $1.80 - $2.20
Tickets: 1288 Stebbins Ave. — DA. 9-2933 or DA. 3-8488

POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT

NEW YORK AGE
Sat., Oct. 10, 1953 3

PAUL ROBESON

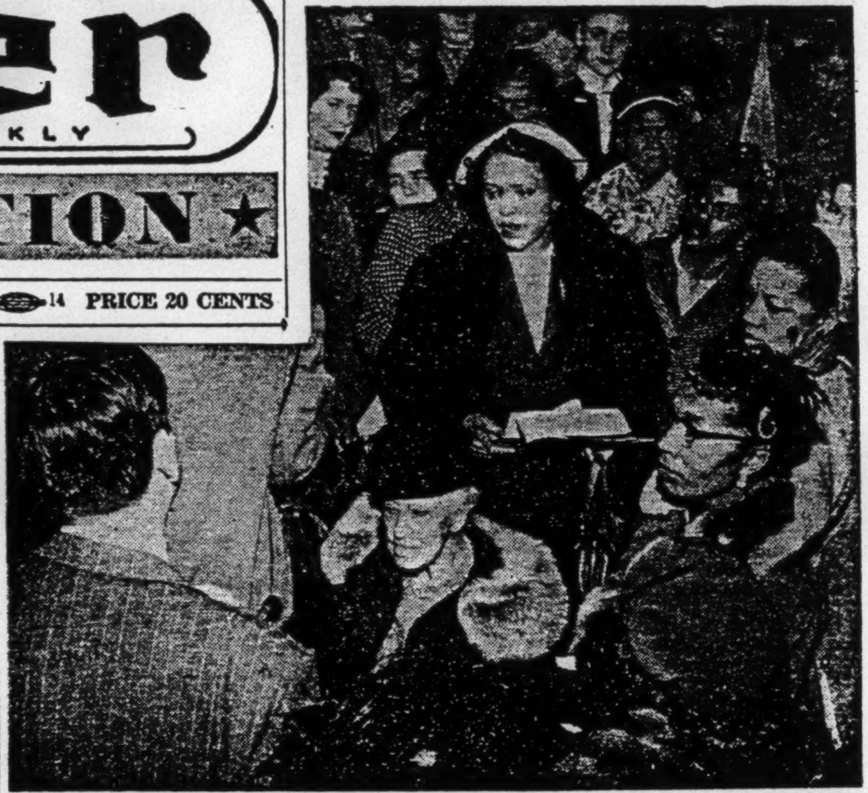
IN CONCERT. SUN. OCT. 18--3:30 P.M.
HUNTS POINT PALACE
953 Southern Blvd. at 163rd St. - Bronx
Presented By Caldwell A. M. E. Zion Church
ADM. $1.20 - $1.80 - $2.20
Tickets May Be Purchased
AT 1288 STEBBINS AVE., BRONX DA 9-2933

Women March on Talmadge

PRAY FOR MRS. INGRAM

* * *

Courier
AMERICA'S BEST WEEKLY
★ NEW YORK EDITION ★
VOL 44—No. 52 FOUR SECTIONS PITTSBURGH, PA., DEC. 26, 1953 Member of Audit Bureau of Circulation 14 PRICE 20 CENTS



Facing Talmadge—Mrs. Halois Robinson, leader of New York's twenty-three-woman delegation to Georgia's capitol in Atlanta, attempts to read a petition asking the release of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram from prison. Georgia's Governor Herman Talmadge (lower left, back to camera) advised the group to go before the Pardon and Parole Board. Seated, center, is the veteran civil rights campaigner, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, of Washington, D. C.—Perry Photo.

100 Invade Capitol

Talmadge Turns Camera on Women

By WILLIAM A. FOWLKES

ATLANTA, Ga.—Over one hundred out-of-state and Georgia women prayed, sang and cried to Gov. Herman Talmadge at the State Capitol last Friday for the release of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teen-age sons.

But, the dramatic plea seemed to fall on deaf ears in the executive offices, which had been set up for registration and movie photography of each admitted guest. Informed sources speculated that an attempt would be made to ferret out suspected "Reds" and "Pinks" among the delegation and to possibly "smear" the whole effort to free the Ingrams.

Mrs. Ingram

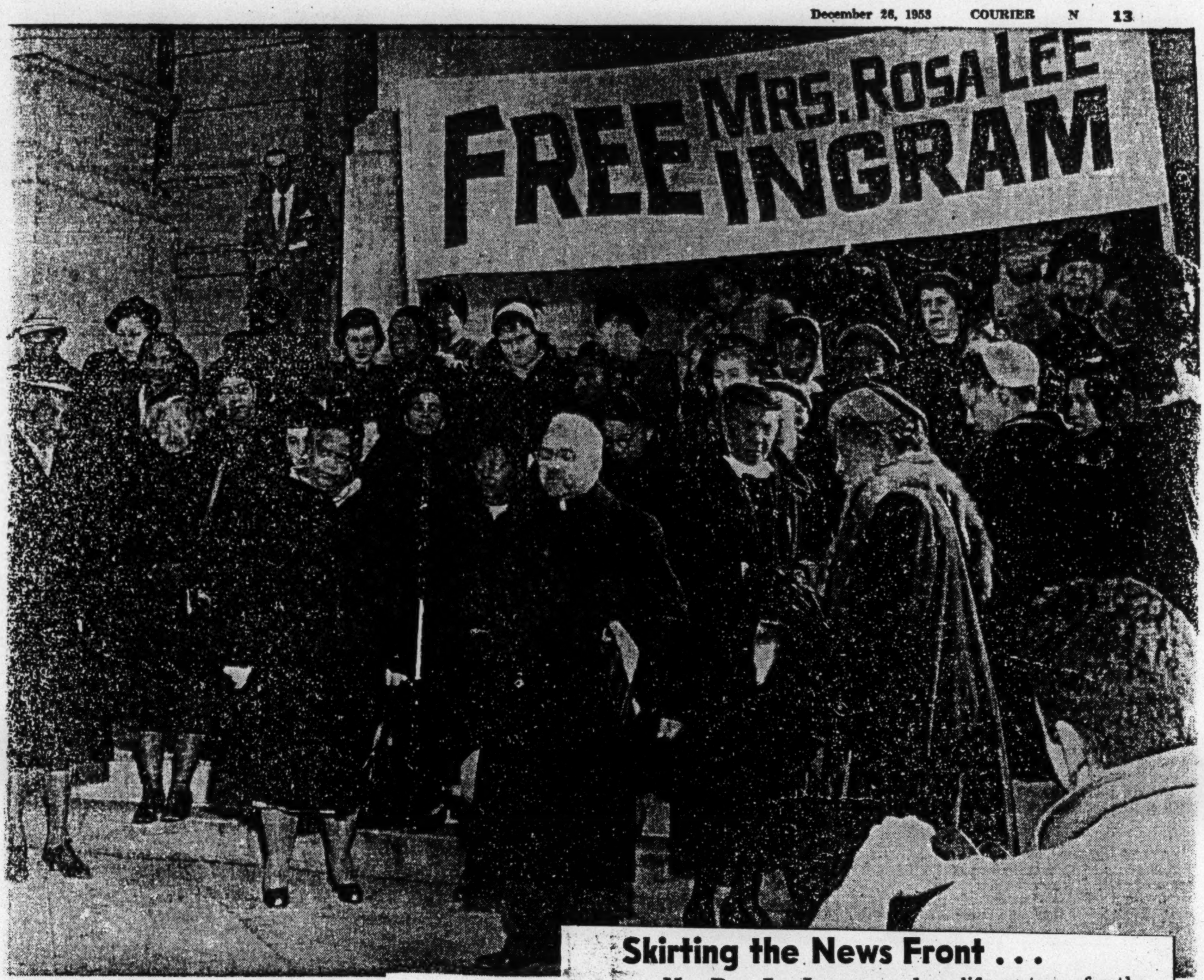
* * *

THE GOVERNOR, who waited until everybody was registered and photographed before coming out of his inner office, refused to hear the petition of the Women's Committee for Equal Justice. He curtly referred the group to the office of the Pardon and Parole Board on the fourth floor of the Capitol, where Board Chairman Charles Pannell and member

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 3)

100 Invade Capitol

Talmadge Turns



rayer for Mrs. Ingram— The Rev. Harold S. Williamson of ew York leads group of women in prayer on steps of apitol in Atlanta, Ga. Over 100 women from all sections the country gathered at the Georgia Capitol last Fri-y to ask state officials to release Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram d her two sons from prison. Mrs. Ingram and the boys e serving life sentences for the 1947 self-defense slay-g of a white sharecropper.—Perry Photo.

Skirting the News Front . . .

Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, under a life sentence for the self-defense slaying of a white sharecropper in Georgia in 1947, will be eligible for **parole** in August of 1955 . . . When **Mrs. Mary Church Terrell** of Washington appeared with a delegation of women at the Georgia capitol last week to ask freedom for Rosa Ingram, an unsuspecting reporter listed Mrs. Terrell as the "white spokesman" of the group . . . Veteran Airman **Chauncey Spencer** of Dayton, Ohio, faced a loyalty board at a closed hearing last week at Wright-Patterson Air Base . . . Chicago, Detroit and Cincinnati will be jumping next week, what with the **fraternities** holding their annual sessions . . . Gary (Ind.) disc jockey **Vivian Carter** and **Jimmy Bracken,** Indiana sportsman and head of Vee-Jay Record Company, were married in Chicago . . . Shriners' Imperial Potentate **Raymond E. Jackson** received a unanimous vote of confidence last week from the 300 delegates attending the 138th annual meeting of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Masons, Prince Hall Affiliation, in Philadelphia . . . **Billy Ward,** leader of the famed **Dominoes** quartet, can't understand why people are criticizing him for hiring a white chauffeur . . . The New Swinnett Street Branch of the Georgia Railroad Bank and Trust Company in Augusta, Ga., **opened** last week with three Negro tellers.

* * *

And, whatever happened to Ruby McCollum?

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

THE AFRO AMERICAN

BALTIMORE, MD., JANUARY 9, 1954 Page 9

School case court victory won't suffice

Says battle for freedom in world, South must go on

By PAUL ROBESON
(Noted Baritone)

The placing of the issue of segregation in education before the Supreme Court represents a magnificent stride forward in the long battle of colored Americans for full equality.

Mr. Robeson

It seems to be difficult to speculate as to how the court will decide.

Certainly, if the court acts in accordance with the demands of democracy and the needs of the whole southern people—colored and white — it will strike down segregation unconditionally and immediately.

They've Done It Before

Who will say that the southern people, who maintained unsegregated school systems during the Reconstruction period, will not support them in 1954? In the final analysis, the people — not the nine justices — are the court of last resort.

And the participation of all democratic elements of the population in the current campaign represents a great gain for interracial progress and is ample warning that whatever the judges decide in the current litigation, segregated education is tottering.

However, the still powerful elements of the Dixiecrats are girding themselves for final struggle.

Dixiecrats Gird For Battle

The Byrneses, the Talmadges, in fact the Council of Southern Governors, seem to me to be heading toward a major battle on the whole front of our right to first - class citizenship somewhat in the tradition of Henry Clay and his stubborn defense of the theory of "states' rights."

The fight will still go on, especially in the South, where the bulk of our people live.

Whether civil rights bills will be passed in the coming session of Congress will depend not on the oft – heralded "good intentions" of Eisenhower or the election - year promises of congressmen, but on the degree to which colored people, labor, the poor farm population and all lovers of democracy make an earnest, united and irresistible demand.

Says Ike Scuttled Program

We must not forget that the whole civil rights program — for voting rights in the South, the right of our people to work and for full opportunities for advancement, full protection of our very lives in states like Florida, scene of the Moore lynch-murders—was scuttled by the president's successful bid for southern support.

So our demands must not be narrowed, but broadened to include the home of the colored people in an all-inclusive and immediate demand for full citizenship.

And all of our demands will be most effective when they merge with the battle against the book burning, thought control, "loyalty" purges, "spy" scares and the charcter defamation which the Democrats started and the Republicans are carrying on to ominous lengths.

2 Outstanding Americans

I would nominate two outstanding Americans of 1953. One stands among the greatest women this nation has ever produced, Dr. Mary Church Terrell of Washington.

Standing by her side I would nominate our most profound scholar, our great poet, our great fighter for the liberation of all the darker peoples over decades of labor and full devotion, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

For our people and for all Americans, the most significant achievements in 1953 were twofold: First, the ending of the bloodshed in Korea and, secondly, the further awakening of the colonial peoples, particularly o brothers in Africa and now the West Indies and Latin America.

Truce Weak, But Important

The Korean truce, however unstable at the moment, provides the avenue toward great power negotiations for a settlement of outstanding differences among the nations.

The war to "save Western civilization," which some would unleash, would be an unspeakable horror aimed at wiping out the independence struggles in Africa, Asia and on our continent and bringing the world under the boot of U.S. racists.

In such a war we would be stripped of the right to fight for even the questionable goal of equality in death.

'Must Face Reality'

We, as Americans, must face reality. The world has suffered profound changes and faces continuing changes. We must live, now and in the future, on this earth, as we have in the past, with many different religions, cultures, and social systems.

In our time we must find peace and that peace must be with our recent friends and allies, the courageous and self-sacrificing peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with mighty China, with the new peoples' democracies of East and West.

They represent 800 million, mostly darker peoples, of the 2,000 millions of the world's population. This is reality.

1/19/55

NEW YORK TIMES, WE

NEGRO JOB WATCH IS SET ON RADIO-TV

National Association Seeking More Employment Opportunities for Artists and Others

A "watchdog" committee was set up last night by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to determine what steps were being taken to assure more jobs for Negroes in radio an dtelevision.

The special group was named at a regular meeting of the New York branch of the association in 165 West 131st Street. This followed an earlier request to broadcasting companies to provide greater employment opportunities for Negro artists and other workers.

The committee will make its survey and will submit its findings late in February. Then a mass meeting will be called by the association to discuss any further steps.

Odell M. Clarke, vice president of the New York branch of the association, previously had been named to appoint and head the "watchdog" group. He listed these members:

Edward Lewis, executive secretary of the New York branch of the Urban League; Edward Dudley, former Ambassador to Liberia; Russell P. Crawford, president of the New York branch of the association; Miss Aloncita Flood, treasurer of the branch; Richard Campbell, representing actors; Willie Bryant, who conducts a disk-jockey program, and Alvin Webb of The Amsterdam News.

Public Discussion

Last night's meeting was the outgrowth of a public discussion on the same subject last Saturday night at the Harlem branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, 108 West 135th Street.

All local stations and the networks had been asked to send representatives to that meeting, Mr. Clarke said. Four radio stations sent men. The American Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company told Mr. Clarke before that meeting that they would not be represented but would cooperate in all possible ways on decisions reached at the meeting.

Before the end of the meeting Pau Robeson, singer, entered the hall. Mr. Robeson, who has been associated with many Left-Wing activities, was not expected to attend, Mr. Clarke said.

"When you have an open meeting of that sort you can't bar people from it," he added. "Before he arrived I had announced that anyone who was not anti-Communist was not welcome.

"Paul is no more interested in getting justice than I am in jumping off the Empire State Building. We have no intention of being identified with him.

"I told him three times to sit down. He was recognized for a question only and he was going to make a speech."

Spokesmen for the three networks reiterated last night that they would discuss any situations regarding employment policies that were brought to their attention by the association.

The Afro-American,

January 23, 1954

MORDECAI JOHNSON'S:

Platform For Freedom

MORDECAI JOHNSON

Striking Excerpts From New Emancipation Address

Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina, greatest enemy we have and, in my judgment, one of the chief and most dangerous enemies to the world of democracy...

* * *

We have no power whatsoever to force a program of any kind. We have only power to persuade. But the obligation to persuade is upon us today, as if God, Himself, has made the assignment.

* * *

We are commanded by the Eternal God to work for the complete elimination of segregation in public schools, parks, churches, graveyards, public places, swimming pools, hotels, railroad trains and all avenues of public employment.

If we say we want anything less in the South, we are liars and the truth is not in us.

* * *

Eighty years ago, the Southern people initiated a policy that they were going to confine us to agricultural, domestic and menial labor and such semi-skilled work as they found they could not do without.

* * *

Unless we can do away with segregation in public life and in employment, we are not free.

* * *

The South has not had democracy—a two-party system—for 250 years.

* * *

The South has had no experience with Christianity (the sacred worth of every individual) except what is read.

Full Text

Of Emancipation Day Address by Dr. Mordecai Johnson at Bethel AME Church, Baltimore, Sunday, January 10, 1954.

MR. GRANDMASTER, Willard Allen; Governor McKeldin; Dr. Byrd, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am very happy for the privilege of being here today under the auspices of this great society.

My father was a member of this society and I can remember when I was a boy that there were two things that he held very dear, kept them both close to his heart. One was his church and the other was the Masons.

He let me see all the books and apparatus connected with the church but what he had to do with the Masons, he kept locked up in a drawer.

I don't know why.

But I know that he held it to be a highly constructive society and he felt that its principles were such that they deserved the all but religious devotion of his life.

Governor Anticipated

I had anticipated that His Excellency, the Governor, would be here today. He was with us a few Sundays ago, not as Governor, but as a religious man. And we enjoyed him greatly and he had said that he would be here today.

But I did not anticipate what is really joyous to me — that we should have on this platform the representatives of the two great political parties of America and of this State.

I rejoice that that is so.

I do not hesitate at all.

I was going to talk to the colored people here about our program for the future and I am going right on and say just what I had planned to say from the very beginning.

Because I have long ago made it a habit to have no thought and no program in relation to the colored people that I wouldn't be willing to lay on the table with anybody present.

Dark Period Passed

I think it is highly significant—the remarkable development the southern states have undergone.

That 88 years after the Emancipation of the slaves, we could have on the platform of a great southern city, the representatives of both of the great political parties of America, bidding for the allegiance of all the citizens and who have frankly and seriously come out here today to be present with the colored minority.

That very fact tells us that we have passed through a great dark period in the south and that we have passed through it and we are in another period.

There was a time when this could not have been done in the south, when men would have feared to do it.

But there is no fear here today.

There was a time when both political parties would have thought it useless to be present, even though they had been in existence here, because they would have assumed to begin with that the colored man was going to vote for only one of them.

But there is no party in America that can assume that today.

Vote Incalculable

The most important political fact about the colored man today is, his vote is uncalculable.

Nobody knows where he is going to cast it next time.

Because the colored man has at last come to the place where he has a program of his own, a political program of his own which he proposes to work for and to work with the political party only in proportion to which it helps him with his program.

Increasingly, we have come to know what that program is and our political power, which we must not underestimate the necessity of developing, is, in my judgment, dependent upon the strength, intellectual and cohesive power with which we hold to this non-partisan program of ours, and which we propose to become partisan about, only in proportion as either one of the parties helps us carry it out.

Program Important

Now, it is most important to have this program and it is extremely important that we try to get both parties to stand for that program.

I believe that the time has come in the history of this nation when the decisions made by these two political parties regarding the colored man and his relationship to the majority in these southern states is not only going to determine the future of the colored man, but is going to determine the future of the leadership of the world.

I believe that the decisions made by the Republican party and the Democratic party on the question of segregation in institutions of public life and on the question of fair employment for the colored man will not only determine the future of the colored man but will determine whether or not this nation will succeed in leading this world or whether her leadership in this world is going to be superseded.

Humble People

Now, we are a very humble people. At best, we constitute a tenth of the population of this country.

We have no power whatsoever to force a program of any kind.

We have only the power to persuade.

But the obligation to persuade is upon us today as if God Himself had made us an assignment.

And we ought to be as near as we can, as clear as we can, about what it is that we want.

And now, in all humility and with a spirit unembittered, I want to tell you what I think we must work for, and it isn't going to be in 10 points either—just two.

Commanded By God

We must — when I say must, I mean must—that we are commanded by the Eternal God to work for the complete elimination of segregation in every institution of the public life.

We must leave no doubt that that is what we want.

We want the complete elimination of segregation from education.

We are suing to get that now and it is our sweet, calm purpose to continue to sue until we either get it or until the courts of this land and both the Republican and Democratic party openly adopt segregation as the fundamental pattern of this nation.

We must fight against segregation in parks, public places, swimming pools, hotels, railroad trains, and all avenues of public employment. Not only must we be permitted to enter there but be permitted to enter and to stay there as individuals on the basis of our merit as men, regardless of our color.

Prayer Goes Further

Now, politically, that is as far as we can go with our battle against segregation, but our prayer goes further than that.

And we want the white people of the south, in their hearts, to take an entirely new attitude toward us as individual human beings.

Up to this time, they have been willing to receive everything from us—our labor, our love, our suffering on the battlefield—and they have received these things with a loyalty that is as unsullied and beautiful as any majority ever had coming, enslaving a minority since the foundation of this world, as they have not failed to testify.

This is true.

In return, they have not only given us segregation in the schools, segregation in the streets, segregation in the graveyard and segregation in the churches;

The Christian Church, which they operate, operates in a field of consent which takes segregation for granted.

We Left Their Church

That is why we left their church.

This is one thing that we must let the

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vhite people know — that, in every other hing, they segregated us, but in religion, we egregated ourselves.

Because, in addition to the segregation vhich they have given in all the areas of ublic life, they have uniformly met our perons and the persons of our wives, our chilren with personal eondescension and conempt.

We can't legislate that.

We cannot enforce anything, but in our prayers we not only want them to get rid of external segregation but we want them to substitute their contempt with respect and love for the persons of our children and our wives and our homes.

We Are Liars

Now, there is no need for them to tell us hat we have that because we don't.

And they know we don't.

If we say that we want anything less from hem, we are liars and the truth is not in s.

Segregation In The Heart

Further, we want to get rid of segregation n all institutions of public life and we want o get rid of segregation in their hearts.

We long for the day, when the highest ristocrat of Maryland, when he meets the umblest colored charwoman, the mother of child, may be driven by his heart, to lift is hat.

Now, we may not get that this year. We nay not get that next year, but if it takes thousand years, we shall never be satisied until we get that.

Now, that's Number One.

Point Number Two

Number Two is akin and a part of that, ut it is so important I'll separate it.

We want them to give us the same opportunity to work in these southern states that they give to their own children.

Now, there is no need to try to deceive us. Eighty years ago, leadership of these their minds—that is one thing we admire bout them—they stick to the policies they ave made.

Eighty years ago when leadership of these ates made up their minds that they were ing to confine colored labor to two or three tegories (agricultural labor, domestic and menial labor, and such managerial semiskilled labor as they found they couldn't do without, and that they were going to reserve all unskilled labor in these states, so far as possible for us.

That they have succeeded in doing for 80 years.

You go into the National Capital and you see it.

You go into all the department stores and no colored clerks, no colored buyers, no colored administrative officers, no colored managers—plenty of janitors, plenty of delivery boys.

You go into the banks, there is not a single black face in a skilled position in a single bank in the Capital of this nation, unless it is in a colored bank.

The Banking Fraternity

The Banking Fraternity has successfully excluded colored persons from any form of apprenticeship in the learning of banking.

They have effectively excluded us from all employment of a skilled nature in manufacturing enterprise.

One of the things that causes me great enjoyment is the development of industrial enterprise in these southern states.

White South's Progress

I think there is nothing in this country more remarkable than the development of textiles and other forms of manufacturing in these states.

Sometimes we colored people would do well not only to think about our own progress since the Civil War, but to stop and think about the remarkable progress that the southern white people themselves have made and the progress which they have made in the industrialization of the south and the transformation of the one group cotton system to diversified agriculture.

It is one of the most remarkable developments in the history of the world.

But, with all that development, they have successfully excluded the colored man from all scientific and technical employment in these manufacturing establishments.

You see colored people sweeping the floors, delivering the goods, stoking the engines, but no colored skilled operators, no scientific and technical intelligence, no managerial intelligence.

No Accident

This not an accident.

It is a deliberate policy.

And today they are not only doing that, but they are building plants that used to exist in the North down here, on condition that they subscribe to that doctrine before they come.

This is one of the most tragic aspects of our life in America and we colored people must know that if the South continues to be loyal to that policy, ti can yield to us on every other front, and by that front alone break our backbone and bring us down to a caste based on color, from which we shall have no power to recover.

The most important single program in America, so far as we are concerned, is to break down this policy and build the South to the place where it will employ the individual colored man in any capacity whatsoever on the basis of his ability as an individual human being.

Must Stick To It

Now that program we must stick to.

If we don't stick to both sides of it, we aren't fit to be Americans. There is no decent white man in America, who will respect us or should respect us, if we want anything less that that in the South and al over the country.

If I had time, I would point out remarkable progress.

I would say that the progress that we colored people have made in the last 15 years has been more significant than all the progress that we have made in all the other 70 years since the emancipation of the slaves.

One of the most beautiful things about that progress is the way in which certain southerners have cooperated. Even while the progress has come apparently against the will of southern leadership, it has been received with a dignity and restraint and fine feeling which is beautiful to look upon.

Must Turn Corner

But we have not turned the corner.

Unless we can turn the corner on these two fundamental things now—first, the elimination of segregation from every area of the public life and by all means, and second the elimination of this wretched policy of economic segregation, we colored people are not yet free.

Fundamental Fear

That is only the introduction of what I want to say.

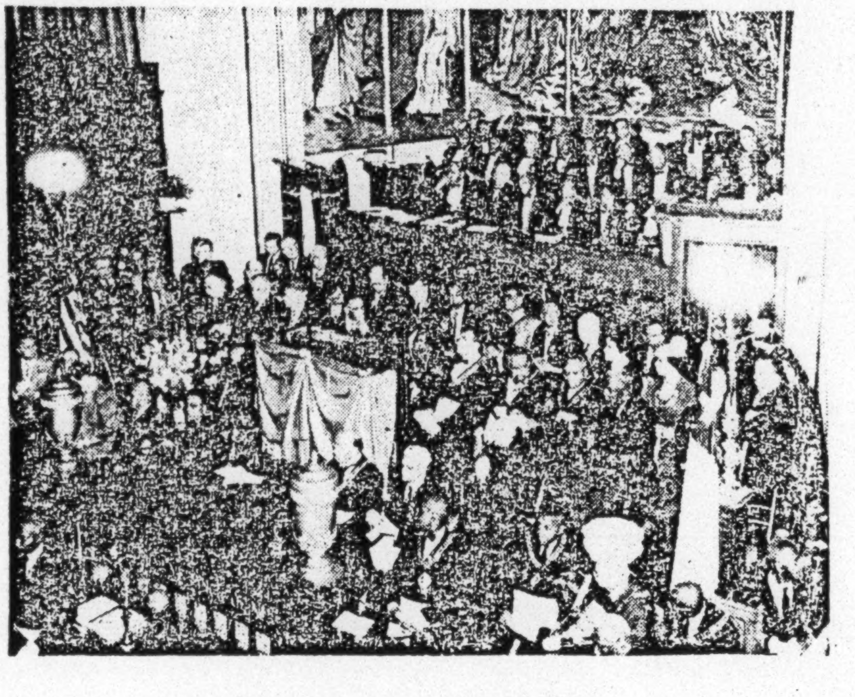
There is, and you may expect it to be (it is not abnormal) a fundamental fear in these southern states to deal with this thing.

It is a good thing that we colored people should recognize the naturalness of that fear.

The south has never had any experience with democracy.

It does not, therefore, have the confidence in dealing with these matters, that would come out of a long experience of democracy.

And that fear would especially arise in such a state as South Carolina, presided over by Mr. Byrnes.



Bird's eye view of the scene at Bethel Church, Baltimore, where the historic speech was made.

It would be especially strong in a state like Mississippi and Alabama.

For 250 years—do you realize it — these states have not had any democracy? They don't know any more about democracy than what they have read.

There has never been a two-party system in those states.

No Real Vote In South

Not for 250 years have the white citizens of those states ever had a chance to cast a real vote as between two parties.

In every presidential election, every candidate for the presidency passes by those states.

He not only does not go down there and make any speeches; he does not even ride through there on the back end of a Pullman platform and wave his flag.

He knows there is no use to do that; that those people down there either voted for him or against him before they were born, and there is no way for him to change it now.

So those states don't know anything about democracy.

Knows No Christianity

They know very little about Christianity, because they haven't experimented with it.

We have to distinguish between being a Christian and being religious.

We don't have any experience much with that, because Christianity is of a radical, universal Ethic.

It is founded upon the conviction of the sacred and inviolable worth of every human individual.

Any group of people, who have never experimented with that, wouldn't know anything about Christianity except what they read.

We only know what it is, as Jesus Himself said, when we do it. "He that willeth to do the will shall know," said Jesus, "whether I speak of myself or whether it is God that speaketh through me."

In general, what I have said about Mississippi and Alabama and Louisiana is characteristic of the former slave states as a whole.

Declines 'Y' Bid

We are just now making a tentative effort to experiment with democracy.

I have just been invited to sponsor a State-wide campaign for the YMCA in Washington with Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Spencer and others.

I wrote a love letter and respectfully declined.

And, in declining, I said this—"Out of the deepest conviction, I can no longer endorse any Christian institution, which bases its life upon the assumption of a segregated social order."

For I am convinced that this Christianity is a liability to Protestantism, a liability to Christianity itself and a curse to the Western world.

These hesitations are normal and we don't discount the human being because he has them.

Take Mr. Byrnes

Take Mr. Byrnes (Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina).

I have been knowing Mr. Byrnes for 27 years.

He has been against everything that I have held precious in my life.

But you can't, by that means, hate Mr. Byrnes.

Here's a southern boy—and nearly every southern boy in the last generation was born on the bottom of life.

He has come up intellectually to the height, where he not only is capable of being Governor of the State of South Carolina, but Secretary of State of the greatest nation on earth, and a member of the Supreme Court of the United States.

You cannot withhold from any southern boy, who rises that high in the world, a certain profound admiration. And you cannot fail to be glad that he was able to win that vctory.

You wish that, along with that victory, he could have won a victory in his heart.

Democracy's Greatest Enemy

And after rising to that height in the world, he is probably the greatest enemy that we have.

I may add with all reverence, in my judgment, he is one of the chief and most dangerous enemies to the world of democracy now in existence in the world.

I'll tell you why in a minute.

And I say that with love.

I wouldn't harm a hair of his head.

I have no thought, even in the midnight, when I am alone, about him, that either his wife or his children or he would ever fear, because I know that he is suffering from one of the greatest diseases that can come upon human life.

Blinded Beyond Hope

His own Heavenly Father has blinded him so that he cannot see.

So that, in the most critical period in the life of this nation, when it needs nothing in this world so much as vigorous courage on this whole question of race, he is trying to lead us down a road which, if we would follow him as a nation, would destroy our leadership. And would take the leadership of this world clearly out of Western civilization.

South Must Face It

So I want you to see how natural it is that we should be opposed, because the south has had no experience on the basis of which it could go confidently ahead.

But as the south goes ahead in these two main directions I have stated here today (and I believe, under God, she must go ahead), she can only walk by faith.

The time mush come, when the South, in her political and economical leadership, must really go in to the prayer room alone and raise the question with herself as to whether she really believes in one God and one human family.

And whether she is willing to reach a course of action in this world, based upon the belief, that this is the only course of action which God will permit to succeed.

Now, I have probably already spoken too long, but I want to leave the framework of what I have said.

Only 24 Hours Apart

There are 2,400,000,000 people in this world today.

(Continued On Page 11)

Continued From Page 7

Platform For Freedom

We are so close together that anyone of us in this room could get up, and in 24 hours we could be sitting down, shaking hands and eating dinner with any other group of human beings in this world.

and we are so indisputably associated that we never will get any further apart.

As a matter of fact, the jet planes have put us only 24 hours apart, and we will never be separated.

This is going to startle you colored people—us colored people.

Two-thirds of all the human beings in this world are colored.

They are either black, or brown or yellow.

Only one-third of the human beings in this world are white.

Two-thirds are black and brown and yellow.

Beauty In India

A few months ago I went over to India. Four-hundred million people are there, and I was astonished.

It looked to me, as I got off the plane in Calcutta, that this little group of colored people had overflowed and flooded the world —400,000,000 and if any of you colored people in here, we colored people—look in a mirror and are not satisfied with the way we look, it isn't on account of this color.

Some colored people are the most beautiful creatures God ever made on this earth.

Intermarriage

Somebody said to me, "Dr. Johnson, do you believe in intermarriage?"

I said to them, "Oh, yes, I believe the human race is one race.

I believe in it.

But now, personally, if you're asking me what my program is, I want to say to you, that I didn't marry the little brownskin woman that I married because she is colored.

I married her after meeting two or three million women in the world, and because I think she is the most beautiful, sweetest and most gracious creature the Lord ever made.

If she should ever throw me over, I know 20 other colored women by name in the United States I'd like to speak to privately.

And, since I have been to India, I raise that up to 100.

U.S. Most Powerful

I repeat three-quarters of all human beings are black and brown and yellow.

In this multi-colored world, the United States is the most powerful.

It is the most powerful nation that ever existed in this world.

And you and I are voting members of that nation and candidates to be on the roll of the Republican and Democratic parties to determine their policies.

Russia Comes Next

The second most powerful nation in that world is Soviet Russia and that is extraordinary.

For, 50 years ago, that nation was made up, for the most part, of freed serfs who came out of serfdom practically the same time we came out of slavery.

They had no learning, no money, no skills, no capacity for organization, and yet inside of 30 years they have organized themselves, built up the second most powerful nation in the world in a military fashion, and have launched a program of economical and spiritual force on a world-wide scale, which in less than 30 years, has 808,000,000 followers.

An additional 800 million people have not yet made up their minds which of these sides they are going to be on.

White People Divided

All but about 10 per cent of that second eight hundred million are colored.

The white people are divided.

Not all of the white people are on our side.

The Russian white people, the white people of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslavakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, a considerable portion of the white people of France and almost enough Italians to control the Italian government are on the other side.

Also on the other side are 450 million colored people in China.

On our side there are the white people of U.S. and Canada, technically South and Central America, who are so much mixed up with colored people that they don't have any segregation down there and not quite as many as 450 million colored people.

Colored People On Our Side

The colored people, that are on our side, are divided into two parts:

They are the colored people that are free and are on our side because they want to be

And the colored people that are on our side because our allies have their feet on their necks and they cannot get out.

Also there are six to eight hundred million colored people, who used to have their necks under the feet of our allies.

They are now free and nobody knows but God whose side they are going to be on.

And I want to tell you where they are

If you take a map and stretch it up and then let your finger rest on Afghanstan, just to the south of the western part of Pakistan, through India up through east Pakistan and down through Africa, you will see where they are.

They have no military power adequate to defend themselves from Russian China. They have an undefended border two thousand five hundred miles.

They have all been under the heels of imperial Britian or France or Holland.

They Have Suffered Too

They have suffered from the same kind of segregation, discrimination in employment and the same kind of political domination that we have suffered from in this country.

Now let me say this to us southerners, all of us.

Any notion that we have, that this system of segregation and discrimination that we have here affecting the colored people is peculiar to ourselves and is purely domestic, is entirely incorrect.

Product Of Colonialism

This is the product of the colonial system.

Colored people are here because the British and the Dutch and the Portuguese and the whites, the great colonial powers, brought us here, sold us, and made more money off our souls than they made off anything else in their trade.

When they quit enslaving us, they began to operate the whole of the continent of Africa on this basis. You don't have to take my word for it; look at Africa today.

Look at South Africa, where the Boers, who are Protestant Christians, are operating their relationships against the millions of black Africans exactly the same way, Maryland is operating her relationship to colored people in this state.

The French in Tunisia are doing exactly the same thing.

The Belgians in the Congo don't talk about it much, but they are doing the same thing. The folks in North Africa are doing the same thing.

Exploited By Europe

All the two hundred million colored people in Africa, except the people of Abyssinia and Liberia, are being politically dominated, economically and socially segregated and exploited by the European colonial process.

They are the same people who sold us into slavery and they are doing that now.

Fifteen years ago the British had 400 million black and brown and yellow people under their control in India, dominating them politically, making no offer to set up a democracy.

Britain exploited them economically to such an extent, that today they have left 300 million peasants in India who make only $48 a year, only 24 of which they have to use for their families, after they have paid their taxes and their rents.

Certainly these people, all of them, know what economic segregation is; what political domination is, and what difficulties they are having today, because they suffered it for over 200 years.

We Must Win

Now what chance have we to get them to come on our side?

We've got to win!

We've got to win those very people.

If we lose India alone, we're losing 400 million at one shot.

That will give the Communists the control of over half of this human race.

And on what condition do you think they'll come on our side.

Tentatively the Indians are on the British side.

Very soon there isn't but one power in this world that is capable of winning those people for the democratic side. That power is the one to which we belong, the United States of America.

Can't Hold Africa

If the United States of America undertakes, by her military power, and I may say this, that the British and the French and the Dutch are now so powerless, that they not only cannot regain India and China by themselves, they cannot hold Africa by themselves.

Their military is now so reduced, that they have to give up the Colonial System entirely unless the United States of America supports them with her military forces.

The great question in this world at this hour, the most important question in this world at this hour is this question:

Is the United States of America going to use her military power to support the political domination, the economic and social segregation and humiliation of the people of Africa and to undertake to restore the Colonial System in India and China?

Nobody knows.

We haven't answered that question, and the people over there, 550 million of them, are scared to death on that question.

Scared Of Communism

They don't want to be Communists. They are just as scared of Communism as we are.

But they are not going to run from Communism into the control of a new nation, that segregates and humiliates them and robs them of equal opportunity to earn a living.

You will see, therefore, that when the Republican and Democratic parties are raising the question, as to whether they are going to be for or against the continued segregation of the colored man in Maryland, Georgia and Alabama, and whether they are going to maintain this system of unfair employment practices, they are not merely answering that question in relation to the colored man.

They are answering it in the sight of Eternal God, and they are answering it for Africa, India and China.

Now that's where we are. Don't take my word for it.

Must Be Active

It is a terrible thing to be in politics today. The leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties have got to decide whether they are going to stay in their corners, or whether they are going to override segregation and set the colored man free.

Now I'm through.

That means that we colored people should be as poitically active in the next five years as we can conceive it to be possible.

That we must ask every candidate for governor, every candidate for senator, every candidate for public office in state or nation these specific questions.

If the answer is 'No,' we must prayfully and lovingly vote them down.

If the answer is 'Yes,' we must support them because in them and them alone is all salvation. We cannot leave them alone to decide the salvation of our country.

Praise For Truman

Now I want to give you some encouragement before I sit down

I want to show you who is on your side and this is very significant

In the last government the president of the United States was on your side.

The greatest progress that the colored people have ever made since the Civil War, was made under the leadership of Harry Truman.

He was the only president since the Civil War, who has unequivocally and repeatedly declared himself to be in favor of absolute equality of opportunity in every respect for the colored man.

And he risked his political life and lost it.

President Truman

It looks like the present president of the United States is on your side.

He is at least tip-toeing a little bit, and is a little tentative.

That looks as if he might be on your side if he is pushed a little more.

Catholics On Our Side

The biggest organization in the world outside of the Communist Party is the Roman Catholic Church.

The Roman Catholic Church is no fool and doesn't make any steps without long consideration.

The Roman Catholic Church is against segregation and is on your side.

Episcopal Church

Now here is something remarkable. The Episcopal Church, lately, has come up on your side. Now that is remarkable.

I am not talking about the American Episcopal Church I am talking about the Church of England.

The Church of England is just like a coin, on one side of which you see 'In God We Trust,' and on the other side, 'Glory Be to The King.'

The Episcopal Church is the religious experience of the British Empire, whose bishops are appointed by the King.

Its rectors are supported by the state taxes.

Segregated Gandhi

For years the Church of England has been sprinkling holy water and blessings.

It was so in favor of segregation in India that it segregated Mahatma Gandhi

The entire Episcopal faculty of a southern theological seminary in the U.S. resigned, because the board of trustees would not receive a colored man into that school.

Now they hadn't read anything new in the new Testament. It's the same new testament that they had been looking at for 250 years.

Now I could give you a list of 10 things but I'm just going to give you one more.

Something New

The British are on your side.

When you see the Roman Catholic Church, the Episcopal Church and the British Commonwealth on anybody's side together, you will know that God is on the loose and something new is taking place in this world.

The greatest question in this world is this: Where in the United States of America is this new determination?

You know who will decide that.

It will be decided by the Democratic and Republican parties in Maryland and in the south.

If you say no, it won't be done.

It was the fear that they would say no that made Thomas Jefferson, the greatest southern President that we ever had, say, "When I look at slavery and remember that God is just, I tremble for my country."

South Can Lead U.S.

The Republican and Democratic parties in the south have it in their power to cement the world leadership in this country.

If they undertake to support the continued segregation of the colored people in the pubic life, and if this support is continued, depriving the colored man of equal opportunities in employment, then there will be nothing for the darker people of this world to hope for. They can't depend on us for leadership.

You will have to look somewhere else.

There is nowhere else for them to look but to the Communists and to Russia.

My God, my fellowmen, don't force them to make that choice.

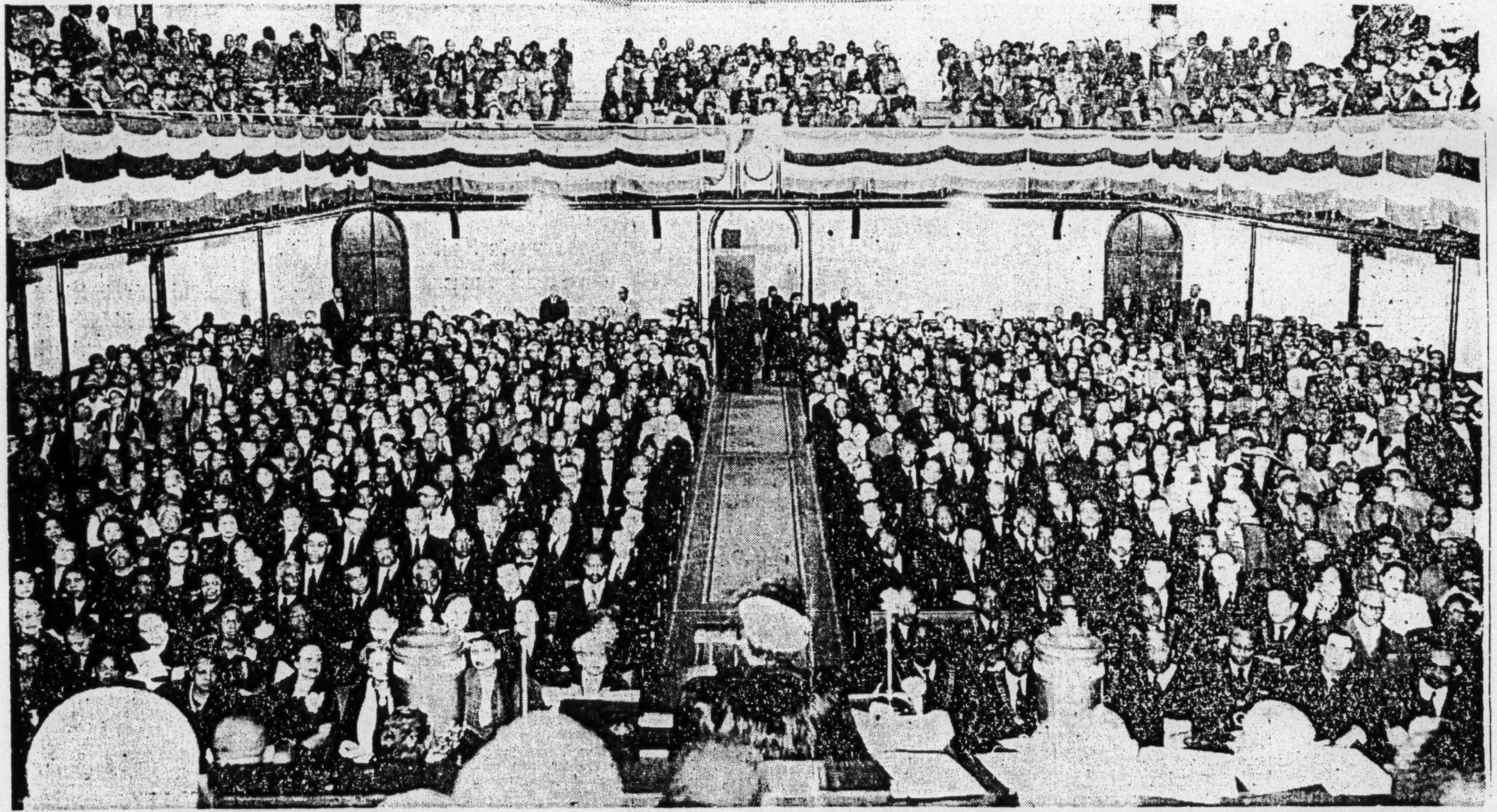
Quotable Quotes

"There are 800,000,000 people under Communist domination; another 808,000,000 in Europe, North and South America, Australia and Africa presumed to be on our side, and 800,000,000 in Asia who are undecided . . . 400,000,000 of the latter are in India.

"Indians are colored. They are not going to run from Communism into the control of a nation that segregates and humiliates them and robs them of equal opportunity to earn a living.

"The political leaders of America, Republican and Democrat, have got to make a decision: whether they are going to stay in their corners or whether they are going to override segregation and set the colored man free."

The Afro-American, January 23, 1954



HUGE CROWD AT FREEDOM RALLY—Listening to a speaker with undivided attention, here is part of the 1,500 persons who attended the 97th celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation last Sunday in Baltimore, Md. Sponsored by the Prince Hall Masonic order, the affair was highlighted by a rousing speech by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University and bids by three gubernatorial candidates—Gov. McKeldin, Dr. H. C. (Curly) Byrd and George Mahoney. Dr. Johnson listed for the candidates the program the colored voter wants.

1,500 Hear Dr. Johnson In Baltimore

1,500 Hear Dr. Johnson in B

H. U. prexy hails 2nd Emancipation

Crowd cheers as speaker blasts U. S. segregation

(Complete Text of Speech, Magazine Section)

BALTIMORE

Dr. Mordecal Johnson threw the hot oil of segregation in the faces of the many politicians present Sunday in the crowd of more than 1,500 perons who packed Bethel AME church for the 91st observance of the Emancipation Proclamation by the Masons.

On hand to hear the crusading Howard University president's words were Governor Theodore McKeldin, a possible candidate for re-election; and two announced gubernatorial candidates Dr. H. C. Byrd and George P. Mahoney.

Mr. Mahoney, a perennial candidate for election made an overt bid for election by closing his remarks with the promise of better things "when you send me to Annapolis."

This is believed the first time a political candidate has openly asked for support of the non-partisan crowds attending the annual observance.

Also present were Senator John M. Butler, Congressmen Samuel Friedel and Frank Small Jr., State Senator Harry T. Phoebus, and Attorney General Edward Rollins.

Invited By Dr. Allen

Dr. Willard W. Allen grand master; Prince Hall Masons, and dean of Masonic grand masters throughout the country, issued the invitations to the political leaders.

Dr. Martin Jenkins, president of Morgan State college, introduced Dr. Johnson to the huge assemblage as "one of the few men who tower above their fellowmen."

According to Dr. Jenkins, Dr. Johnson is particularly known as a "fearless college president; and Howard is one of the few remaining bastions of the preservation of academic freedom.

Real Monument

"At Howard they say anything possible to say without feeling the lash of the administration. In these days for our speaker to have that kind of a reputation is a real monument."

Dr. Johnson prefaced his remarks with the usual praise for the Masonic movement, recalling that his father was interested in only two things—the church and the Masons.

"He told me all about the church but he kept everything about the Masons locked up," was Dr. Johnson's jocular opener.

Recognizes Politicians

Then looking about the rostrum at the many politicians present, he said: "I did not anticipate the representation at this meeting of the two political parties. I rejoice that this is so.

"I had planned to talk about our racial program and I am going to say just what I intended to say."

He then pointed out that the presence of white politicans in this "southern state, remarkable."

"To think that 91 years after Emancipation on the platform of a great southern city, the representatives of both political parties are battling for the allegiance of all the citizens."

Colored Vote Uncertain

Referring to the colored vote as a heretofore "unknown quantity," Dr. Johnson continued: "There was a time when both parties would have thought it useless to be present.

"The colored man's vote is incalculable for nobody knows where he is going to cast it next time. But the colored man has at last come to a place where he has a program of his own.

"Our political power is, in my judgment, dependent on the strength in electoral and adhesive power which we hold in non-partisan blocs

"I believe the time has come when the decisions made by the two political parties will not only determine the future of the colored citizens—but also determine the future of world leadership."

He also warned that political candidates must be closely questioned as to their stand on segregation and FEPC. "If he says no we must prayerfully and lovingly—vote him down.

"If yes, we must support him no matter what party he belongs to."

Two Point Program

Dr. Johnson then listed a two-point program which he cited as important enough to be classified as a "Second Emancipation."

"We must, I mean we are commanded by the eternal God, to work for the elimination of segregation in every institution of public life.

"We must also fight for the same opportunity to work that the white man gives his children.

"The forthcoming decisions on whether segregation in institutions of public learning and a FEPC will determine whether or not this nation will succeed in leading this world.

Attacking the attitude of the southern states and their leaders, Dr. Johnson branded Gov. James Byrns of South Carolina, U. S. delegate to the U. N., as the "greatest enemy we have and one of the greatest threats to democracy.

"We are a humble people with no power to enforce a program of any kind—only the power to persuade. But the obligation to persuade is upon us today as if God himself had made an assignment."

Optimistic Note

Dr. Johnson closed his speech on a note of optimism, however, saying that "the biggest force in the world today, next to Communism, is the Roman Catholic church—and they have taken a stand aganst segregation.

"It also looks like President Eisenhower is on our side, He's tip-toeing a little but will be on your side if pushed a little more.

"The Church of England and Queen Elizabeth have also recently declared themselves against the forces of bigotry and intolerance," the university president reported.

Governor McKeldin, who was introduced by Carl Murphy, publisher of the AFRO-AMERICAN followed Dr. Johnson to the speaker's rostrum.

In Religious Vein

Quoting from a religious hymn Governor McKeldin opened his remarks saying: "Count your blessings, name them one by one; see what God has done.

"I am not going to make promises, the Bible said by their fruits you shall know them."

The Governor then recounted the story of a young Jewish student who unable to enter the University of Maryland Medical School, because of a quota system and sought his help in entering Howard University. The young man was admitted and is now a practicing physician.

After this story and citing the many honors bestowed on him by liberal groups, Governor McKeldin said: "I am delighted that while I may not be building all the beautiful buildings, I am doing something that is far more important."

Liberian Ambassador Present

Clarence L. Simpson, Liberian ambassador, also attended the meeting and in a short address congratulated Dr. Johnson for his "profound address and words of wisdom.

"As a representative of Liberia, we are very proud of every word Dr. Johnson and we endorse every word of it.

"If America ceases to be good, that day she ceases to be great. I am sure we will eventually have a better world," the Liberian ambassador declared.

Dr. Byrd, who is actively in the race for Governor, said: "Sometime I hope the opportunity will be given me to tell some programs I've devised by which some of the observations made here today might be achieved.

"It's alright to talk, but fundamentally you have got to give the colored people the opportunity to prepare themselves to take their place in other skills, that will enable them to get economic freedom.

An ominous buzz crippled through the audiences at this statement.

"I believe the colored man is entitled to equal opportunity. Under God we're all brothers. For these things I'll stand and for these things I'll work," declared the gubernatorial candidate, president-emeritus of the University of Maryland.

Standing to extend short greetings to the crowd were Attorney General Rollins, Senator Butler Congressmen Friedel and Small, Albert Shugar, chairman of the United College Fund; Senator Phoebus—who invited several hundred members of the audience to visit his Annapolis office—and Walter Buchelt.

Mr. Buchelt represented Mayor D'Alesandro, who although invited, followed his usual custom of being unable to appear.

SECOND EMANCIPATION — That's what Dr. Mordecal Johnson, president of Howard University, asked for in a speech given before more than 1,500 persons attending the 91st observance of the Emancipation Proclamation at Bethel AME Church, Sunday. The program was sponsored by The Prince Hall Lodge of Masons and was attended by many notables including Governor McKeldin, Senator Jonn Butler, Congressmen Samuel Friedel and Frank Small. That's Grand Master Willard Allen smiling behind Dr. Johnson.

J. E. Scott heads D. C. Frontiers

WASHINGTON

James E. Scott prominent real estate and insurance man was elected president of the Washington chapter, Frontiers of America at its Tuesday luncheon meeting.

Other officers elected were: Harry E. Polk, vice-president; Lawrence L. Whaley, secretary; Herman A. Johnson, assistant secretary; Albert Thompson, treasurer, and the Rev. J. L. S. Holloman, chaplain.

These officers and the following constitute the club's executive committee: Frank Coleman, Lawrence F. Hunt and West A. Hamilton. Colonel Hamilton, retiring after a four-year tenure as president, was elected President Emeritus.

Slayer of 3 eludes posse

Thwarted mob burns Noel's home down

LEXINGTON, Miss (ANP)—All the white folks in this farm and woodland area are up in arms, carrying high powered rifles, pistols and all types of arms as they are continuing a manhunt for a man who has killed three white men and wounded three other whites.

Target for the posse of as many as 400 men is Eddie Noel, 28, one of 12 brothers and sisters who live on a tenant farm.

Veritable "goat" in this search is Noel's younger brother, Bennie, 22 who must act as what whites call a "decoy" to lure the hunted man out of hiding.

The brother enters homes or possible hiding places, yells for Eddie to give himself up, then comes out with a white handkerchief around his head. Then a herd of whites ransack the interior seeking Eddie.

Bloodhounds Used

In addition to the little army and his brother, bloodhounds also have been called in the hunt for Noel. Even airplanes were used for a while, but bad weather has kept them grounded most of the time. So far, no trace of Eddie has been found.

Eddie's death victims have been:

Willie Dickard, 30, a storekeeper over whom the whole trouble started; John Pat Malene, 65, a deputy sheriff; and Joe Stewart, a telephone worker who had joined the posse.

Injured were F. E. Hocutt, who is seriously wounded, a farmer now in Holmes County Community hospital; Andrew Smith, a planter, in Baptist hospital in Jackson; and Bailey P. Greene, nicked by a bullet.

Known To Be Deadly Shot

Noel is feared by the whites because he is known to be a deadly shot. Sheriff Richard Byrd calls off the hunt at night because he said it is "too dangerous" to look for a man who can shoot like Noel.

The hunted man is known to have fun by shooting cigarettes out of his wife's mouth or doing similar "William Tell" feats with firearms. He has never missed, his wife said.

His shooting spree started Saturday night, Jan. 9 when he shot Dickard in his store. It appears that Dickard was in an argument with Percy Cobbins, when Noel shot him.

In this connection Noel's wife, Cobbins, Jack Fisher and Pauline Farmer have been placed under arrest.

Burn Down Noel Home

Eddie shot and killed Deputy Malone when the law officer and the sheriff came to investigate the trouble at Dickard's store.

Following that incident four white posse men "trapped" Eddie in his home, and he killed Stewart and wounded Smith, Jackson and Greene in the ensuing gun battle as he escaped.

Angered over his escape, bitter whites burned down Noel's home, a three-room wooden shack. Since then officers and the posse have conducted a door to door shakedown of homes, terrifying the occupants and using young Bennie Noel as the decoy.

Pursuers Promised Death

Deadly serious whites are hounding the woods persistently for Eddie Noel, especially since they have been told that he said, "I will take four whites to hell with me if I am shot."

Noel is said to be armed with a .22 calibre rifle and more than 100 rounds of ammunition. He is supposed to have bought ammunition from
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The Afro-American, January 23, 1954

NEWS IN TABLOID

By Cliff W. Mackay

Editor, AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers

Some names that made news!

HAILE SELASSIE won't have an opportunity to talk to colored leaders if the State Department can help it. He arrives in Washington May 19 and will be the guest of **President Eisenhower** at Blair House . . . **President Eisenhower** will address his first colored audience next month. He's accepted an invitation to speak at a one-day rally called in the nation's capital by the NAACP on **Lincoln's** birthday.

Mr. Mackay

Paul Robeson carried a quarter page ad in Pravda, official Soviet newspaper, to extend New Year's greetings to the Russian people . . . **Gaston Monnerville** has been re-elected president of the French Council of the Republic, similar to our Senate . . .The coveted British George Medal has been awarded **Saidi Bin Juma** of Tanganyika for heroism. Armed only with a six-inch knife, he leaped astride a charging lion and saved the life of his employer.

Roy Campanella, who has been bothered the last two seasons with bone chips in his left elbow, had them removed at Queens Memorial hospital, NYC Wednesday. He is certain it will improve his batting average . . . **Satchel Paige** has been offered $12,500 to do his relief pitching for the Baltimore Orioles. This is just half the amount he received in 1953 with the St. Louis Browns . . .**Joe Black** says in 1954 he'll throw like he did in 1952. He blames Ex-Dodger Manager **Charles Dressen** for his poor 1953 showing.

Ella Fitzgerald's next could be a prominent Philadelphia medic. They're quite a twosome, say Quaker City observers. . . . Queen of this year's Yale Junior Prom will be **Eartha** (Santa Baby) **Kitt.** And speaking of **Eartha** that story of her impending marriage to mimic **Sammy Davis** of the **Will Mastin** Trio was nothing but a press agent's dream. **Eartha** doesn't play in **Sammy's** league . . . **Pearl Bailey's** newest song, "Mouton to Sable to Mink It's Not as Hard as You Think," should make a hit recording.

Baltimore barber **Clarence Johnson** won one of the 100 Philco radios offered as prizes by the F. W. Fitch Co. in a national contest . . . New York's **Dr. Mamie Clark** was honored as "woman of the week" on **Bob Hope's** radio show Friday morning. She and her husband, **Dr. Kenneth Clark** won the R. J. Schaffer Achievement award for their Harlem child clinic work . . . **Sinikka Toivonen,** blonde and 18, of Helsinki, Finland, became the bride of African **Prince Ankrah,** 27, of the Gold Coast. The marriage was in London.

From JET Magazine, January 28, 1954.

> "Singer Paul Robeson would like to break with the Communist Party, but is being hindered by his wife and his son who threaten to reveal that Robeson was a 'secret courier' between the Kremlin and the Communist Party, reported Cholly Knickerbocker, New York columnist in the Journal American."

The above appeared in the JET Magazine of January 28, 1954. No need to stress that this is a vicious, fantastic lie made up out of whole cloth — an insult to me and to my family.

These things can be expected of a well known fascist minded hater of the common people like the quoted columnist — can be expected of a cheap commercial, white, supremacist, reactionary sheet like the newspaper in which the item appeared. But seldom have I seen such filth copied or reprinted in our own Negro Press. The memory of decades of lynching for false charges of "rape" — of open murders of our people for not knowing their "place" — or for attempting to vote — the horrible lies spread in the Ku Klux Press to keep us in slavery and sharecropper peonage, is buried much too deep in our minds and hearts.

So I was deeply shocked to note that one of our own journalists would pick up such a vicious libel and offer it to the Negro Public without comment and more — without getting in touch with me. I also am an editor of a newspaper — "FREEDOM" — 139 West 125th Street, New York City. I have the deepest respect for our press and know of its high standards at its best.

Now my position on many controversial subjects should be well known.

from other page

Straight onto pp. 4

When, years ago, I came to understand that the advances of the few of us, while fine, cannot in the name of "great progress" be used as a catch-all to justify the oppression of the millions of our people in this and in other lands, I gave up my career as such to enter the struggle for freedom at another level. Since then I have fought uncompromisingly for the full citizenship of my people -- for full justice to the working people and long suffering sharecroppers, white and colored -- for the intellectual and cultural freedom of the scientists, scholars and artists of our precious but beleagured land. And to help attain these goals, I fight for peace and friendship among the nations of the earth. I know that today wars mean the attempt to stop the advances toward long sought emancipation of tens of millions of people like ourselves, in Africa, the West Indies, Asia, Latin America. That wars mean the attempt to keep the hard working and wealth production millions of toilers in America, inEngland, Italy, France, and other countries from enjoying the fruits of their labors and controlling their own destinies.

In all these struggles, my activities have been varied: singing concerts to help the needy and struggling descendants of my forbears in Africa, joining the picket lines against segregation, singing in the south to non-segregated audiences, speaking out in the near and deep south -- Richmond, Norfolk, Charlotte, Birmingham, Atlanta, Mobile, Memphis, New Orleans, Dallas -- for full freedom for my people -- often in conditions of serious danger. I have been on picket lines for auto in Detroit in their trying days, on dangerous picket lines on the Messabi iron ore range for steel workers -- have been in the full tide of the trade union struggles in Maritime, Packing, UE, FE, Fur & Leather, Mine Mill & Smelter, Tobacco.

Finally, surrounded by some of the bravest men, women and children in our land, white and black and brown, I have stood guard against American Fascism in Peoria, Ill., Albany and Peekskill, New York.

All these activities, both here and throughout the world, have been done in full view, for all to see and to hear. I have shouted and shall continue to shout "at the top of my voice for liberation, full emancipation, yes by 1963 (a full hundred years after the blood stained promise) but before 1963, now, if possible.

As for my deep political faith, all peoples have within their ranks differences of opinion. Certainly, among no people is this clearer than among the colored folk of these United States. We had Denmark Vesey, a martyr to our cause. We also had his opposite, the handkerchief head, who handed him over to the "Massa."

Our history, however, has been for the most part, one of magnificent and militant struggle. The pages are full with names like Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Bishop Logan, Frederick Douglass, all of Zion -- and close to our own time, W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, a valiant Mary Church Terrell.

Always we have had differences of approach, of tactics, yes, of belief. So, today, our problems are complex. We live in a complex society. We are Progressives Republicans and Democrats. Is it surprising to see that there are those of who refuse to compromise with trickery and double talk, and become Progressives, and yes, Radicals. Anything wrong with some radicals among a people who have suffered slavery for 300 years, who have been the primary source, in human bodies, in human toil, of much of the great wealth of this land -- and who still live in poverty and in unspeakable ghettoes. A few outstanding figures, posed against the suffering many, can't be the whole answer. This would be a strange kind of progress indeed.

Now I have been privileged to see and to know many fine sincere great-hearted Radicals. Today some are being persecuted and sent to prison --

Slaves
Stevens

Our Tradition
Jefferson
Sumner
Brown
Douglas

To other pages

They have long supported

others hurried to their deaths by the enemies of the Negro people and of the ordinary working folk of this land. I know and saw the self-sacrificing labor and devotion of my dear friend, Benjamin Davis -- as did all the Negroes of Harlem who he so proudly and militantly represented in the New York City Council -- as did all the Negroes of Atlanta, Georgia, his birth place, where as a young man he defied the Talmadges and the Dixiecrat South in defending Angelo Herndon. Do you know that great working class leader from Mississippi, Henry Winston -- do you know James Jackson -- torn as they are from their families -- and among our first valiant fugitives since the days of slavery and the Dred Scotts.

Do you know Claudia Jones, one of the great women of this continent? She faces jail and deportation. Do you know Pettis Perry, one of the finest minds and spirits of our time? They want to send these brave fighting Americans to prison.

Well, I know these ~~[illegible]~~ courageous leaders. They are radicals -- they believe in socialism, yes, in the communist way of life. They are rooted in America in soil. They heard and learned and developed their ideas and beliefs here in this America. They have devoted their lives to the America they love and to the people they love. And they have found the truest allies of the Negro people among the white working masses -- the poor farming millions of our land. In the end, they see laboring folk in factory and field as far closer to us and our problems than the big-shot Philanthropist exploiters of us all. So their colleagues are men and women like William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, Robert Thompson, Elizabeth Gurly Flynn.

One brave comrade, Steve Nelson, an organizer of white and black workers in the Pennsylvania mines, has just won a great victory in that state, a virtual victory over death.

And the logical extension of this victory is the repeal of the Smith Act itself -- the amnesty and freeing from prison of all who have suffered from this perversion of our constitutional liberties.

I have long fought by the side of these great Americans, and all other Americans fighting for the freedom of my people. I shall continue to do so as long as my days shall last.

Now we as Americans have a long history of international relationships. Jefferson hailed the French Revolution of 1789 -- a few years after our own Revolution -- and Jefferson, even as a candidate for the Presidency of these United States, was called all the names ~~Communists~~ Progressive working class leader are called today. But he was elected President. And the McCarthys of that time were exposed by the true America for the un-Americans they were. Always throughout our history we have had these two Americas. A very important part of being an honest, decent American, has been our friendship and recognition of close ties with the peoples of many other lands. For we do not live in a vacuum. We live on a globe peopled by nations with various customs and ways of life. Just as in our own land, for example. The very core of our being Americans is that we are also everybody else -- as in the Ballad for Americans -- "I'm just an Irish, Negro, Jewish, Italian, French & English, Spanish, Russian, Chinese, Polish, Scotch, Hungarian, Greek and Turk and Czech, and double check American" and lots more. And we are of every religion. This is the essence of decent Americanism.

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in our tradition
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Scotch
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All Religions
My Fathers
Faith

We have a right to oppose all intervention — in Korea in China in Indo China in Africa in W. Indies in Latin America

Our own great Negro leader, Frederick Douglass, damned the war with Mexico (very much like the war in Korea) and for good reason. America took Texas away from Mexico and made it a slave state. It still manages to hold on until these days of 1954 -- and with the Mexican people still among the victims. Douglass visited the British Isles and castigated a slave-ridden America before vast English, Scotch and Welsh audiences -- and won valuable outside friends to his side, in the cause of his peoples freedom.

Resolute Speak out for Peace

I have visited many lands and seen vast new horizons -- new kinds of human beings in new kinds of societies. I have seen the lands of socialism. Particularly have I been close to the [illegible] peoples of the Soviet Socialist Republics of the New China - New Peoples Democracies for many years. They build toward the Communist dream, a dream rooted deep in hundreds of millions throughout the world. With these lands we must learn to live and these peoples we must respect.

We had no difficulty in so doing during the terrible years of Hitler and fascist oppression. These peoples of Socialist lands -- the Soviet Republics, the New China, the New Peoples Democracies, died in millions that many American and Western European men and women could still walk on this earth. Why would any decent human being seek to destroy people such as these!

As many citizens of various lands have come to know (including many recent American visitors to the Soviet Union), the Soviet people want peace and are determined to have peace -- to go on with the building of their new magnificent society.

As I have often said in my addresses -- I say again. I have been, am, and always will be a firm, staunch, unbending friend of the People of the Soviet

Republics -- and the Peoples of other Socialist lands.

I have recently read in our Negro newspapers several editorials and the reports of many speeches made by prominent non-radical Negro leaders. They point out quite sharply that millions of black and brown and yellow folk all over the world, including these United States, have by no means made up their minds which side in this world struggle they will choose. Further, that as they carefully watch, it looks from here that they can by no stretch of the imagination choose a white supremacist, Dixiecrat ridden America. These same leaders point out that these United States had been straighten up and fly right.

Now all I can say is this. If there are countries which because of their example in abolishing race and color prejudice, in helping former colonial peoples to reach full dignity, as in the Soviet Union and other Socialist lands -- if they by their deeds and actions expose to the world the hypocrisy and everlasting shame of the so-called Free Western imperialist nations, including as ring leaders -- American imperialists (by no means the great body of the American people) -- especially expose them clearly in this sphere of the oppression and exploitation of my people, including me -- please tell me why I should or could be egged on through vicious lies and threats by men like Byrnes of South Carolina, Talmadge of Georgia, McCarran, McCarthy and their ilk, to attempt to lay hands upon these friends from across the seas? My reason tells me that if I am going to get rough, I know just where the enemy is, close at hand. But as I have repeatedly said in this world, we need mutual understanding, friendship and lasting peace.

I would like to see my folk in this land, millions strong, catch on to this very obvious double talk of the political leaders of both major parties -- and catch on to the monstrous conspiracy to hold us back for as long as we and our allies let them.

Suppose we were completely unified? We are already highly organized into 4 million Baptists -- 2½ million Boyd Baptists -- millions of Methodists (A.M.E. Zion, AME, CME) and other denominations -- millions of Elks, Masons, Woodmen, and other fraternal groups -- the National Association of Colored Women and other women's groups into fraternities and sororities already taking joint action.

And there are millions of highly organized trade unions -- peopled in important measure by Negroes, in the rank and file, and in the leadership -- in CIO, AFL and in strong independent unions. There are still important farm and sharecropper organizations -- especially in the deep south where the great masses of our people live and struggle.

There are many intellectual groups, like the National Lawyers Guild -- great strength within the various language groups, among the brave and equally long-suffering Jewish people -- the Czech, Italian, Puerto Rican-American and Mexican-American communities. All of these various groups recognize the future of America -- future of us all lives in this complete unity, a unity demanding among other things, close ties with the Negro people and a real fight for full Negro rights.

Recently in many sections of our country we have seen this unity reach very high levels in our political organization. All groups, of every belief, came together to call for and win Negro representation of new quality. So with representation and jobs in the trade unions -- so a real beginning toward a complete change in the huge vital, government subsidized railroad industry. These are daily gains -- and important gains -- but these are just a trickle, compared to what we could do, and fast, if we stopped being the victims of false catch phrases and examined the sober reality of our lives in this land.

A leading Negro columnist recently wrote that we, the Negro people, might as well stop kidding ourselves -- that this is till a white man's country. Now I would argue with this columnist, whom I have long known and rexpected, that he really means that this is the so called big white man's country -- the big shots like the Mellons of Pittsburgh, the Morgans, DuPonts, Fords, Rockefellers.

For a lot of us colored folk and an overwhelming percentage of white folk in this America will be in for a rought time when the depression hits. There's precious little to last on any more than in 1929 or 1930. But no ills that world peace, a healthy world trade and basic arms abolition and controls cannot alleviate.

(INCLUDE IN ANY RELEASE --) As for myself, my father, my mother -- my father's folk in North Carolina, my mother's folk in Pennsylvania dnd New Jersey, and all my hard working brothers and sisters as a whole, all over this land -- have poured a lot of their blood and toil into this rich American earth -- and brothers and sisters -- some part of it belongs to me -- whatever I believe, and whoever my friends, domestic and international, happen to be.

'every group

out

So I shall continue in this struggle, right here in these United States, as I have for so long. I do hope to be able to travel, to soon get a passport and go to distant lands like so many of our scholars, clergymen, young students social workers and spokesmen.

out

Now I do admit that my picture of the fair and fragrant south, with its magnolias and soft breezes, might differ rather widely from some diplomatic utterances of my colored brothers and sisters. And I might visit some folks who these same brothers and sisters might avoid as embarrasing to their personal aspirations and hopes -- but again that would be my American right as well as theirs.

In

Finally, I know of no force on this earth that can make me retreat one-thousandth part of one inch from my firm, well-considered, repeatedly declared and fully open-lived beliefs.

As one of the great songs of my people goes: "Done made my vow - and I never will turn back - I will go - I shall go - to see what the end will be."

Paul Robeson

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1954.

A FOLK SINGER'S STYLE

Personality and Integrity Worth More Than Cultivated Voice to Belafonte

By HOWARD TAUBMAN

IT is not uncommon, in this hopped-up age of ours, to find big reputations built more through slick promotion than the gifts of the performers. These things happen even in the opera house and concert hall where the standards are kept fairly high and where the tastes of audiences are based on long experience and often on knowledge. They happen more often in the more popular branches of music where new favorites come and go like the seasons and where tricks of selling and showmanship are applied more intensively.

In the long run a career founded on externals and little else cannot long endure, even in popular music. The performer must bring to his work something convincing of his own if he is to keep his hold on the public. That something may be a special kind of voice or performing style, a feeling of a unique personality and, perhaps best of all, a sense of integrity.

High Spot

These thoughts come to mind as one observes the personal success scored by Harry Belafonte on Broadway in John Murray Anderson's "Almanac." His singing of the old river song, "Mark Twain," was singled out as one of the high spots of the revue, and his two other numbers in the show, "Acorn in the Meadow" and "Hold 'Em Joe," strengthened the judgment of the drama critics that he was a shining light of the evening.

To some of us who have heard Mr. Belafonte in other settings, such as night clubs, the reaction to his work in "Almanac" is a bit surprising. For he is not seen and heard here at his best. He has been overwhelmed in production numbers that draw the listener's attention away from the singer's individuality and intensity. And at least one of the songs, "Acorn in the Meadow," is embarrassingly sloppy in its sentimentality and, one would guess, uncomfortable for Mr. Belafonte to sing.

Despite these handicaps, Mr. Belafonte's qualities as a performer cut through to the audience. The reason is simple. He cares about what he is doing, and his furious conviction is like a jolt in a show dedicated largely to light entertainment.

When Harry Belafonte sings in a night club, a lot of the extraneous decoration is stripped away, and his impact on the audience is more direct. Using the skillful guitar accompaniments of Millard Thomas as his principal instrumental support, he has the power, with some of his songs, to bring a hush to a gathering immersed in eating, drinking and chattering.

An Asset

The way he does this is a reenforcement of the old lesson that personality and integrity are the best gifts for the performer. For Harry Belafonte's voice is not at all cultivated. It has a tinge of hoarseness that makes you wonder whether he will get through a whole group of songs, but you realize after a while that this quality is an asset, particularly for his wide assortment of folk songs, which are all the more persuasive when projected by an untutored voice. Whether there will be any damage to this voice as a result of rough use no one can say. But the singer does use a mike, and he seems to have plenty of staying power.

Mr. Belafonte is a self-made folk singer. By his own admission, he learned most of the numbers in this part of his repertory by listening, over and over again, to folk singers in the record archives of the Library of Congress. And yet his explanation does not explain completely. The words and tunes can be picked up in this way, and some details of performance. But a style that has the ring of authenticity, no matter how well it is studied, must be fortified from within. The performer, if he is to be truly convincing, must transform it in his own image.

And that is what Harry Belafonte has done. When he sings "Mark Twain," he makes you feel the weight of the Mississippi riverman's labor as well as the struggle of the human personality to dominate it. When he does something simple, moving and familiar like "Shenandoah" he gives it the true dignity of a great folk song.

Variety of Mood

Not that Mr. Belafonte is concerned exclusively with grim and sad tunes, although there is a ferocity in his singing of the tragic ballads of his people that make this aspect of this Negro artist's work memorable. He can do Calypso songs with a vivacity that is delightful. He has a good ear for the sound of the words and the rhythm of the music. He spent some of his early years in the West Indies, and this style is a vital part of his background.

One suspects that the tension Mr. Belafonte brings to his singing stems from many factors in his life. Off the stage he is a soft-voiced, mild-mannered man of about 30, and it is hard to guess the influences that have worked on him. But there are clues in his recent history.

After returning from Navy service he enrolled at the American Negro Theatre and later at the New School, hoping to become an actor. But it is not easy to earn a living on Broadway. With a wife and baby to support, he took a job pushing a cart in the clothing district. Growing desperate and remembering that his fellow students at the New School had encouraged him in his occasional efforts at singing, he asked for an audition at the Royal Roost, a jazz club. He was given a trial and in a few songs had the crowd on his side.

He was talked about, got a record contract and was offered many engagements. But suddenly he canceled his bookings. He felt that jazz alone was not his best milieu, and he absorbed himself for many months in folk songs. When he felt he was ready with this repertory he returned to the night-club circuit. He had been right; the folk song was his element.

Harry Belafonte could probably hold the stage all by himself in a recital hall. The trappings of show business are useful, but his burning intensity and joyous vitality are his most effective props.

Harry Belafonte.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Baptist Church in Newark Hears Paul Robeson, Nadyne Brewer

Editor, Feature Section:

On Sunday, Jan. 31, I had the great pleasure of attending the musical concert at Galilee Baptist Church in Newark, N. J., rendered by Paul Robeson and associate artist and accompanist, Alan Booth. There was also the added pleasure of hearing Nadyne Brewer, who had the night before given a magnificent concert at Carnegie Hall.

This concert was held to aid in raising funds so that Galilee Baptist Church and its pastor Rev. Harold D. Clark could meet some pressing financial responsibilities an dto carry on its work in the community, and by no means least, so that the people of that community will be able to continue to worship in the church of their choice.

At 6:45, the church was almost filled. By 7:30 when the concert started there was an overflow of about 1,500 people, workers from the shops, mills and offices of New Jersey and some from New York,

After the invocation, Alan Booth opened the program with the following selections:

Two Choral Preludes by Bach-Busoni; Deep River, arranged by S. Coleridge-Taylor; Scherzo, from Sonata in A minor, by Schubert.

PAUL ROBESON

Alan Booth is a concert pianist of fine talent and great sensitivity, a proud artist, a modest man. Alan gave of himself as only those who are a part of the people's struggles can give, with understanding, with deep feeling of the people's hopes and aspirations, their trials and tribulations.

Nadyne Brewer rendered three selections, the name of the first slips my memory for the moment. The other two were:

Sweet Little Jesus Boy, and Oh What a Beautiful City.

Nadyne's fine soprano voice rang out sweet and clear as I imagine that bell will ring on "Freedom Morn." All of her songs were moving but I especially liked "Oh What a eBautiful City," you felt joy and beauty as she sang of the 12 Gates to the City, you were carried upwards on the wings of her song and when she was finished you felt warmer inside and closer to the person next to you and all your troubles took a back seat for the evening.

Paul Robeson opened with "Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel" followed by "Go Down Moses," "Balm in Gilead," "Hymn to Joy" by Beethoven; "Over the Mountains" and "Orphan," by Roger Quilter; "Now Sleeps the Crimson Petal," and excerpts from "Boris Godunov" by Moussorgsky, and Kaddish by Engel.

Robeson was m fine voice, as one minister who sat behind me put it, "Nobody has to give it to him, he's got it." Each time Paul Robeson spoke or sang you swelled with pride and joy. "We were his people, he was our man, and you couldn't quite tell where the people left off and where Paul Robeson began."

The workers love Paul Robeson and they showed it on Sunday evening. There were violent threats made against this concert and against Paul Robeson. The tower of strength and courage embodied in PaPul and the people welded that night in song and love and determination dissipated whatever plans any fascist or would-be fascist had, for had they dared to disturb this house wherein we, the people dwelled with our Giant of a Man, the House and all therein would have fallen upon their heads, as the saying goes.

What happened in Newark with the holding of this concert, must happen across the length and breath of this land. More concerts with Paul Robeson, Alan Booth, Nadyne Brewer and bringing forth the wealth of talent which exists and that which is arising among the artists of the people.

—LOUISE JEFFERS.

Journal and Guide
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1954

Editori

Negro History Week: Time For Re-dedication

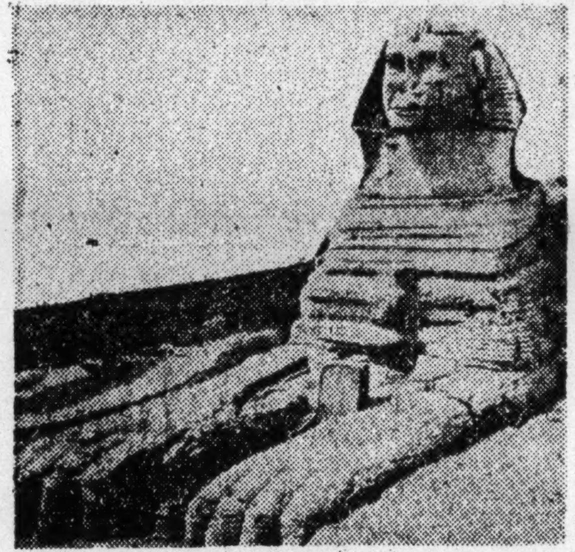
THE OBSERVANCE beginning February 7th of Negro History Week should be a time for prideful review of the race's solid achievements of the past, careful study of the records of its leaders, and sober analysis of the outlook for the future.

QUEEN TAI

Above is shown Queen Tai, the mother of Aknaton, one of the Pharaohs of ancient Egypt.

With respect to the Negro's role in American history, it is to be remembered that the first of the race arrived in America only 12 years after the first permanent settlement in 1607 by Europeans at Jamestown.

The bulk of our forebears, from Africa, came unwillingly and by force and served for 244 years as slaves (though many were also free Negroes) until LINCOLN'S *Emancipation Proclamation* in 1863 forever stripped them of the shackles of human bondage.



THE SPHINX

The Sphinx, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, shows definitely Negroid features in its human face which surmounts a lion's body.

But, from his earliest days in this country, the Negro demonstrated his ability to measure up to the highest requirements as a citizen, given the chance. The roll is an inspiring one. BENJAMIN BANNAKER, mathematician, maker of the first clock in America, and co-planner of Washington at the invitation of President GEORGE WASHINGTON. PHYLLIS WHEATLEY, slave-girl poet. PAUL CUFFE, ship captain and first Back-to-Africa proponent. JOHN B. RUSSWURM, first Negro college graduate and editor. IRA ALDRIDGE, actor *par-excellence*. FREDSRICK DOUGLASS, runaway slave, orator, writer, and editor. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, ex-slave who became an educational statesman. PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR, poet. HENRY OSSAWA TANNER, painter. JAN. E. MATZELIGER, inventor. CHARLES YOUNG, army colonel and first West Point graduate. HARRY BURLEIGH, musician.

And more! MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE. MAGGIE WALKER. MADAME J. C. WALKER. MARIAN ANDERSON. FRITZ POLLARD. PAUL ROBESON. JACK JOHNSON. JACKIE ROBINSON. JOE LOUIS. RAY ROBINSON. JESSE OWENS. DEHART HUBBARD. OSCAR DEPRIEST, ARTHUR W. MITCHELL. ADAM C. POWELL JR., WILLIAM L. DAWSON. ROBERT R. MOTON. GEORGE W. CARVER. RALPH J. BUNCHE.

LOUVERTURE, DESSALINES, PETION

The three, with Henri Christophe, leading their ignorant and untutored native followers, wreaked defeat after defeat upon the powerful French armies to win independence for Haiti.

Names each American can take pride in, be he black or white!

All of those on that roll of honor would endorse the poet's injunction to the present generation, and those yet to come:

> *Be strong!*
> *It matters not how deep intrenched the wrong,*
> *How hard the battle goes, the day how long;*
> *Faint not,—fight on! Tomorrow comes the song.*

—BABCOCK.

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Paarl Boycott

CAPE TOWN.

Because of the uncivil treatment received by African customers, the Paarl branch of African National Congress has organised a boycott of a general dealer's shop in the Klippesdal area.

"Since last Monday not even a child has bought a sweet there. They all stopped one another," said Mr. H. Gila, secretary of the branch. "All the Africans went to the shops about a mile away. We are sick of having to wait, sometimes hours, before anyone serves us," Mr. Gila added.

The Coloured people in the area joined the boycott on Wednesday, and even stopped their children from going to the shop, said Mr. Gila.

WOLSELEY STRIKE IN THIRD WEEK

Workers Suffer Hardship Bravely

CAPE TOWN.

"POLICE are in the location day and night," said Mrs. Rachael Williams, a leader of the Food and Canning Workers Union in Wolseley whose dismissal together with that of two other leaders brought 380 workers at the Wolseley Fruit Canning Company out on strike three weeks ago. "They take off their coats so that we cannot see their numbers and then they hit the people," she told Advance.

But despite intimidation and hardship the Wolseley workers are still firm in their demand that unless their leaders are re-employed they will not return to work.

Scab workers at the factory are leaving after a short time, Mrs. Williams told Advance, "they say that they are dissatisfied with the work. This (Saturday) morning I counted 45 workers on the platform waiting for a train to Elsies River and 25 leaving for Worcester and Touws River. They all told me that they were not coming back to work here."

EIGHT CHILDREN

Mrs. Williams lives in Saron. Every year when the fruit season starts she moves to Wolseley with her younger children. She has eight children and an invalid husband to support. Her eldest daughter, who started working a year ago, is one of the strikers.

"No one has gone back to work," said Miss Rachael Sass, the chairman of the strike committee. "We are still determined to fight to the last for our right to organise in a free trade union."

The Food and Canning Workers' Union and the African Food and Canning Workers' Union were paying the workers strike pay, she told Advance, but this was much less than their usual wages, so workers with families to support were finding it difficult to make ends meet.

The strikers met last Saturday afternoon (photo above) to receive their strike pay and to reaffirm their decision. Speeches from the workers urged them to continue their struggle and not to be intimidated by the threats of the police or the bosses. There were no signs of the strike breaking, and everyone spoke in favour of continuing the fight for their rights.

African Entertainers Organise

JOHANNESBURG.

ABOUT seventy musicians, actors, producers and other artists were present at the inaugural meeting of the Union of Southern African Artists, when it was decided to establish the union of a non-colour-bar organisation, open to all professional or semi-professional entertainers to protect and advance their interests.

African entertainers are amongst the most exploited groups of their kind in the world. A well-known African musician recently made a recording, of which 87,000 copies were sold. His total fee was £2 10s. The entertainment industry is full of similar examples. Contracts are seldom signed, and talented performers are at the mercy of the powerful monopolies which domin-

Joe Podbrey and Dr. Guy Routh, the Union of Southern African Artists seeks to protect its members by seeing that they get fair contracts and royalties and that reasonable minimum standards are established throughout the profession. In association with the union, a non-profit company has been registered to act as a booking agent for members.

Dr. Routh has been elected as

SALUTE FROM PAUL ROBESON

Messages To Natal Indian Conference

"I SALUTE you. The raised thumb 'Afrika' salute, the heroic sacrifices and the firm and unbending unity and discipline manifesto by you and the South African Indian Congress in alliance with the African National Congress have been a tremendous inspiration to black Americans who likewise struggle against the humiliation and degradation of racial oppression," says Paul Robeson, world famous singer, champion of the oppressed people and holder of a Stalin Peace Prize, in a message to the 7th Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Conference, opened last Friday by Walter Sisulu, Secretary-General of the African National Congress.

"I know that your Congress will rededicate itself to carrying forward the great task of combating and defeating the forces of fascism and racist tyranny in South Africa and of achieving full freedom and equality for all the peoples of that land," the message continues.

FUTURE OURS

"No matter how dark the present hour may be, I have absolute confidence that the future will belong to us and our children and our children's children—a future of peace and social progress, of human freedom and brotherhood. I am sure that this same spirit of confidence will illuminate and guide the deliberations of your conference. I wish you all success."

Among the other messages was one from British M.P. Fenner Brockway.

"History is on your side, and Dr. Malan can no more defeat natural laws than could King Canute," he says.

AN INSPIRATION

Brockway adds: "The movement of non-violent resistance to colour laws which the African National Congress and your Congress initiated during the past year has been an inspiration to all who believe in racial unity throughout the world. Despite your present difficulties, you should have confidence in the future."

* * *

"Stop the War in Kenya"

JOHANNESBURG.

The proposal by Mr. Brink, former Chief of the Union Defence Force, that South African troops should be sent to fight in Kenya, was vigorously denounced at a meeting of the Transvaal Peace Council last week, and a resolution was passed demanding that the war in Kenya be brought to an end at once.

The speakers, Messrs. Walter Sisulu and B. Desai, and Miss Ruth First, stated that the fighting in Kenya was no "police action," but a full-scale war against the civilian population. This made the hostilities the concern of the Peace Council, which was in favour of the settlement of disputes by negotiation and not by force.

Mr. J. Podbrey presided at the meeting.

* * *

Paarl Deportations

CAPE TOWN.

An appeal to the Paarl Municipality to stop the mass deportation of Africans has been made by the executive committee of the African National Congress (Cape Region).

"We have received many complaints that your council is conducting mass deportation of Africans to the reserves under the pretext of enforcing the provisions of the Urban Areas Act," states a letter from the executive, signed by Mr. J. Nkatlo, one of the joint secretaries.

Congress registers its strongest protest at the "callous manner" in which Paarl Municipality treats the African people. "We earnestly appeal to you to stop this cruel mass deportation, in the interest of justice and racial goodwill."

This striking three-colour poster, issued by the Transvaal Peace Council, has made its appearance on the streets of a number of Reef towns. The one you see here is posted prominently outside the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Page 14 The Afro-American, February 13, 1954

Decent U.S.A. goal, Robeson tells 1,500

Singer given big ovation

PAUL ROBESON

NEWARK

There are hundreds of people, white and colored, in North Jersey who admire and respect Paul Robeson, both as a distinguished concert artist and as a courageous crusader for human rights.

This was demonstrated Sunday night at Galilee Baptist church, Newark, where an interracial audience of nearly 1,500 persons gave him a great ovation before and after a thrilling recital.

Deeply touched by the reception accorded him as he was about to sing his first number, the former Rutgers university star athlete who recently received one of Russia's top peace awards, said:

"I am proud and happy to be back in my home state and receive this welcome . . .

"I will continue forever to struggle for a decent America and a decent world."

Robeson gave the recital to aid the church's $20,000 mortgage fund and its Day Nursery.

He included in his repertoire a song dedicated to the late Emanuel Bloch, attorney for Julius and Edith Rosenberg, who were executed as atom spies.

A police detail was assigned to duty outside the church, but left before the program was over.

Texts of Soviet Proposals on Europe and Remarks by Molotov and Dulles

BERLIN, Feb. 10 (AP)—Following are the texts of the Soviet-proposed European security treaty and an auxiliary Soviet proposal, plus excerpts of remarks by Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister, and the text of a speech by John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State:

Soviet Draft of Treaty

With a view to safeguarding peace and security and preventing aggression against any state in Europe,

With a view to strengthening international cooperation in conformity with the principles of respect for the independence and sovereignty of states and of non-interference in their internal affairs,

Seeking to prevent the formation of groups of European states directed against other European states, which gives rise to friction and strained relations among nations, and to achieve concerted action by all European states in safeguarding collective security in Europe,

The states of Europe, being guided by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, shall conclude a general European treaty on collective security in Europe containing the following basic provisions:

[1]

The treaty shall be open to all European states without regard to their social systems, which recognize the purposes and assume the obligations arising out of the treaty.

Pending the establishment of a united, pacific, democratic German state the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republio can be parties to the treaty enjoying equal rights. It is understood that after the unification of Germany the united German state can become a party to the treaty on the general terms.

The conclusion of the treaty on collective security in Europe shall not impair the jurisdiction of the four powers—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France—in regard to the German problem which is to be settled in the manner previously determined by the four powers.

[2]

The parties to the treaty undertake to refrain from any attacks against one another and also to refrain from having recourse to the threat or the use of force in their international relations and, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to settle by peaceful means and in such a way as not to endanger international peace and security in Europe any dispute that may arise among themselves.

[3]

The parties to the treaty shall consult among themselves whenever, in the view of any one of them, there shall arise the danger of an armed attack in Europe against any one or more of the parties to the treaty, in order to take effective steps to remove the danger and to maintain security in Europe.

[4]

An armed attack in Europe against any one or more of the parties to the treaty by any state or group of states shall be considered an attack against all the parties. In case of such an attack each one of the parties, in the exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense, shall assist the state or states which had been so attacked by all the means at its disposal, including the use of armed force, for the purpose of re-establishing and maintaining international peace and security in Europe.

[5]

The parties undertake jointly to discuss and determine at an early date the procedure under which assistance, including military assistance, shall be rendered by the parties to the treaty in case there should arise in Europe a situation requiring a collective effort for the re-establishment and maintenance of peace in Europe.

[6]

The parties shall immediately send to the Security Council of the United Nations, in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, information concerning the activities undertaken or in contemplation in the exercise of the right of self-defense or for the purpose of maintaining peace and security in Europe.

[7]

The parties undertake not to enter any coalition or alliance or conclude any agreement, the purpose of which would contradict the purposes of the treaty on collective security in Europe.

[8]

For the purpose of holding the consultations among the parties provided for by the treaty and of considering the matters arising out of the problem of safeguarding security in Europe, the following shall be provided for:

(a.) The holding of periodical and, whenever required, of special conferences at which each of the states shall be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.

(b.) The establishment of a permanent consultative political committee whose task shall be the drafting of appropriate recommendations for the governments of the parties.

(c.) The establishment of a military consultative body whose terms of references shall be determined in due course.

[9]

Recognizing the special responsibility of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council for the maintainance of international peace and security, the parties shall invite the governments of the United States of America and the Chinese People's Republio to send their representatives to the bodies set up under the treaty, as observers.

[10]

The present treaty shall not impair in any way the obligations contained in the international treaties and agreements among the European states the principles and purposes of which are in conformity with the principles and purposes of the present treaty.

[11]

The duration of the treaty shall be fifty years.

Auxiliary Soviet Proposal

[1]

The Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics undertake to continue their efforts to reach an adequate settlement of the German problem in accordance with the principle of maintaining peace and national freedom and also to observe the rights of all other European states interested in preventing any state from violating their national interests and security.

[2]

Pending the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the reunification of Germany along democratic and peaceful lines the following measures shall be carried out:

(a) The occupation forces shall be withdrawn simultaneously from the territory of both East and West Germany within a period of six months with the exception of limited contingents left to perform protective functions arising out of the control tasks of the four powers, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in regard to East Germany and the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France in regard to West Germany. The strength of such contingents shall be agreed upon by the governments of the four powers.

(b) The powers that at present are exercising occupation functions in Germany shall have the right to move in their forces in case the security of either part of Germany is threatened: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in regard to East Germany; the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France in regard to West Germany.

(c) For the purpose of maintaining internal order and defense of frontiers the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic shall have police units, the strength and armaments of which shall be determined by agreement among the four powers. Inspection groups comprising representatives of the four powers shall be formed in East and West Germany to supervise the implementation of this agreement.

[3]

In accordance with the above provisions, the implementation of which shall assure the neutralization of Germany and the creation of conditions favorable to the settlement of the German problem in the interests of consolidating peace in Europe, the four powers shall take urgent steps to facilitate the conclusions of a treaty on collective security among the European states that shall provide for appropriate guarantees against aggression and the violation of peace in Europe. To this end the four powers have agreed to take the initiative of convening an appropriate conference of European states.

Remarks by Mr. Molotov

It is necessary to reach a solution of the German problem satisfactory to all our nations and all peace-loving countries of Europe. It must be in accordance with the principles of the preservation of peace and the national freedom of Germany and, simultaneously, with the guarding of the national interests and security of all peoples of Europe.

The split of Europe into military groups has to be avoided.

It depends on our countries whether there will be a World War III or not. If the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union decide to prevent another world war they are in a position to do so.

In the first place, we must do everything in our power to prevent the creation of military groups by nations opposing each other if we want to prevent a new world war and, by the same token, another war in Europe.

The events of recent years, which are all known to us, give evidence that the idea of creating military blocs—which are particularly opposed by the Soviet Union and the people's democracies—are beginning to be put into effect.

The way for this has been paved particularly by the North Atlantic pact, which was created five years ago with the United States and Great Britain at its head.

The North Atlantic bloc especially is pushing ahead by all means the plans to create military groups in Europe, Asia, in the Pacific area and also in India and the Middle East.

Defense Community Assailed

At the present Berlin conference we have naturally devoted great attention to the German question and the securing of safety in Europe. In this connection, the Soviet delegation point out over and over again the dangerous character of the plans to create the European Defense Community. These plans cannot be reconciled with the necessity for guaranteeing the collective security of the people of Europe.

It was hinted that with the creation of the European Defense Community—that is, the so-called European army into which the remilitarized West Germany would be incorporated—the Soviet Union and other peace-loving European countries could be given security guarantees.

Is that so? Of course it is not so.

Due to the obstinate resistance of the people of the European countries, the Western powers have not succeeded in creating the European Defense Community.

The creation of a military bloc formed by six nations—West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg—would mean that these countries would be placed in opposition to the remaining part of Europe. It would mean a widening of the split of Europe, an increase in international tensions and it would jeopardize the vital interests of all European nations.

The creation of the European Defense Community would result in an indefinite split of Germany and would prevent the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

What would replace the European Defense Community if plans to establish it were dropped?

There is particularly great interest in this question in France, which we consider absolutely natural.

We reply to this question: Instead of the plans to create the European Defense Community, the idea of collective security for all people of Europe has to be put into effect by all means.

Security had to be guaranteed for all countries in Europe, regardless of the differences in their social structure.

The Soviet Union deems it necessary that some states in Europe are not placed in opposition to other European states but that an all-European system of collective security be established.

This system must provide for close cooperation among all European states and to prevent a breach of peace in Europe and provide for necessary defense in case of a violation of peace. It must at the same time include concrete obligations of the states, obligations of military character included, to make this system active and effective.

If the Government of France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union will support this idea [collective security in Europe] then there will be no reason to effect plans such as creation of a limited military group as the European Defense Community.

The conclusion of an all-German treaty on collective security in Europe will be in line with the sincere striving of the people of Europe for the strengthening of peace. It will be an important contribution to the strengthening of world peace.

We are facing a task which is not simple but which can be attained.

We must continue our efforts to bring about a satisfactory solution of the German problem.

What we cannot achieve at this conference we can attempt to achieve later without postponing the peaceful solution of the German question because of this or that plan.

Statement by Mr. Dulles

Since Mr. Molotov has been kind enough to say that the United States can be an "observer," I thought it would be in order to make some observations on his plan.

The proposals submitted are in two parts, one of which deals primarily with Germany and the other of which represents the draft of a proposed European treaty on collective security.

The paper with reference to Germany contains the statement:

"That we shall continue our efforts to seek a settlement of the German problem" and that, of course, the United States is disposed to do.

Then the paper in its paragraph 2 goes on to repeat the proposal which has heretofore been made a number of times by the Soviet Union with reference to the withdrawal of so-called occupation forces from East and West Germany.

It makes it relevant, therefore, only for me to repeat what has been said before by me and others around this table: that the proposal would leave West Germany and consequently much of West Europe exposed to any threat of external aggression.

A third paragraph of this paper contemplates the calling of another conference, and it is perhaps in order for me in this connection to say what I have said before—namely, that it seems whenever we have a conference which is unable to settle anything the Soviet Union proposes that we have another conference, and a conference which can only breed other conferences is the best we can do. This is rather a disheartening conclusion.

The second paper is the text of a proposed general European treaty on collective security in Europe. Since the United States would presumably not be a part of that treaty, my observations are not directed primarily to the actual text of the treaty, although there are certain implications in it which do affect the United States.

Scrapping of NATO Implied

It is perhaps implicit in the draft, although not entirely clear, that it is designed to replace the North Atlantic Treaty. I assume that from the provisions of Articles 7 and perhaps 10, and the fact that the Soviet Foreign Minister in introducing his text, made a serious attack upon the North Atlantic pact "as resembling in many ways the anti-Comintern pact which led to the unleashing of the Second World War."

He went on to say that "there are no reasons to doubt that the fate of the North Atlantic pact shall be any better than that of the anti-Comintern pact."

So I presume, although the Soviet Foreign Minister can correct me if I am wrong, that his proposed treaty for European collective security would be in reality a replacement of the North Atlantic Treaty.

The United States certainly cannot take offense at the suggestion of the Soviet Foreign Minister that the European countries should get together for their own collective security without the participation of the United States. The United States, I think, has never intruded itself as an unwanted participant in European affairs, and we do not have any intentions of doing so in the future.

The American people have a very deep and legitimate interest in Europe. Most of us derive from Western Europe. We share the culture and traditions and religion of Western Europe, and there are many bonds which tie us very closely together. But we do not feel that on that account we have any right to demand participation in European affairs.

The United States sent its armed forces to Europe in the First World War when the West was threatened by German militarism under the Kaiser. We delayed somewhat in doing so. But at the urgent appeal and desire of the threatened peoples of Western Europe, and because our own interests became involved, we did participate and certainly contributed to the final defeat of the German militarists represented by the Kaiser.

When the war was over, we took our troops home at once.

World War II Events Cited

Then the same story was repeated under Hitler in the Second World War, and again, after some delay and when the danger, not only to Western Europe but also the Soviet Union, was immense, and when we ourselves seemed threatened, we made a gigantic effort of putting troops and supplies in Europe to help to save Europe from the renewed militarism of Germany.

And after the Second World War we withdrew all our forces from Europe, except a relatively small number who were required for occupation purposes in Germany.

Now, for the third time in this century we have sent forces back to Europe and again the reason was that there were many in Europe who were afraid and who asked us to do so.

That fear is, I imagine, a fear which cannot be allayed by new words and new promises, because the fear was inspired by a country which was already bound by the United Nations Charter not to use force against the territorial integrity or independence of any state. Whether that fear will be allayed by any repetition of that pledge is not for me to decide.

It has been suggested that our participation in the present defense of West Europe to which I now refer caused the division of Europe. That is one of these strange reversals of history—the upside-down talk—to which unfortunately we have had to accommodate ourselves. Everyone knows that the division of Europe was created before the action to which I refer and that our action was taken only because of the division of Europe.

It cannot, I think, be forgotten that when the United States proposed the Marshall Plan, which involved the contributions of many billions of dollars to the rehabilitation of Europe, that plan was initially made available to all of the European states.

I recall the pacts of mutual assistance which the Soviet Union made in 1939 with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which the Soviet Foreign Minister at the time described in language which is almost exactly the same as the second preamble of the proposed new European treaty.

The pacts with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Mr. Molotov said on Oct. 31, 1939, "strictly stipulate the inviolability of the sovereignty of signatory states and the principle of non-interference in each others' affairs."

The second preamble to which I refer speaks of the "respect for the independence and sovereignty of states and non-interference in their internal affairs."

What quickly happened to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania has gone on and on and has, I suggest, created the division to which the Soviet Foreign Minister refers.

It is a division between those who have been absorbed and the others who do not want to be absorbed.

Whether or not the Soviet proposal of today will obliterate that division in Europe is, as I say, something which is primarily to be considered by other states than the United States.

So far as the United States is concerned, we are determined that we will not be absorbed.

NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1954

UPTOWN LOWDOWN

By FREDDIE WALLS

By FREDDIE WALLS

Harlem Showboat:

Fashion model Dorothea Towles has put her romance with the Detroit playboy on ice temporarily . . . Sports stars Don Barksdale, basketball, and Mal Whitfield, track, may be the next to make interracial wedding headlines . . . Tenants in the 300 block of Edgecombe Ave. complaining about the lack of police protection in that area. Several women have been robbed and mugged in open daylight in recent weeks . . . The well-known Amsterdam Ave. bar owner hit "979" for $35 last week. It took less than four hours for his creditors to swarm down on him . . . Robinson for Congress campaign will be launched at the Morningside Community Center dinner next week . . . Mary Cunningham, the glamour model whose curves and beauty led to the death of Louis Hunt, was a popular dancing partner at the Beaux Arts Ball . . . New International Hotel owner, realtor Charles Moore, planning to move the dining room to the street floor and may open a bar in the Sugar Hill hostelry . . . Brother of Owney Madden, prohibition era boss of the Harlem underworld, facing deportation charges . . . Immigration officials checking into the activities of a well-known Harlem lawyer.

Mary Cunningham

Mayor Robert Wagner's appearance at the Club 66 dance Friday night, was a gesture of oldtime friendship. He ignored requests to the Beaux Arts Ball and three political dances to attend . . . The union official and chorine Barbara Velasco say they didn't agree on the return of her furs. They say "the furs will fly" in this case . . . Dr. Ralph Bunche will be the principal speaker at the Men's Day celebration of Abyssinia Baptist Church on Feb. 28th . . . Don't go feeling too sorry for Paul Robeson, he still makes $600 at each left-wing rally he appears at. Incidentally, he and wife are feuding.

COMMENT OF WEEK:

"Far too many of today's Mrs. are really Miss, and too many self-styled Misses are Mrs. Anybody miss the point?"

TUNE TIME:

If I were a disk jockey and could dedicate certain popular tunes to some of the people making front-page headlines, my choices might go something like this:

To the W. C. Handys, "That's Amour"; From Charles Banks to his heiress wife, Helen, "I Can't Give You Anything But Love"; To the young son of Elinor Ohms, L. I. blonde beauty, whose paternity is still in doubt, "Oh My Papa"; To Billy Eckstine and Carole Drake Faulkner, "Secret Love"; To Mary Cunningham, "Such A Night"; To quartet singer Charles Fuqua, "Changing Partners"; to political leader Herbert Bruce, "I Don't Want No Substitute"; to the Harlem underworld kingpins, "Black Coffee Polka"; and to songstress Dorothy Dandridge, "My Love, My Love."

POLITICAL POTPURRI:

Councilman Earl Brown was elected to the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union at its meeting last week . . . Atty. William T. Andrews, former state Assemblyman, slated for a judgeship this summer . . . . Rev. David N. Licorish, assistant pastor of Abyssinia Baptist Church, was sworn into a non-salaries, honorary post as an assistant Deputy Commissioner of Boro Works last Monday in full fanfare by Boro Prexy Hulan Jack. Uptown political boys are smiling under their sleeves at this one as he is still carried on the same office's payroll as an $1,800

David Licorish

Continued on PAGE 21

The Afro-American, February 27, 1954

WHAT AFRO READERS SAY ....

'I wholly disapprove of what you say but will defend to the death your right to say it.'—Voltaire on Helvetius

MR. ROBESON EXPLAINS

New York — I just came across an item in Mr. Mackay's "News in Tabloid" column of Jan. 23, 1954 which stated that: "Paul Robeson carried a quarter page ad in Pravda, official Soviet newspaper, to extend New Year's greetings to the Russian people."

I know you will print the facts. For no paper do I have deeper respect than for the AFRO-AMERICAN.

Pravda has no ads of any kind at anytime.

The AFRO in December asked me to write a message about the segregated school cases. The message was printed in the Jan. 9 issue, together with messages from Mrs. Bethune, Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, Dr. Channing Tobias and others.

Well, in the same, I was asked by Pravda to send a message about the attitudes of the American people toward peace—peace, which the Soviet people so deeply desire.

Distinguished writers, clerics, scholars, cultural figures from all over the world were also asked and responded. (You may also recall, as was noted in the AFRO, that I am a member of the World Peace Council and a recent recipient of the International Stalin Peace Award.)

I was happy to answer Pravda's request. For peace, not war, is the only answer for a civilized world. And I was happy to convey New Year's greetings to the Soviet people, for whom I have deep respect and affection. That's the true story.

PAUL ROBESON

POLIO DRIVE HELPED

New York — Thanks to the cooperation of the AFRO, the task of reaching our quota in the March of Dimes and the Mother's March was made easier.

Volunteers came in to offer their services each time a release was published. Again thanks from the staff of the Greater New York March of Dimes, the Harlem women, Mrs. Georgiana Werner and Ella M. Stevens, who worked so hard, and myself.

JEROME BEIGEL

52 WEEKS NEEDED

Los Angeles — Once more Negro History Week has found us going through the motions of "catching up" on our past and present achievements.

There were the usual programs, where speakers, singers and other participants held forth in grand style. This is all well and good but is this enough?

How many of us have a single bookshelf at home, where the works of colored authors can be found?

How many of us ever ask for them at the library? How many of us know that our true, unbiased history is not to be found in our schools and colleges?

How many of us read, and encourage our children to read, the inspiring books of such great historians as Carter G. Woodson, George William, William Ferris, J. A. Rogers and others?

How many of us realize that the true knowledge of our great history through the ages, will give us race pride, [illegible]f-confidence and courage [illegible] face the future?

What we need is [illegible] Negro History Week, [illegible] every year.

AND [illegible] AF

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1954.

PUBLISHER ATTACKED BY A MOSCOW PAPER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Feb. 27—The newspaper Literary Gazette, organ of the Union of Soviet writers, published an attack today on Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of The New York Times, charging that he favored increasing the United States export of "ideological rubbish."

The Literary Gazette's criticism was directed against an address Mr. Sulzberger made before the Economic Club of Detroit, in which he supported a policy of wider efforts to carry out what he described as the export of American culture and American ideas.

The newspaper charged that Mr. Sulzberger was interested in what it called "the export of ideological rubbish" rather than a genuine cultural interchange between the United States and other countries.

It suggested that what was really needed was to lift the bars on foreign travel for such figures as Paul Robeson and Howard Fast and to remove the ban on free circulation in the United States of literature and published materials originating in the Soviet Union and the "people's democracies."

The Literary Gazette charged that "reactionary circles" in the United States were opposed to opening a cultural exchange with the Soviet Union because they knew this would lead to a lessening of international tensions and thus "tend toward liquidation of the cold war."

In his speech before the Economic Club of Detroit last September, Mr. Sulzberger said the skillful communication of democratic ideas, rather than sheer weight of armaments or economic power, was the ultimate safeguard of a free society.

"We must somehow make that common man—in Europe, in the Middle East, in Latin America, in India, in Africa—yes, why yes, in China and behind the Iron Curtain, too—comprehend what we stand for, what we want for ourselves, and why what we want for ourselves does not adversely affect him and may even help him," he said.

"Where we have failed in some places has been in communicating basic American ideas and ideals overseas along with our dollars and our armament, and I fear this has happened because we have not sufficiently understood our neighbors' problems and have attempted to deliver our way of life all neatly packed according to our own specifications."

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463 RUSSIANS IN THE U. S.

They Outnumber Americans in Soviet by 4 to 1

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27 (UP)—The State Department disclosed today that Soviet citizens living in the United States outnumbered by almost four to one the Americans in the Soviet Union.

Latest statistics showed that 463 officials, representatives of Soviet organizations and their wives and children lived in the United States on Jan. 1. Six months earlier there were 388. Department records showed that 121 Americans lived in the Soviet on Jan. 1. Six months before, 103 United States citizens were in the Soviet.

Of the Americans in the Soviet, all but three were Government officials and their dependents. The three non-Government residents include two correspondents and a Roman Catholic priest.

SUN - REPORTER
SAT MARCH 13, 1954

Music Around the Bay

By WILLIAM DUNCAN ALLEN
1645 Fairview, Berkeley, HU 3-0255

Soloist in last week's San Francisco Symphony Concerts was the young pianist, EUGENE ISTOMIN, who proved himself a superb artist in the Beethoven Fourth Piano Concerto. His flawless technique was in complete support of lyric beauty of the composition and the cheering audiences forced him to return again and again to receive their plaudits. Conductor ENRIQUE JORDA and the Symphony accredited themselves particularly in Haydn's "Surprise Symphony" and Delius' "Walk To the Paradise Garden."

The first half of EUGENE GASH's piano program Sunday was as Gothic as the beautiful Berkeley Women's Club Bldg. in which he played. The young pianist's technique and musical insight were thoroughly adequate to meet the demands of Busoni's transcription of Bach's mighty Chaconne, and Beethoven's majestic A flat Sonata, Op. 110. With consumate artistry he easily continued into the appropriate styles of the four Debussy Preludes and Chopin's romantic B minor Sonata. An enthusiastic audience demanded encores. This was a repetition of Gash's Town Hall recital presented in January in New York City.

MUSIC CALENDAR

Ballet Theatre, Thursday evening at 8:20 and Saturday afternoon at 2:30 at the San Francisco Opera House.

"Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci" Friday evening at 8:20 by the Cosmopolitan Opera Co., also at the Opera House.

WILLIAM WARFIELD, baritone, will be heard Friday evening by subscribers of the San Leandro Community Concert Assn. The debut recital at New York's Town Hall by this singer was widely heralded a few seasons back as outstanding. He has recently appeared in the current version of Kern's "Showboat."

ACCOMPANYING—A CAREER!

"Why is it that all Negro singers have white accompanists?" someone recently inquired.

Often when this question arose in conversations during the past decade, I refrained from a frank and detailed answer. In attempting to satisfy my questioner the other day, I corrected her first by stating that not all of "our" singers have white accompanists. Yet when we compiled a list of one dozen Negro singers who may be considered top box-office attractions (artist who are under contract with the leading concert agencies), only two of the twelve, to our knowledge, are traveling with regularly engaged race accompanists. Of these twelve, one has had his former extensive and lucrative touring cut down to a minimum because of the present national political hysteria. Three of this list of singers formerly had Negro accompanists.

The question presents many problems. If democracy worked one hundred per cent in this country and we abided in a constitutional Utopia with all racial and minority groups accorded equal opportunity, there would be little or no feeling as to the racial identity of one artist or another in any team or group. The services of a qualified Negro accompanist might be readily required by a leading singer or instrumentalist, white or colored, male or female. But let us soberly reflect upon public reaction if even on the stage of New York's Carnegie Hall a Lily Pons or a Helen Traubel appeared from the wings followed by a Negro accompanist, regardless of his qualifications! As for the concert being repeated elsewhere in the country there would be few metropolitan cities even north of the Mason and Dixon line where it would be tolerated; a fact that does not compliment too much the Negro woman singer who can sing with impunity anywhere in the country with a white male accompanist.

From the point of view of the aspiring, struggling Negro piano students especially those who would like to make accompanying a career, it is most disheartening and discouraging. Two out of twelve first rank Negro singers are traveling with Negro accompanist, a mere 16 2-3%. In New York City, music capital of the world, where a dozen and more second and even third rate singers struggle annually to raise the financial capital for a concert debut, the percentage of those engaging Negro accompanists is no higher, and possibly lower.

Is it because there are no qualified Negro pianists? Absolutely not! MORE ON THIS NEXT WEEK.

The Afro-American, March 13, 1954

PAUL ROBESON WRITING BOOK:

Blasts journalistic critics in statement

NEW YORK — "I have shouted and shall continue to shout at the top of my voice for liberation, full emancipation —yes by 1963 (a full hundred years after the bloodstained promise) but before 1963, now, if possible."

That assertion was made last week by Paul Robeson, noted baritone and international crusader, in a statement blasting some of his journalistic critics. He added:

"I happen to be working on a book which will answer many of the questions asked me from time to time."

Gave Up His Career

He said he "gave up his career as such to enter the struggle for freedom at another level. Since then, I have fought uncompromisingly for the full citizenship of my people."

His aim is to help in securing "full justice for the working people and the long - suffering sharecroppers, colored and white, for the intellectual and cultural freedom of the scientists, scholars and artists of our precious but beleagured land.

"And to help attain these goals, I fight for peace and friendship among the nations of the earth.

"As for my political faith, all peoples have within their ranks differences of opinion. Certainly among no people is this clearer than among the colored folk of these United States.

"We had a Denmark Vesey, a martyr to our cause. We also had his opposite, the handkerchief - head who handed him over to the 'massa.'

He'll 'Never Turn Back'

"I know of no force on this earth that can make me retreat one - thousandth part of an inch from my firm, well - considered, repeatedly declared and fully, openly lived beliefs.

"As one of the great songs of my people says: 'I never will turn back — I will go — I shall go to see what the end will be.'"

THE TORCH—Saturday, April 2, 1955

Paul Robeson Invited To England

"Reynolds News" To Sponsor Concert

PAUL ROBESON, the internationally famed artist, announced that he has accepted an invitation to appear in England at a series of concerts celebrating the Silver Jubilee Anniversary of the British Workers' Sports Association. The British Workers' Sports Association functions under the auspices of the British Trade Union Congress and the British Labor Party.

The invitation also carried with it the request for Mr. Robeson to appear in concert on May 1 at the London Adelphi Theatre. This concert is being sponsored by "Reynolds News," the official organ of the British co-operative movement. The invitation was signed by Dave Curtis, General Secretary of the British Workers' Sports Association, and included among the co-signers Tom O'Brien, General Secretary of the National Association of Theatrical and Kine Employees and George Elvin, General Secretary of the Association of Cine Technicians.

In replying to the communication, Mr. Robeson said, "Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to accept your invitation . . . I have a deep interest in all sports developments . . . Since my days as an All-American football player at Rutgers University I have had a continuing interest in sports. Particularly am I pleased that the Adelphi Theatre concert is to aid the International Fund, the purpose of which is to assist and encourage the visit of British workers' teams and cultural groups to other countries. Such exchange undoubtedly helps to promote friendship and understanding among peoples."

Mr. Paul Robeson

The famous athlete, scholar, actor and singer mentioned in his reply that the Silver Jubilee Anniversary coinsides with his own thirtieth anniversary as a singer and actor. He said that many friends in the United States have indicated that they will mark this occasion in many ways throughout the year.

In announcing that he had accepted the invitation, Mr. Robeson again called attention to the fact that since 1950, the U.S. State Department has continued its refusal to renew his passport. A suit is now pending in Federal Court.

"However," said Mr. Robeson, "I consider this invitation of such importance that I am exploring all available avenues in order to fulfill these engagements. To me the sponsorship of these concerts by a sports Association under the auspices of the Trade Union Congress and the British Labor Party as well as the official organ of the British co-operative movement is significant evidence of the united desire of the majority of British people to have me continue my long personal association with them. This is very heartening. I look forward to the time when a similar united expression takes place in these United States to guarantee for all people the right to travel without arbitrary restrictions."

5/13/54

Paul Robeson Answers Charges That He Has Changed His Views

NEW YORK—"Various newspaper columnists, radio commentators and magazines are now spreading the fantastic slander that Paul Robeson is 'changing his views.' Well, liars will continue to lie, and it's a sad but true fact that nowadays American manufacturers lead the world in the production and distribution of every variety of falsehood—including, as we have just seen in Washington, 'doctored' photographs.

"But let me say this for the record:

"The very essence of my life and work is loyalty to my convictions. I am, as I have been for many years, firmly and fully devoted to the struggle for peace and democracy throughout the world, for Negro liberation and colonial freedom, for friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, new China, and the people's democracies of Europe. The interests of the working people of every land are my guiding principle, and I know of no force that can make me change.

"As for those who are telling the public that I have changed my mind, I might ask: 'How stupid can you get?' Is the struggle for peace less meaningful today when Dulles threatens momentarily to throw the H-bomb—and bring retaliation in kind upon our own heads? Is it thinkable that Paul Robeson, winner of the International Stalin Peace Prize, would ever cease for a moment in his efforts in the sacred cause of peace?

"Am I, one of the three men awarded the title of 'Champion of African Freedom' in 1950, expected to ignore in 1954 the continuing massacre of my brothers in Kenya And here in America—is Jim Crow dead and buried? Has Congress passed the anti-lynching law or F.E.P.C.? Has my people's demand for economic, political and social equality been granted? If not, why should Paul Robeson, who has dedicated his life to the struggle for these goals, change his mind about them now?

"The fact is, every day brings new proof that the great cause of peace and liberation, in which I am inseparably united with the vast majority of mankind, is invinsible. The doom of imperialism has been sounded in all of Asia, and soon Africa and the other colonial lands now straining against their chains, will rise in mighty freedom.

"And here at home, it's beginning to look as if those who want to 'go it alone' into a new world war can't count on having the American people go with them—and everybody else has already said no.

"Change my mind? Gentlemen of the press, you'd better change yours, because what I believe in—is happening!"

THE PEOPLE

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ကမ္ဘာကျော် အဆိုတော်
ပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်

အမေရိကန်ပြည်နယ်သူးရေ့ာမြို့မှ ပြည်နယ်ဆိုင်ရာပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်အား နိုင်ငံကူးလက်မှတ် ထုတ်ပေးရေးလှုံ့ဆော် တောင်းဆိုမှုကော်မီတီက ကမ္ဘာ အရပ်ရပ်ရှိ ပြည်သူတကာတို့အားပန်ကြားလွှာတစောင် ထုတ်ပြန်လိုက်ကြောင်း။

၄ နှစ်ကြာပြီ

ထိုပန်ကြားလွှာတွင် ကမ္ဘာ့အဆိုကျော်ကြီးပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်အား အမေရိကန်ပြည်ထောင်စုအစိုးရက နိုင်ငံကူး လက်မှတ်များထုတ်ပေးရန် ငြင်းဆို ထားသည်မှာ ၄ နှစ်မျှ ကြာခဲ့ပြီဆိုကြောင်း၊

ထမင်းငတ်၍သေစေရန်

နိုင်ငံကူးလက်မှတ် ထုတ်ပေးရန်ငြင်းဆိုရုံသာမကသေး၊ဓါတ်ပြားသွင်းခြင်း၊ ရုပ်မြင်သံကြားအသံလွှင့်ခြင်း၊ ရေဒီယိုမှ သီဆိုခြင်း၊ ရုပ်ရှင်ရိုက်ခြင်း။ကဇာတ် ပြဇာတ်တို့၌ပါဝင်ကပြခြင်းများအာလုံးကိုသည်းပိတ်ပင်ထားမြစ်ထားခဲ့သေးကြောင်း။

နိုင်ငံတကာမှဘိတ်ကြားချက်

သို့အတွက်ကမ္ဘာ့အဆိုကျော်နီဂရိုးအမျိုးသားကြီး ပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်သည်၊ အသက်မွေးဝမ်းကြောင်းအတွက် နိုင်ငံခြားကုမ္ပဏီများမှခေါ်ယူချက်၊ပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်၏ ထူးခြားသောအသံနှင့် အမေရိကန် ယဉ်ကျေးမှုကို ထိန်းသိမ်းသော တေးဂီတသီချင်းများသီဆိုလှည့်ပါ၊ငြိမ်းချမ်းရေးနှင့်လွတ်လပ်ရေးသီချင်းများ၊သီဆိုလှည့်ပါဟုအနိုင်နိုင်ငံမှဘိတ်ကြားချက်များကို သွားရောက် လိုသည်ဆိုကြောင်း။

ပြည်သူ့အဆိုကျော်ကြီး၏အသံ

သို့ရာတွင် အမေရိကန်အစိုးရက နိုင်ငံကူးလက်မှတ်များ ထုတ်မပေးသဖြင့် ထိုကော်မတီက ပြည်သူတကာအား အနုပညာသည်ကြီး၏တေးဂီတများကိုကမ္ဘာက ကြားခွင့်ရရန်ဝိုင်းဝန်းလုပ်ဆောင်ကြပါဟု တိုက်တွန်းထားကြောင်း၊

စာဖြင့်ကြေးနန်းဖြင့်

ထိုကော်မီတီက အမေရိကန် အစိုးရထံသို့တိုက်ရိုက်ဖြစ်စေ၊မိမိတို့နိုင်ငံရှိ အမေရိကန်သံရုံးများသို့ ဖြစ်စေ စာနှင့်၎င်း၊ ကြေးနန်းဖြင့်၎င်း၊ ပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်အသံကို ကြားလိုပါသည်၊မချုပ်ချယ်ပါနှင့်၊ နိုင်ငံကူးလက်မှတ်ထုတ်ပေးပါဟု တောင်းဆိုခြင်းများ ပြုကြပါရန်မေတ္တာရပ်ခံထားကြောင်း။

မိတ္တူများပို့ပါ

ထိုကဲ့သို့ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်အနေ၊ အသင်းအဖွဲ့အနေဖြင့်တောင်းဆိုရေးသားပေးပို့ကြလျှင်၎င်းတို့ထံသို့လည်း၊ မိတ္တူတစောင် ပို့ပေးပါရန်မေတ္တာရပ်ခံထားကြောင်း။ ၎င်းတို့၏ လိပ်စာမှာ—

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မန္တလေးမြို့အတောင်တရာ့ငါးဆယ်ဝင်းနေ ပွဲခွန်တော်ဌာနမှအင်စပိတ်တော်ကိုလေးမောင်၏နေအိမ်ဝင်းတံခါးကို မေလ ၂၃ရက်နေ့နံနက် ၁၂နာရီခွဲအချိန် ကိုလေးမောင်၏ယောက္ခမ တော်သူ မောင်သွင်ဆိုသူက အရက်များမူးယစ်၍ ကျော်နင်း ဝင်ရောက်ကာအိမ်ရှိမှန်တံခါးကိုတုတ်နှင့်ရိုက်ခွဲလျက် ဆူပူသောင်းကျန်းနေသဖြင့် အောင်တော်မူရဲဌာနသို့အကြောင်းကြားရာ ဌာနမှ ပုဒ်မ၄၅၀ အရ လက်ခံအရေးယူကာ မောင်သွင်အားဖမ်းဆီးလိုက်ကြောင်း။

—o—

မြစ်နီ မြစ်ဝကျွန်းပေါ် ဒေသစစ်အခြေ အနေ

ယန္တံ့ုင်တောင်ဘက် ၃၅မိုင်အကွာတွင် အပြင်းအထန်တိုက်ပွဲဖြစ်ပွားနေခြင်း၊ အခြေအနေ လာရောက်

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August 27, 1954 Vol. 8, No. 35

Canadian Radio Attacks U.S. Congressional Committees

The terrible double standard of our time (something is good when it favors a pro-Communist cause, it's bad when it favors anti-Communism) was just given an eye-and-ear-opening demonstration among our good neighbors to the north in Canada. The demonstration starts with a successful Canadian radio script writer, Reuben Ship, who has written material in this country for "The Life of Riley" and other radio programs. But Mr. Ship, like a man he indicates he admires, Charlie Chaplin, has his serious side too.

On Sept 24, 1951, the Montreal-born Mr. Ship appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, then engaged in investigating Communism in the motion picture industry. Here he invoked the Fifth Amendment (which protects aliens as well as U.S. citizens) when questioned about Communist Party membership while in America from 1943 on. Ship was equally uninformative about why he had not followed through on becoming a U.S. citizen after taking the first step to naturalization in 1944. Instead he made a speech charging that the committee was preparing "a climate here that is conducive to war", and that it branded supporters of peace as subversives. Later, in 1952 and 1953, three people testified before the Committee and identified Ship as a Communist Party member. Ship was ordered deported from the U.S. in Jan '53.

Back in Canada there was apparently little concern as to his possible connection with the Communist Party, since he was recently able to present a political radio play over the facilities of the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. Here's where the double standard really went into action. The play, titled "The Investigator", was an attack against a United States Senator - McCarthy, of Wisconsin, of course. It was obvious enough to draw the praise of the Communist press. (In the play an investigator goes to heaven to "grill" such "unorthodox thinkers" as Tom Paine, John Stuart Mill and Socrates. This is a familiar Party-line tactic, too: equating historical figures with Communists and grouping both as merely "unorthodox" or "non-conformist").

When a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Frank Lennard, raised some questions about Reuben Ship and his past activities, he got this answer from Revenue Minister Dr. J.J. McCann:

> "The CBC reports that a play entitled 'The Investigator' was broadcast last Sunday evening. The script was submitted by an outside writer and was accepted on the basis of its interest and dramatic entertainment value. The CBC does not hold itself responsible regarding the personal or political connections of outside writers who may submit scripts. The corporation does, of course, take the responsibility for accepting and broadcasting any given script."

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A. E. Cullen, Vice-President; L. F. Budenz, Contributing Editor.

For asking his questions, MP Frank Lennard was roundly criticized as an opponent of freedom of expression. The Party press in the U.S. echoed certain Canadian publications in calling Lennard a "Tory termite" and one of the "Tory witch hunters". But that's only one side of the double standard.

Here's the other side: when an American author, Victor Lasky, merely repeated the fact that testimony before a Congressional Committee indicated Communist agents had a pipeline into the Washington Office of Canadian official Lester Pearson during World War II, the roof fell in. Lasky was castigated bitterly, here and in Canada, for daring to discuss a Canadian official. Yet here is what Reuben Ship is quoted as saying in Canada--while all those who slapped Lasky just sit on their hands:

> "I wrote a play attacking the injustice, immorality and dangers of freedom of thought in witchhunting investigations...That was my sole purpose in writing this play...I'm shocked to learn that a member of parliament would question the desirability of broadcasting a play of merit and popularity solely because of the alleged political beliefs of the author, particularly because these allegations were made, not by a Canadian official but the type of American investigating committee which Canadian opinion has condemned. I'm wondering if McCarthyism has finally come to Canada."

Actually, it isn't a problem of Canadian imports - aside from Reuben Ship himself - but a question of what is already at work in Canada. This is the standard which says that no private American citizen can comment on who had access to Canadian officialdom in wartime Washington but that it is perfectly proper for the Government-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corp to present a play directly attacking a United States Senator and all Congressional investigating committees. And, apparently it's even more proper if the play is authored by a man identified as a Communist, found undesirable and deported from the U.S.

"Counterattack" Corrects An Error

In the issue of Aug 6, 1954, "Counterattack" reported on certain individuals acting as the U.S. representatives of the Soviet and its satellites. Through an oversight that "Counterattack" regrets, the names of two individuals were included which were not intended for publication and should not have appeared. These individuals are Anthony O. Shallna, 395 W. Broadway, South Boston 27, Mass., and Robert H. Law, Jr., 175 Main Street, White Plains, N.Y.

Mr. Shallna represents the Government of Lithuania and the Lithuanian Legation while Mr. Law is the representative of the Legation of Latvia. These are the pre-1939 and legitimate governments of Lithuania and Latvia whose overthrow and annexation by Soviet Russia has never been recognized by the United States. As a result Mr. Shallna and Mr. Law are still recognized by the U.S. government and their credentials are in full force and effect.

The Latvian and Lithuanian legations themselves continue to oppose the aims and designs of the Soviet and its satellites and to work for the restoration of their rightful governments. In this they have been ably assisted by Mr. Shallna and Mr. Law. "Counterattack" regrets the error made and takes this opportunity to set the record straight.

"Counterattack" Preview

To satisfy the request of many readers, "Counterattack" is glad to announce that it will publish in a forthcoming issue the entire roster of organizations currently designated by the Attorney General of the United States in connection with the Federal Employee Security Program. Also in the near future, "Counterattack" will begin a series on the Communist Party press in America. This series will list the Red newspapers, magazines, and book publishers, together with exclusive background information on who runs and writes these publications, plus an analysis of the role of the Party press.

Commie-Led Union's Film Wins Red Award

The movie "Salt of the Earth" shared the Grand Prize with a Soviet film in the eighth International Film Festival held in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, in July. The film was made by former Hollywood figures Herbert Biberman, Michael Wilson and Paul Jarrico, all identified as Communist Party members. Members of Local 890, of the Red-led International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers joined in producing and acting in the film. ("Counterattack", 4/2/54)

Rosaura Revueltas, Mexican star of "Salt of the Earth" was deported to Mexico by U.S. Immigration authorities while the film was being produced at Silver City, N.M. She turned up in Czechoslovakia to accept the Festival award on her way back from a visit to the Soviet Union. The Party Press reported she had seen the complete version of the film for the first time in Moscow. "Salt of the Earth" had a first showing in Canada on Aug 9 and is winding up a 14 week stand in Los Angeles.

Negro Actor Declares Opposition to Communism and its Fronts

In December 1953, "Counterattack" reported that the name of actor William Marshall was appearing conspiciously in Communist front movements--particularly those set up to entice Negroes and theatre personalities. Alerted by this report, William Marshall has given "Counterattack" a detailed explanation of how he came to be involved in these activities. He does not deny these reports and says frankly that on these occasions he was influenced only by the stated aims of the groups. He says he did not think at all of the background or political implications of the groups. Typical of this type of situation was his presence at a meeting of the Committee to Save the Martinsville Seven. As William Marshall now says: "I am sure now that the Communist Party exploited this situation to the hilt. For my part, I was only interested in seeing justice done -- not in politics." On other occasions, Marshall performed before groups which he did not know had been cited as Communist fronts at the time. Had he known, he says, he would not have appeared. Finally, William Marshall declares that:

> "I know no other country outside of the United States and my loyalties are to the U.S.A., and to my sister and brother Americans - black and white."
>
> "I am not, have never been, and never intend to be a part of any party that works against or subverts the principles of the U.S. government and specifically, I am not, nor have I ever been a member, nor have I ever subscribed to the basic

> aims of the Communist Party or any organization being used by the Communist Party as an instrument for its subversive ideology and gains."

Impractical and naive as some of William Marshall's past actions may seem to many, his experience does serve to throw a very real problem into sharper perspective. As he says of his profession:

> "There are few opportunities for a Negro artist to work in his craft in any area of the entertainment industry. I am opposed to discrimination for I have felt its effect in my efforts to obtain work in my craft."

There is the problem. It has to be faced. As long as it exists, and whether it is real or imagined in any given case, Communism will find a fertile field for raising fronts and sowing disaffection among leading Negro artists and entertainers.

But, while it is a problem, it's also a marvelous opportunity to take the play away from the comrades and demonstrate to the entire world that the free American system has the means, and its believers have the will, to correct any wrongs which do unhappily exist.

What can be done? The first steps are being taken: Recently four theatre groups joined forces to widen opportunities for Negro actors in the theatre. The groups are Actors Equity, Chorus Equity, the Dramatists Guild, and the League of New York Theatres which set forth their aims in a recent statement.

But more can be done and "Counterattack" suggests that the American business and advertising community do its share. Let's have the great corporations who sponsor the many leading radio and TV shows lend their help in strengthening the American theatre and arts, and in particular to help broaden the opportunities for talented Negro artists and entertainers faced with any stifling problem of discrimination. Above all, let's have a barrier against further intrusion of CP fronts in the theatre.

What You Can Do To Combat Communism: Write to the following:

Mr. F.R. Gamble, Pres.
American Association of Advertising Agencies
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Mr. Paul B. West, Pres.
Association of National Advertisers
285 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Urge them to use the influence of their organizations to enlist the American business community in a campaign to check Communist influence in the arts; and to develop opportunities for talented people of every race and creed.

N. Y. AGE DEFENDER
Sat., Sept. 18, 1954

ONCE OVER Lightly

By Arnold De Mille

NEW YORK — Rumors are coming from several quarters these days that Paul Robeson would definitely like to cut his ties with his commie comrades, but is prohibited from doing so by his wife and son.

We have been hearing these reports for the past six months or so. Most of them have come out of Harlem and E. Harlem, where much of the communists' activities in recent months have been directed.

This time the rumor came out of halls of the United Nations headquarters, no less. Mrs. Paul Robeson is assigned to the UN and is on constant watch. She never misses a trick nor flubs a cue to appraise the work of the Russians or latch on to a stinging phrase thrown out by one of the satellite countries attacking the United States.

But despite these persistent reports, we were told last week by a close associate of the one-time great singer that he has heard these reports himself and only laughs at them.

We were also told that while advocator of the Soviet Union and her ideology, and an outspoken "champion for Negro rights, freedom and liberty," he has never claimed to be a member of the Communist Party, has never denounced the American Constitution, and has never refuted the American flag.

Our informant tells us that he, himself, while one of the editors of Robeson's magazine "Freedom," is not and has never been a commie. He does, however, believe that the commies should have the same right as other religious and political groups to freedom of speech, have their own political beliefs and enjoy the same freedoms as other citizens. And he will join in the fight to help such persons to preserve that right, he said.

We hear from another source, too, that Robeson in recent months has become the picture of a lonesome man who seems to be lost in the midst of a crowded hall. The only public place he is seen often now is in Mother Zion's AMEZ church on West 137th st., where his brother is the pastor.

"It is pathetic to see a man who was once a great artist sit almost always alone in a big church with few people venturing to talk to him," we are told. "So many people look at him like he is plagued with some dreaded desease. Pathetic, indeed."

We understand even further that it is now extremely difficult for Robeson to find an auditorium where he can display the singing voice America once raved about and loved. The only place free of suspicion in New York that is now open to him for a concert is his brother's church, and we hear there are mixed emotions there.

How true it is, we cannot say, but we are informed that Robeson is a lonely man when he walks the streets. The once enthusiastic crowds that later turned into curious ones are no longer enthusiastic or curious. They pass him, look at him, but pass him. No cheering voices to ring in his ears.

The demands for him to either speak or sing are now fewer and farther between. Since he is such a well-known and familiar figure, even the Party boys are not too anxious to be seen with him anymore for fear of being identified, we are told.

Until about 10 months ago the activities of the Party were being systematically shifted from the headquarters on West 125th st. to other underground quarters, but there was still some activity centered around Robeson and his paper. But when the Harlem headquarters were closed and some of the boys moved to East Harlem, a number of Robeson's followers and associates were left without a base of operation and had to run for cover.

Just what effect all this has had on Robeson is difficult to determine. But apparently the recent crackdown on the Party and its members has left him stranded with no place to go.

A member of the UN staff who still admires him for the great artist he once was, said, "Wouldn't it be wonderful if it turns out that after all these years Paul Robeson was, after all, an agent for this country."

Be it as it may, Paul Robeson today is a man who walks alone.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1954.

A DOOR OPENS

Marian Anderson's Engagement by 'Met' Should Help Other Negro Singers

By OLIN DOWNES

THE announcement of the Metropolitan Opera Association for the season of 1954-55 that makes history is not that of a new opera or a loudly trumpeted production. It is that of the engagement of Marian Anderson, the distinguished Negro contralto who will make her first appearance in America's leading lyric theatre as Ulrica in Verdi's "Masked Ball," under the direction of Dimitri Mitropoulos. And Mr. Mitropoulos will make his first Metropolitan appearance as the conductor of that performance.

The engagement of Miss Anderson is a tardy tribute to her rank and achievement as an artist of international fame. The engagement comes late—at least fifteen years late. Miss Anderson's beautiful voice is not now in its prime. But we need not fear for the distinction of her performance. What is lost today in sheer vocal opulence is replaced by her authority and sensitiveness as an interpreter. What is to be discovered is her ability as an actress and dramatic interpreter on the stage, in an opera that she has never seen in performance on the stage of any opera house.

First Time

This will be Miss Anderson's first appearance not only at the Metropolitan but on the operatic stage. She has sung in most of the great concert halls of the world. Opera, until this time, has been a dream. Now the way has been opened for her in dramatic music. The public of the greatest opera house in America will await eagerly the appearance of the singer who in years past has more than once been refused permission to appear in celebrated auditoriums for reasons other than art. On her part, she has declined to sing in some auditoriums where segregation was in force.

This year Rudolf Bing asked if Miss Anderson would be available for a number of Metropolitan appearances. It is characteristic of this singer's high intelligence and artistic scruple that Miss Anderson waited until she had found out to her own satisfaction and that of Mr. Mitropoulos that the Ulrica part would suit the range and quality of her voice before signing the contract.

Miss Anderson's first appearance in opera is also the first appearance in the seventy-one years that have elapsed since the Metropolitan opened its doors in 1883 that a Negro singer has appeared on its stage in a principal rôle as a regular member of the company. Perhaps the most important aspect of her engagement is its effect upon the fortunes of other singers of her race. In other theatres than the Metropolitan many Negro artists have appeared, as at the City Center, where composers, singers and instrumentalists have repeatedly been engaged, including Lawrence Winters, Camilla Williams, and William Grant Still, the composer of the opera "The Troubled Island," given its première there in 1949. It is only at the Metropolitan that the white tradition, as one might call it, has endured up to the present day, although some years ago Mr. Bing brought in Janet Collins, a Negro dancer, to be the prima ballerina.

Behind the Times

How far that policy is behind the times is obvious if one merely glances at the programs of recent seasons, and the very important share that gifted Negro singers had in them. If it is fifteen years late for Miss Anderson to be recognized by the Metropolitan, it is as many years since it would have been appropriate for such a singer as Paul Robeson to make his appearance there. We do not speak here of Mr. Robeson's politics. We speak of his exceptional endowments as a singer and a dramatic interpreter. He could have been a highly impressive Boris, or Mefistofele, or Emperor Jones—the part that Lawrence Tibbett made famous in opera, and in which he achieved what we have always regarded as perhaps Mr. Tibbett's greatest individual impersonation. The character waited for such an artist as Robeson to give it a unique integration.

But other Negro singers, especially those of a younger generation, are with us. How about the young and exceptionally gifted coloratura soprano, Mattiwilda Dobbs, who has sung at La Scala and at Glyndebourne? Her concert appearance in Town Hall last season fully supported the praise that she had received in opera houses abroad. Here, one would say, was a possible Queen of the Night in Mozart's "Magic Flute" who would certainly have surpassed some other singers who have taken that role at the Metropolitan Opera in seasons gone by.

An admirable baritone who already has made his mark in recital, in choral concerts and with orchestras, including his appearance last April with the Philadelphia Orchestra, should be excellent operatic material—we mean William Warfield. He and his wife, Leontyne Price, have made themselves internationally known with the "Porgy and Bess" touring opera company. Carol Brice, Roland Hayes in his youth, when a lyrical tenor part such as Don Ottavio or perhaps Des Grieux would not have been outside his vocal and dramatic range of effective interpretation, are other names that come immediately to mind, of a list that is far from complete of Negro singers whose talent should not be or have been absent from our opera stages.

But there will not be such hiatuses in our opera casts much longer. If Miss Anderson is the first Negro singer to appear at the Metropolitan she certainly will not be the last. Mr. Bing's fearless action in engaging her has forever dismissed the taboo against Negroes on the Metropolitan stage. His statement of policy in this regard was of the most admirable simplicity. "I wouldn't hire anyone because he is a Negro, and I wouldn't refuse to hire anyone because he is a Negro, either." It would be purely whether a singer was or was not right for a role.

Aspiration

"Ever since one was in high school," said Miss Anderson, in her characteristic third person phraseology, "one wanted to sing opera — at the Metropolitan if that could be." Employing the same grammatical construction, it can be said that one thinks of many a Negro singer, whose presence might enrich Metropolitan casts, for whom Miss Anderson's engagement will pave the way. It will hardly be considered a mature point of view, in the light of her achievement and that of other artists of her race, to reject contributions of intelligence and talent and character to the culture of America.

NEW WORLD Review

OCTOBER
1954

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AMERICANS SEE THE USSR FOR THEMSELVES

Baltic Revisited • UN Step-Child and Favorite

NEW WORLD *Review*

OCTOBER 1954

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OUR COVERS Lily Golden (center), daughter of an American Negro, now lives in the USSR. She is shown with her Russian school friends. Photos in this issue are by Sovfoto.

JESSICA SMITH, *Editor*
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ESLANDA ROBESON
Editorial Consultant on Negro and Colonial Questions

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For Those Who Can't Attend

OBVIOUSLY it is impossible for all our readers to attend our dinner honoring Eslanda and Paul Robeson.

But knowing you the way we do, we are sure that you all join us in paying tribute to the Robesons for their matchless contributions to a better America and a peaceful world.

We would like, however, to address a few words to those of you who will be unable to attend the dinner.

Briefly, we are asking you to help us continue our work for peace through better world understanding by sending us a contribution equivalent to the coast of a dinner ticket—or more!

We need not tell you how desperately we are in need of funds, and how welcome such a contribution would be.

Won't you please send in your contribution today?

- -

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I am enclosing $ as my contribution to help you continue your work for peace through better world understanding.

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To Eslanda and Paul Robeson

OUR MAGAZINE is proud indeed of the privilege of holding a dinner on October 14 honoring Eslanda and Paul Robeson for their matchless contributions to a better America and a peaceful world.

These two, first citizens of our own country and of the world, represent the brightest and best of our America. The whole of their lives has been dedicated to making a reality of the dreams of our forefathers who brought forth a new nation on this continent—now nearly nine score years ago.

Representing in their own persons in fullest measure the beauty and dignity of the great Negro people, they have enriched the culture and lifted the stature of the whole American people.

In their ceaseless efforts for full equality in the human family for dependent and oppressed peoples everywhere, for the brotherhood of peoples across all borders as well as within our own borders, they have made an incomparable contribution toward building the good and peaceful life on earth for which all mankind longs.

The purpose of our magazine to bring to the American people better understanding of the Soviet Union, People's China, and the people's liberation movements everywhere, is very close to their hearts. Paul Robeson, with his beautiful voice, both of them with their writing and speaking, and Eslanda Robeson as editorial consultant and UN correspondent, have given themselves unstintingly to the work being done by our magazine as well as by all groups concerned with peaceful co-existence.

We know that our readers and friends join with us in honor, gratitude and love for Eslanda and Paul Robeson.

FAVORITE AND STEP-CHILD IN THE UNITED NATIONS

by ESLANDA ROBESON

IN MID-JUNE, the Government of Thailand, citing the proximity of the conflict in Indo-China, requested the UN Security Council to send a Peace Observation Commission to investigate and report on any threat to international peace and security in that region.

To this request, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., then Council President, said, on June 16th:

> . . . it would be prudent and highly desirable to authorize the Peace Observation Commission to observe developments in the area of Thailand. . . . I urge the members of this Council not to permit themselves to be diverted from the simple but urgent issue which is before us. . . . All we are asked to do here is to authorize a fact-finding body to proceed to the area where this tension exists, in order that the United Nations may receive impartial first-hand reports on the situation. . . . The action requested lies within the competence of this Council. Its urgency is manifest. Let us act promptly and thereby discharge our responsibility under the Charter to maintain international peace and security.

A few days later, the democratically elected Government of Guatemala, defenseless and desperate, also requested the Security Council to send a Peace Observation Commission to investigate and report on the armed attack upon Guatemala.

The United Nations representative of Guatemala, Dr. Eduardo Castillo-Arriola, in a statement to the specially convoked Sunday (June 20th) meeting of the Security Council, declared: ". . . the Republic of Guatemala has been invaded by expeditionary forces forming part of an unlawful international aggression. . . ." Guatemala thus requested the Security Council to dispatch an observation commission to establish and report the facts. The Security Council, he said, was duty-bound to prevent the extension of the war in Guatemala.

In reply to this very legitimate request, Mr. Lodge sang quite a different song: ". . . the question arises as to where the situation can be dealt with most expeditiously and most effectively. The situation appears to the United States Government to be precisely the kind of problem which, in the first instance, should be dealt with on an urgent basis by an appropriate agency of the Organization of American States. . . .

"This draft resolution [of Brazil and Colombia, to refer the Guatemala case to the Organization of American States] . . . just asks the Organization of American States to see what it can do to be helpful. . . . Why does the representative of the Soviet Union, a country thousands of miles from here, undertake to veto a move like that? . . . How can this action of his possibly fail to make unbiased observers throughout the world [are there any such?] come to the conclusion that the Soviet Union has designs on the American Hemisphere? There is no other explanation. . . . I say to the representative of the Soviet Union, stay out of this hemisphere and do not try to start your plans and your conspiracies over here."

Ironically, the representative of the Soviet Union might well have replied in Mr. Lodge's own words, quoted above in connection with the Thai request.

Instead, Mr. Semyon Tsarapkin, the representative of the Soviet Union made this reply: ". . . The United States representative asked with emotion what was the reason for the Soviet Union's present attitude in the Security Council; why was it interesting itself in the Western Hemisphere? . . .

"We are met today, on a Sunday, to discuss a case of aggression. A member of the United Nations has been subjected to an armed attack. . . . The Charter binds each member of the United Nations, and particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, to take all steps in the Council to end aggression, even if it occurs in the Western Hemisphere. . . .

"Mr. Lodge failed to mention that yesterday the State Department said the United States would settle its accounts with Guatemala in the Organization of American States. . . . At this juncture, when an act of aggression has already been committed . . . and aircraft are bombing the country, I feel that to refer the question to an organization in which the United States proposes to settle accounts with Guatemala would be not only wrong, but contrary to the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations. . . . Aggression knows no territorial limits, and wherever it is committed, even in Central America, the Security Council is in duty bound to consider the case and take prompt action to put an end to it."

Mr. Lodge, as President, then put the draft resolution by Brazil and Colombia (to refer the Guatemalan case to the Organization of American States) to the vote. The resolution was not adopted.

The President then put the cease-fire French amendment to the vote. This called for immediate termination of any action likely to cause bloodshed, and requested all members of the United Nations to abstain from giving assistance to any such action. It was adopted unanimously.

After a four hour long debate, the Council adjourned.

IN REGARD TO the question Mr. Lodge brought up so heatedly as to who shall stay out of what hemisphere, it must be remembered that the Soviet Union has no military bases anywhere in the Western Hemisphere, while the United States has bases in Central and South America, in Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa.

When Mr. Lodge could say to Thailand that the United Nations must send a fact-finding mission to report on tension in that area, and then say to Guatemala that the United Nations must not send a fact-finding mission to report on *war* in another area, it becomes apparent that member nations of the United Nations family are by no means treated as equals. Some are treated as special favorites and others as step-children.

The qualifications for each are as notorious as they are obvious in the corridors and lounges of the United Nations: support United States policy and you become a favorite; oppose United States policy and you become a UN step-child.

Fortunately, however, deep and genuine opposition to this kind of arbitrary discrimination is slowly forming and crystallizing in the vast United Nations attempt to rid the world of war. Delegates who support U.S. policy when it appears to be unreasonable, unilateral and arrogant, are being called to account more and more by their citizens and press at home.

Thus the London *New Statesman and Nation* (June 26), declaring that Guatemala's request for UN observers should have been instantly acceded to, continued:

> "The Brazilian Resolution, strongly supported and probably inspired by the United States, proposed that the whole case be referred to the Organization of American States. That would have had the effect of calling on Guatemala to face the judgment of a body which is wholly dominated by the U.S. . . . In the light of recent American policy towards Guatemala, this proposal was a denial of natural justice. . . . The solemn obligation of the United Nations (using the Security Council as its instrument of immediate action) to resist aggression was the justification for the Korean war. That the British vote at the UN was cast for the Brazilian Resolution is deplorable. . . .

Sam Pope Brewer, reporting in the *New York Times*, June 27, from Sao Paulo, Brazil, wrote:

> . . . The Brazilian Government has given the United States strong and valuable support in the United Nations . . . at the same time it is difficult to find any Brazilian who is not convinced that the United States morally and perhaps materially backed the invaders. . . .

BUT, ALAS, the cease-fire resolution of the Security Council was ignored by the aggressors in Guatemala and the bombing of open towns and defenseless people continued.

Whereupon the Government of Guatemala sent more urgent messages to the UN, requesting an immediate meeting of the Security Council to discuss means of implementing its unanimously adopted cease-fire resolution.

To these desperate appeals Mr. Lodge turned a deaf ear. When other members of the Council privately pressed him to call the meeting, Mr. Lodge issued a special press release (June 22, '54) in which he stated:

> . . . those who continually seek to agitate the Guatemalan question in the Security Council will inevitably be suspected of shadow boxing—of trying to strike attitudes and issue statements for the purpose of propaganda. . . . The Government of Guatemala should not lend itself to this very obvious communist plot lest they appear to be a cat's-paw of the Soviet conspiracy to meddle in the Western Hemisphere. . . .

Guatemala's representative, Dr. Arriola's reply to this was a further and even more urgent appeal to the Secretary General and members of the Council:

> . . . I reiterate, in the name of my Government, the request that the President of the Security Council should immediately convene a meeting of the Council in virtue of the fact that Guatemala officially gives notice that the resolution adopted on

June 20 by the Security Council has not been complied with. . . .

When Mr. Lodge continued to resist all requests to call a meeting, Mr. Tsarapkin (USSR), as a permanent member of the Security Council, formally requested Mr. Lodge and the Secretary General that a meeting be called to consider the worsening Guatemalan situation. Mr. Lodge finally called the meeting for June 25th.

THE AGENDA for the Security Council meeting was as follows: 1. Adoption of the agenda; 2. Consideration of the Guatemala crisis.

In tricky technical, procedural maneuverings, the President managed to avoid adopting the agenda, and after a five-hour debate the Council adjourned, having taken no action whatsoever, except a decision to await information from the Organization of American States.

There was a sinister fascination in observing how this was accomplished.

President Lodge opened the meeting and said the first question was the adoption of the agenda. He then called upon Mr. Hugo Goutheir (Brazil) as the first speaker.

Mr. Goutheir filibustered. He said the whole question should go to the Organization of American States, and then went into the whole background and history of that organization. It was clear that a delaying action was taking place. Finally, he said the item should not be placed on the agenda.

The representative of the Soviet Union raised a point of order, declaring that though the adoption of the agenda was under discussion, substance had been raised in the Brazilian statement and that he therefore requested the representative of Guatemala be invited to a seat at the Council table.

Mr. Lodge, as President, ruled that everything Brazil had said was within the limits of a discussion on the agenda and that it was not "customary" to call to the table representatives of states not members of the Council before the agenda was formally adopted. By a 10 to 1 vote, he was supported in his ruling.

He then called upon the representative of Colombia who continued the same sort of filibustering that the Brazilian representative had indulged in, and said he would vote against adoption of the agenda. The representatives of Turkey and China (Formosa) behaved similarly.

Both the representatives of the United Kingdom and France attempted to straddle the issue, declaring it would be wrong to divest the Security Council of responsibility, but, France's Henri Hoppenot declared it would be better to defer discussion until the Organization of American States reported from the scene. They both indicated that they would abstain.

M. Edward Rizk (Lebanon), in a brief, forthright speech urged the adoption of the agenda. And Mr. Birger Dons-Moeller (Denmark) agreed and also urged that the Guatemalan delegate be heard. Mr. Leslie Knox Munro (New Zealand) suggested that the Council adopt the agenda and then adjourn.

Mr. Semyon Tsarapkin (USSR) said that to deny the Guatemalan delegate a place at the Council table would be a violation of Article 32 of the Charter, and that procedural maneuvers had been used to delay consideration of the question.

Mr. Lodge, he said, "cynically observed that the representative of Guatemala could express his views after the adoption of the agenda. But it is already apparent that the agenda will not be adopted . . . that the representative of Guatemala will not be given a hearing . . . a state has been deprived of a right to a hearing through procedural ruses and maneuvers."

Mr. Lodge then took the floor, declaring that the United Nations would be broken up if regional organizations, such as the OAS, were not considered paramount.

In his usual vein he continued: "The proposal of Guatemala, supported most actively by the Soviet Union . . . is an effort to create international anarchy, rather than international order. . . . The Guatemalan complaint is being used as a tool to violate the basic principles of the Charter. It is to prevent that result . . . that the United States feels compelled to oppose the adoption of the provisional agenda . . . and appeals to the other members of the Council to join with us in avoiding a step which . . . will in fact engage this organization in a course so disorderly and so provocative of jurisdictional conflict that the future of both the United Nations and the Organization of American States may be compromised and a grave setback given to the developing process of international order."

Mr. Tsarapkin (USSR) declared that the question is whether the United Nations will deal with peace in the whole world, or because of the whim of the United States, restrict its concern to Europe and Asia and possibly Africa. The UN Charter has to apply universally, and the Soviet Union, he declared, would insist on a debate in the Security Council and on measures to stop the aggression against Guatemala.

Mr. Lodge then put the question of the adoption of the agenda to the vote, and the Council members voted as follows: 4 in favor of adoption (Denmark, Lebanon, New Zealand, USSR); 5 against (Brazil, Colombia, Formosa, Turkey, USA); 2 abstentions (France, United Kingdom).

Since 7 votes are required for the adoption of the agenda, it was not adopted, and after five hours of grim debate, the Security Council adjourned without having adopted the provisional agenda for its meeting.

It's going to take a lot of doing for the Security Council to live that one down!

COVENTRY, STALINGRAD URGE H-BOMB BAN

COVENTRY in England and Stalingrad in the USSR, both of which cities were razed in World War II, are joining together to urge the banning of the H-bomb. The Coventry-Stalingrad Bond of Friendship Committee initiated the proposal. In June, the City Council approved the resolution that the two towns jointly appeal to the UN Commission on Disarmament to ban the H-bomb, and the Lord Mayor, Alderman John Fennell, who is also president of the Friendship Committee, sent the resolution to the Stalingrad City Soviet. The Soviet city has enthusiastically agreed to the proposal and has invited members of the Coventry City Council to come to Stalingrad this October or November to draft the text of the resolution.

BONDS OF BROTHERHOOD

The great American and Negro leader gives an inspiring statement of the common aims of the Negro and Jewish peoples and democracy

By Paul Robeson

MY HEARTFELT greetings to the Jewish people, who are now celebrating three centuries of life and work in this land. It is good for all Americans to be reminded once again that the "Anglo-Saxon" image of America is a false-face. Certainly no Negro can hear the declaration of the Committee for the 300th Anniversary of Jewish Settlement in the U.S.A.—*"We have always been part of America"*—without reflecting that such has been our own insistent claim: *"We too are America!"*

Self-evident since the days of Haym Salomon and Crispus Attucks, these claims have been denied by the racists and reactionaries of every generation; and never before have these foes been more powerful and arrogant than they are today. Not only is race, color and creed a continuing bar to a so-called "100 per cent American" status, but nowadays any person or organization can be officially branded "un-American" by a one-man ruling. The McCarran-Walter immigration act compares in foulness with the worst of nazi racism.

The significant relationship of the Jewish people's interests with those of the Negro people has been pointed out by the Anniversary Committee:

"Let us make our anniversary a source of inspiration in the defense of our rights and liberties. . . . Let us act in unison with all groups in America and especially the Negro people—who suffer most from reaction and fascism—in order to defend our democratic rights." (Jewish Life, September 1954.)

Yes, the cause of democracy, the rights of all other minorities, are inseparably linked with the liberation struggles of the Negro people. From the "Know-Nothing" party of a century ago to the Ku Klux Klan and the McCarthys and McCarrans of today, history's handwriting on the wall has spelled out that lesson. He who would live must learn it well.

It is not likely that the first group of Jewish settlers who came to New Amsterdam in 1654 had heard about that first group of Negroes who were landed at Jamestown in 1619. The Jews came as pioneers, seeking freedom; the Negroes came as slaves, torn from their homeland.

So, from this beginning it was inevitable that the history of the descendants of these two groups (and of all their kin who came in later years by slave-ship from Africa and steerage-hold from Europe) would develop on different paths. And yet, in all the diverse strands which make up the web of American history for the past three centuries, there are direct threads which link the interests of the Negro and Jewish people from the earliest days.

Peter Stuyvesant, governor for the Dutch West Indies, who wanted to drive out the first Jewish settlers, has long since turned to dust, as has the Dutch slaver which brought the captive Africans; but anti-Semitism still lives and is nurtured on our soil, and the shameful heritage of slavery —Negro oppression and exploitation—still has its grip.

Indeed, right here in New York the name of the man who first proclaimed anti-Semitism in the New World is known to us in connection with anti-Negro discrimination. We recall the long and bitter struggle against Jimcrow in the Stuyvesant Town houses. Here we saw progressive sections of the Jewish people united with the Negro people in a drive to make the racist walls come tumbling down.

We remember Ben Davis, our City Councilman, who led that memorable battle, and here the thread of history leads to Foley Square where a landlord judge sentences the heroic leader to prison. And in the courtroom we see Negro and Jewish workers standing together against the Peter Stuyvesants of our time: yes, here beside Ben Davis is Irving Potash; John Gates with Henry Winston, and all their courageous colleagues.

Who can forget the awful lesson of Hitler Germany? How many of those who thought that the Reichstag Fire frame-up trial was aimed at only the Left—how many of the duped were to die?

And so we can all agree with the Anniversary Committee when it warns that "the McCarthyite attacks upon the American people bring the danger of fascism." With confidence, the Committee asserts: "In this critical moment . . . the Jewish workers and common people will find the necessary strength and wisdom to stand firm on the side of progress and peace, against McCarthyism, fascism and war."

Surely none of us who were at Peekskill can doubt that the Jewish workers will be second to none in standing firm against our common enemy. As for myself, I have always felt an especially close bond with the Jewish people; and to me, Peekskill, so terrible in its demonstration of reactionary barbarism, shall ever be a glowing symbol of the unity of Negro and Jewish workers against fascism.

Some day soon I shall write at length, in the context of my life story, about the meaningful experiences I have had

JEWISH LIFE

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Paul Robeson

with the Jewish people. Much of this would deal with my early years as an artist, for here, in this field of music and the arts, all other Americans are deeply indebted to the creativity and cultural gifts of the Jewish people.

But the story would begin even earlier—in my boyhood, when I first heard about the Children of Israel—the epics of Moses and Joshua and Gideon and the fiery Hebrew prophets—the Bible stories that gave imagery to the freedom songs of my people. Recently I was told that our great Negro spiritual, "Go Down Moses," has now been translated into Hebrew and has been sung to audiences in Israel—and one marvels again at the interweaving of people's cultures: down through the centuries, moving from language to language, crossing seas and mountains, turning, doubling back ever renewed and enriched . . . imperishable in the common aspirations of mankind!

HERE IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THIS WONDER-WOVEN FABRIC OF human culture which unites us all: Not long ago I was asked to sing a song by Anton Dvorák to be used in a film about the life of the great composer which is now being made in his homeland, Czechoslovakia. The words of his song are from the well-known biblical psalm, *"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down and wept"*—the searing outcry of an enslaved people against their oppressors, against *"those that carried us away captive."*

From ancient Judea these words of the 137th Psalm had crossed the vast reaches of time and distance to stir the hearts of the Negro slaves in our own Southland; and the downfall of slave-holding Babylon was cited by our Frederick Douglass in his famous address, "The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro" (1852). "I can today take up the plaintive lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people," Douglass declared, and he went on to recite the moving lines of the psalm.

Half a century later the gifted Dvorák came to our country, studied the melodies and lyrics of Negro song, and drew upon its richness for his own creations—and so, in this way, the words of this very song must have traveled back across the ocean with him; and I am told the song was especially popular among the Czech people during their years of suffering under the terror of nazi occupation.

But history moves on: Hitler is gone; Prague lives and builds in a new people's democracy—and now I, an American Negro, sing for her this ancient Hebrew song in the language of the people of Huss and Dvorák, Fuchik and Gottwald:

Pri rekách babylonckych,
Tam jsme sedávali a plakávali . . .

If it has been true that the Jewish people, like so many other national groups for whom I have sung, have warmly understood and loved the songs of my people, it has also been true that Negro audiences have been moved by songs of the Jewish people. The Hassidic Chant, for example, has a profound impact on the Negro listener not only for its content—a powerful protest against an age-old persecution—but also because of its form: the phrasing and rhythm have counterparts in traditional Negro sermon-song. And here, too, is a bond that can be traced back through the centuries to a common heritage.

In the early days of my singing career and in the theater, the Jewish artists I came to know not only introduced me to the world of Sholem Aleichem through the Yiddish language and folksong; but since many of these friends were Russian Jews, I also came to know the language of Pushkin and the songs of Moussorgsky. And so it happened that, before I had any knowledge of the economic or political nature of the Soviet Union, I developed an abiding love for the culture of the Russian people.

"Un-American!" say the Know-Nothing Knowlands of today—and indeed, the whole world which cries out for peaceful co-existence, cultural exchange and trade between nations, seems altogether "un-American" to those here who are driving hell-bent for fascism and war.

Well, there exists that evil tradition which stretches over the years from Peter Stuyvesant to Pat McCarran, from Jefferson Davis to James Byrnes. But there also exists the great tradition of democracy and of struggle to preserve and extend that democracy—in Jewish history from the resistance of the first settlers to anti-Semitism; in Negro history from the first slave revolt; in all of American history from the earliest struggle for man's inalienable rights.

Hating and fearing the war-mad rulers of our country, the people of all lands look eagerly for signs of that "other America" they know exists—the America of the common people who also yearn for relief from the burdens of armaments, "spy"-scares and witchhunts, and for the banishment of that ultimate disaster—atomic war.

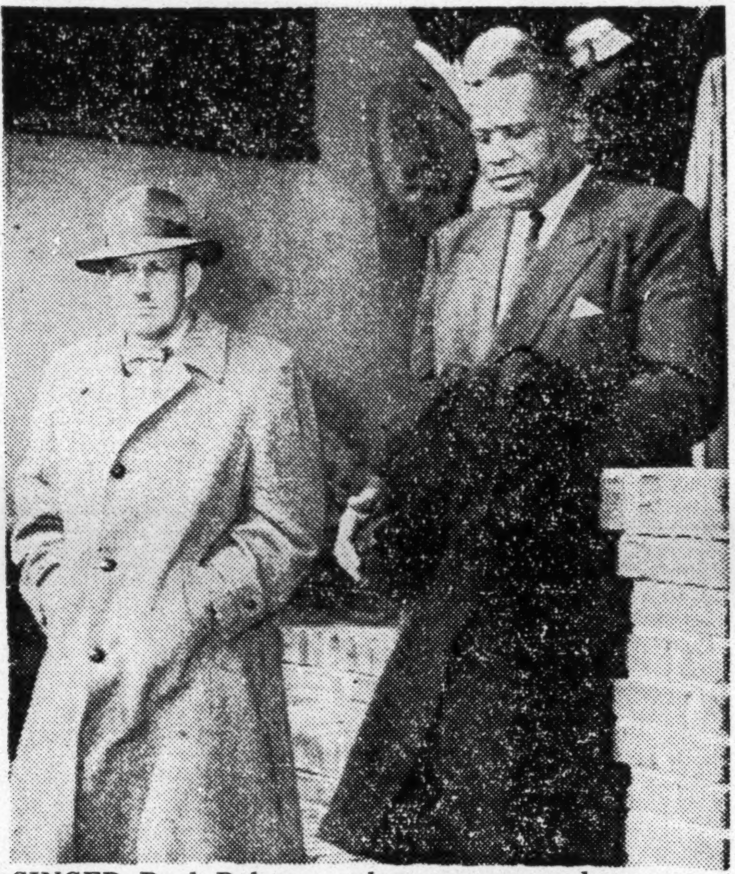
So let the Tercentenary celebration of the Jewish people serve as a fitting means to let the voice of that other America be heard: for democracy and progress, for freedom and peace—for our land and for all others!

NOV 1954

AFRO-AMERICAN Foto Page

About people in the news

FEBRUARY 5, 1955



SINGER Paul Robeson, who was among honorary pallbearers at Murphy funeral is shown leaving church. At left, William McGregor, Baltimore YMCA executive, who was another honorary pallbearer. Mr. Robeson visited Douglass High School while in the city.

April 21 - 28 programs, reviews, listings

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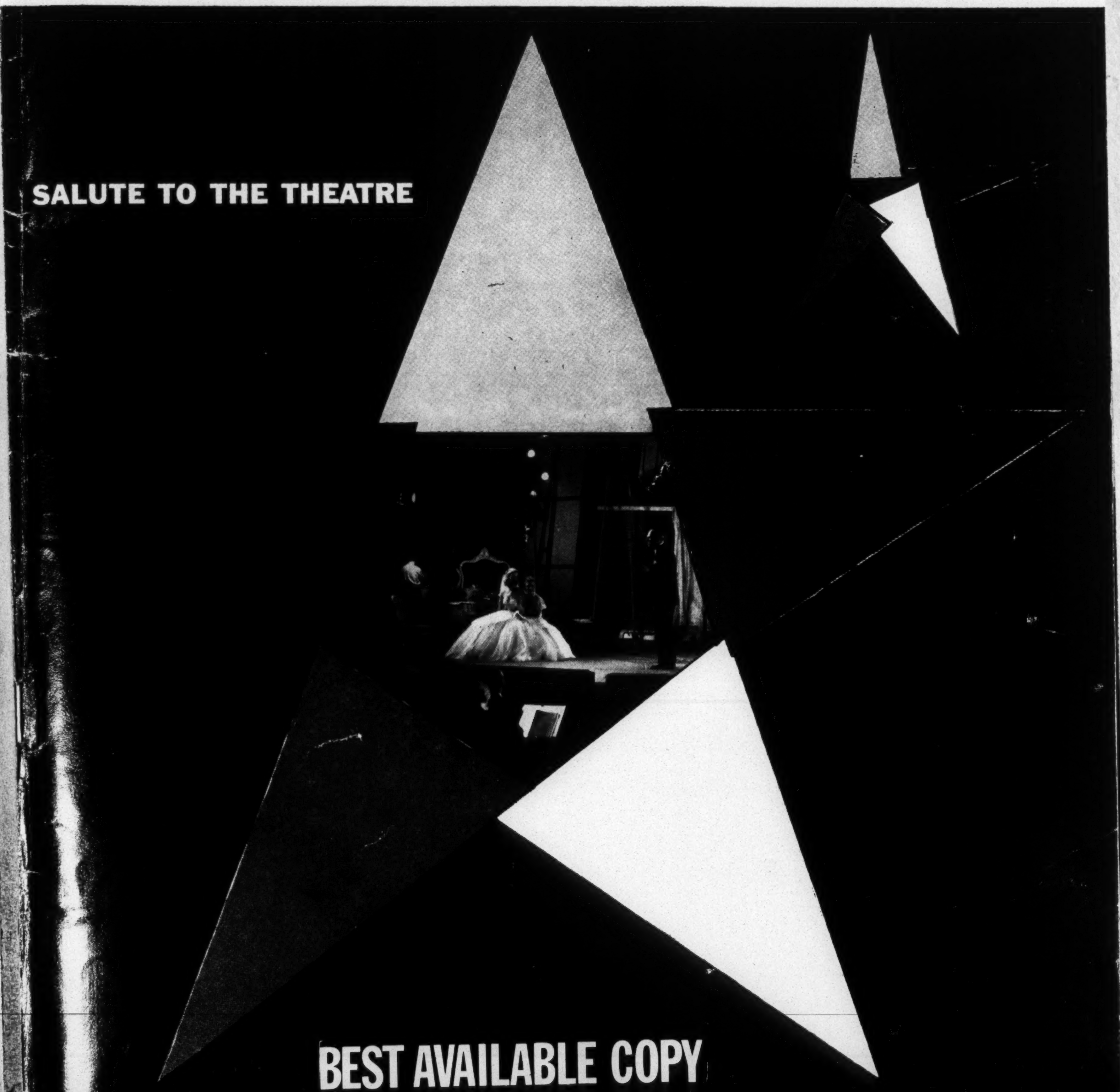
20th ANNIVERSARY

April 23, 1955 20¢



SALUTE TO THE THEATRE

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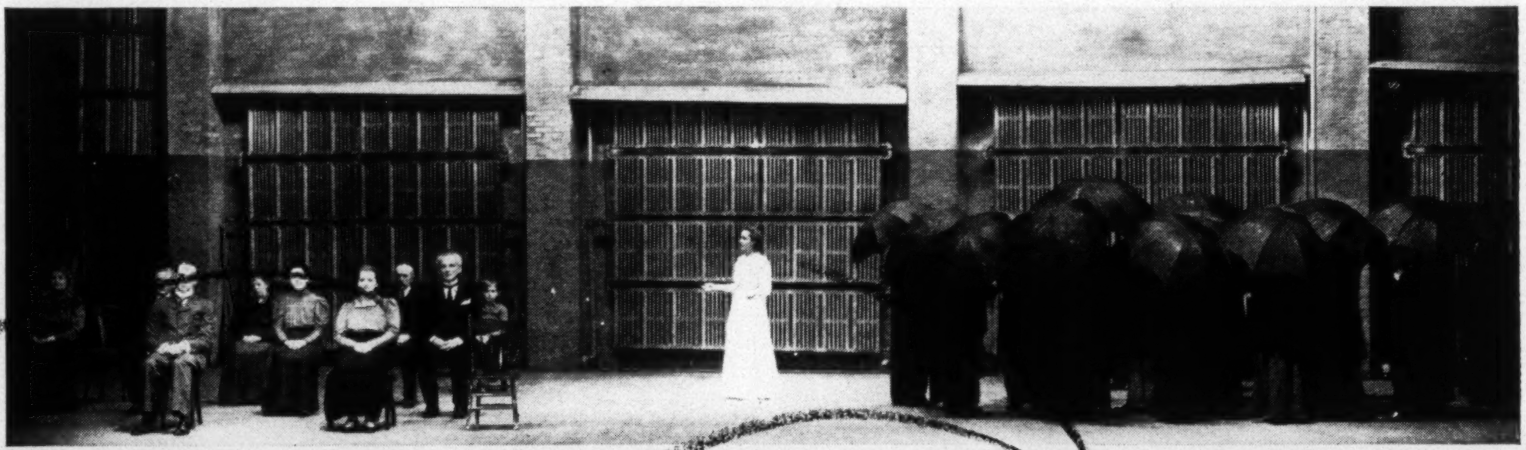
juvenile roles and not yet noticed by Hollywood, as the cruel gunman, Duke Mantee. Tallulah was baiting the Rev. Mr. Davidson in a revival of "Rain"; Shirley Booth, at the time everyone's favorite wise-cracking broad as she is now everyone's favorite anything, was laughing it up in "Three Men on a Horse," with Sam Levene, Teddy Hart, Billy Lynn and Millard Mitchell; Jane Cowl was being impressive as a "First Lady" and Grace George properly gentle and put-upon as a "Kind Lady."

And 1935 was the year that brought the Critics Circle Award into being. Heretofore a fiercely anti-social group of individuals who only rarely deigned to talk to one another, the critics were so incensed by the Pulitzer Prize committee's choice of Zoë Akins' "The Old Maid" as the best play of the year that they buried old antagonisms and met in solemn conclave to pick their own best play of the year. The choice was Maxwell Anderson's "Winterset," a beautiful drama inspired by the Sacco-Vanzetti trial of the previous decade.

The chroniclers of the year—chief among them the late Burns Mantle, John Chapman's predecessor as drama critic for the *Daily News,* had no trouble finding ten plays which rated the accolade "best." In addition to the above, there were the George and Ira Gershwin—DuBose Heyward "Porgy and Bess," the most successful American folk opera of all time; Sidney Kingsley's exciting "Dead End"; "Blind Alley," a British courtroom drama called "Libel" and a dozen other meritorious efforts. Today's bobby-sox throbber, Montgomery Clift, was fifteen years old and disporting himself in "Jubilee," a spectacular by Cole Porter, Playwright Garson Kanin was making like an actor in "Boy Meets Girl" and the little-known José Ferrer was running up bar bills at Sardi's on the strength of his part in Damon Runyon's "A Slight Case of Murder." Beatrice Lillie and Ethel Waters were enlivening the musical "At Home Abroad," the Lunts were horsing around in "The Taming of the Shrew" and Nazimova was wading through Ibsen's "Ghosts" to the acclaim of the populace.

What if people were lamenting the fact that only some thirty-odd new plays



CEMETERY SCENE, Grover's Corners, N. H., from Thornton Wilder's "Our Town," with Martha Scott. (1938)

THE MOST celebrated of modern "Othellos" was staged in 1943, with Paul Robeson (left) as the obsessed Moor. Jose Ferrer played Iago

GEORGE M. COHAN (below) as FDR in Kaufman and Hart's noteworthy hit "I'd Rather Be Right." (1937)

LENGTHIEST RUN on Broadway was that of "Life with Father," which starred co-author Howard Lindsay and Dorothy Stickney (left). The comedy was performed 3,224 times over a period of eight years. James Barton (above), as Jeeter Lester played more than his share of the 3,182 performances of that lusty, vulgar melodrama of cropper life, "Tobacco Road"

Bulletin of World Peace Council Dec 1955

An interview with Shostakovich

AFTER long years of silence, due to war damage, the Vienna Opera lives again. On November 5 the great city of music and song illuminated its famous Ring to welcome the hundreds of music-lovers who came from all parts of the world for the opening night of the new opera house and the gala performance of Fidelio. The reopening was a world cultural event. Fidelio was followed by Don Giovanni; the musicians, critics and public who had the privilege to hear the first two nights were able to appreciate the qualities of the Austrian artists in two of the greatest works of the geniuses of music — Beethoven and Mozart. And all Vienna celebrated, gathering in thousands around the floodlit Opera.

The Soviet composer Dmitri Shostakovich, member of the World Council of Peace, and laureate of its International Peace Prize, came to Vienna for the opening of the Opera. In an interview with a representative of this Bulletin, Shostakovich gave his impressions of the ceremonies and the first-night performance of Fidelio.

The composer Chulaky, director of the Moscow Bolshoi Theatre, and I, came to Vienna especially for the reopening of the Opera. We should have arrived earlier but unfortunately were held up by weather conditions. I would like to say straight away that the Fidelio pleased me very much indeed. I do not know what Chulaky thought. The music was magnificent. Dr. Karl Böhm was masterly in conducting the orchestra, whose members gave a splendid performance. It is difficult to mention every singer but my impression of the whole was — there's no other word for it — splendid!

The overall effect was to strengthen my opinion of the high musical standards of the Austrian people.

I found the decor for Don Giovanni more pleasing than that for Fidelio. But that does not alter the fact that both performances were superb.

There is one thing, however, that I still do not quite understand — the audience applauding during the acts!

Our public, too, shows its enthusiasm by applause and acclaim, but waits until the end of each act or scene to enable the singer and the audience to follow the subject properly. Stanislavsky had a principle: the audience should not interrupt the players; but if it does, they should not break off, since they would spoil the continuity by doing so, and on the stage every word and gesture is closely linked with the next.

Question — Were many great musicians present at the opening?

Representatives of the musical world were there — the eminent composer and conductor Bruno Walter; Jacques Ibert, director of the Paris Opera; the director of the Berlin Opera, the composer Libermann, and others.

Question — Do you think this event can lead to new cultural exchanges between different countries?

Mr. Chulaky has taken steps by which we hope to meet our Austrian colleagues tomorrow or the next day, and we will then take advantage of the opportunity to invite Austrian composers and musicians to the Soviet Union.

Incidentally, on the subject of exchanges, our pianist Emil Gilels is at present in the United States where he is having a brilliant success. And David Oistrakh has also been invited to visit the U.S.A. shortly.

The Soviet people — and there is no lack of examples — has shown its desire to welcome representatives of the art and culture of other peoples. We believe that such exchanges would consolidate understanding and good relations between all countries. We hope, for example, to have Yehudi Menuhin with us soon, and such other outstanding American musicians as Eugene Ormandy and Dimitri Mitropoulos, who have recently performed — brilliantly performed — some of my symphonies. We would also like to have that great artist Paul Robeson with us. All representatives of American culture will be enthusiastically welcomed by the Soviet people.

Question — Can you tell us something about your own plans?

I do not like talking about my plans. I prefer to present deeds. When I was younger, I never hesitated to make promises; recently I had a letter from someone who takes an interest in my work, and in it he listed all the promises I had not kept. Since then I've been even more resolved only to talk about things I've done. However, you can say that I am working on my eleventh symphony, which is dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the 1905 Revolution.

To our last question, whether he was planning to travel, Shostakovich replied:

I have had a number of invitations, and I would like to accept them all, but I cannot go abroad for long periods for personal reasons. I have lost my wife, and I must see to my children's education, which prevents me going on long journeys.

As we go to press we learn that Shostakovich has again been bereaved by the death of his mother, and we extend our deepest sympathy to him.

A smile we'd like to see again

The British people have not forgotten Paul Robeson. During the past five years repeated invitations for him to sing have travelled across the Atlantic but so far he has been unable to fulfil any of these engagements.

During the Trades Union Congress at Southport in September, 249 delegates in their individual capacities, including five M.P.s, five General Council members and fifty-eight general officers, signed a telegram to President Eisenhower urging him to "intervene to secure the issuance of a passport to Paul Robeson, world-renowned singer and artist."

On 29th September the Political Committee of the London Co operative Society (one million members) passed a resolution supporting the terms of the telegram sent from Southport and suggesting that the Education Committee of the Society should invite Paul Robeson here for a concert.

Trade union journals have also joined in the protest. These protests are particularly important because the latest refusal of the passport is still under appeal.

[TÄNÄÄN N° 6, 1956 p. 25]

Paul Robeson

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Viereisen haastattelun antoi suuri amerikkalainen neekerilaulaja viime kesänä Kanadassa, jossa hän suoritti loistavan menestyksen saavuttaneen konserttimatkan. Kanadaan Paul Robeson pääsi poikkeusluvalla. Kuten tunnettua Yhdysvaltain viranomaiset ovat takavarikoineet hänen passinsa estäen hänen konserttimatkansa muihin maihin.

Oletteko tyytyväinen konserttimatkaanne?

En koskaan tule unohtamaan tätä iltaa. Toivoisin, että rauhaarakastavat ihmiset kaikkialla mailmassa tietäisivät, kuinka haluaisin laulaa heille kaikille samalla tavoin kuin täällä. Kuten huomasitte konserttiohjelmastani on maailman yhtenäisyys lähellä sydäntäni. Kansat ovat sukulaisia keskenään, ei vain lauluissaan, vaan tarinoissaan runoissaan. Siitä voisi kertoa paljon mielenkiintoista eräiden ihmeellisten afrikkalaisten satujen käännökset. Laulan aina kansanlaulut käännöksinä alkuperäisistä sanoista, niin että jokainen kuulija voisi ne ymmärtää.

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Geneven neuvottelujen vaikutukset ovat Yhdysvalloissa olleet yhtä syvälliset kuin muissa maissa huolimatta eräiden politiikkojen julistuksista. Presidentti Eisenhower tiesi hyvin, mitä hän teki Genevessä. Tärkeintä oli, että hallitus ymmärsi, ettei maailman pulmakysymyksiä voi selvittää tuhoamissodalla. Amerikan kansan rauhantahto on syvä. Tilanne Yhdysvalloissa on hyvin vaihteleva. Esimerkiksi länsirannikolla rauhanliike tekee erinomaista työtä. On myös pantava merkille, millä lämmöllä maan keskiosissa otettiin vastaan neuvostoliittolaisen maanviljelysvaltuuskunnan vierailu tai neuvostotaiteilijoiden konsertit. Huolimatta eräiden lehtien kirjoituksista, Yhdysvalloissa yleinen mielipide on tietoinen siitä, että olemme asettuneet aseistariisunnan ja rauhanomaisen kilpailun kauteen. Tietysti on rauhanliikkeellä paljon vaikeuksia. Mutta esimerkiksi kirkko ja uskonnolliset piirit, varsinkin kveekarit tekevät suurenmoista työtä rauhan puolesta.

Mitä sanoisitte taistelusta neekerien oikeuksien puolesta:

Kysymyshän on siitä, haluaako Amerikka vihdoinkin täydellisesti yhtyä Lincolnin periaatteisiin. Bandungin konferenssilla on ollut valtava vaikutus mustaan väestöön. Amerikan neekeriväestön taistelu oikeuksiensa puolesta on osa siirtomaa- ja puolisiirtomaakansojen yleistä vapausliikettä, ja uskon, että rotuoppien kannattajat käyvät ennakolta häviämään tuomittua taistelua. Lopputulos on nähdäkseni myönteinen ja tulee antamaan kaikille ihmisillemme, miehille ja naisille oikeuden käydä sellaista koulua kuin he tahtovat ja matkustaa sellaisessa ajoneuvossa kuin he tahtovat. Vaikeuksista huolimatta neekerikansa tietää vapautuvansa. Kun kuusitoista miljoonaa ihmistä päättää lujasti tehdä jotakin, tapahtuu se myöskin ja voidaan sanoa, että vapaus odottaa seuraavassa kadun kulmassa.

Helsinki 1956, Kustannusosakeyhtiö Yhteistyön Kirjapaino

Roscoe Fleming's column of (date) was in the form of an open letter to the Paul Robeson Concert Committee. I'd like to reply, on behalf of that Committee.

First it was good to see that Fleming subscribed to Robeson's right to appear as an artist on the concert stage in Denver, so that his magnificent voice may once again be heard here. But there was a hint, in Fleming's reference to Justice Holmes' doctrine of "clear and present danger," that by singing at the Auditorium on the evening of May 27, Robeson may somehow be skirting on the thin edge of something sinister and dangerous to the American way of life.

How?

What is there about Paul Robeson's music that spells danger? And what is endangered? When he sings of the hopes of all working people, Negro and white alike, the desire for freedom, equality, human dignity, a decent way of life, who is it that trembles?

One of the most currently popular of progressive ideas, expressed frequently by persons in government as well as the common man, is that the world needs contact, understanding, sympathy between peoples of all countries. Rulers of nations will be unable to make war, we are told, if their peoples can learn to know the problems, the hopes, the desires of those in other lands.

The role of the artist, especially one who is a singer of peoples' songs, is to foster such understanding. Paul Robeson is noted for his repertory of peoples' songs from around the world, as well as for his great voice and artistry.

We want Paul Robeson to be heard in Denver for this reason, among others. We want him also because we thrill to the exalting quality of his music. We think, with Walter Damrosch, that "He is one of our truly great artists, gifted by the gods as musician and actor." We concur in the opinion of a writer for the Detroit Free Press that "There is no living voice which will quite compare with that of Robeson." We think we are making an important contribution to the cultural life of Denver in bringing Paul Robeson here in concert.

Roscoe Fleming chose to write an open letter in reply to the form letter he received from us. Why? He could have ignored our letter, or he could have answered by mail, declining to help. We are not objecting to his using his column in reply, but we are asking what was the purpose. We can think of no answer except that the purpose was to discourage attendance at the concert.

Why should anyone wish to discourage attendance? Because of a ~~[illegible]~~ belief that anyone who likes Paul Robeson's singing will be favorably inclined toward his activities on behalf of the Negro people?

This seems to have been ~~[illegible]~~ Fleming's reason, because he devoted more than half of his column to setting forth his differences with Robeson as to how the Negro people can advance toward their goal of first-class citizenship.

We do not propose to debate this issue with Roscoe Fleming in connection with the Robeson concert. We think it is ~~[illegible]~~ off the subject. Many who do not share Robeson's views, as well as many ~~[illegible]~~ who do, will be in the audience. We know this from comments made by people as they buy their tickets.

We think the applause will reflect appreciation of the music, rather than ~~[illegible]~~ agreement or disagreement with political views.

Attempts to discourage attendance - even to prevent the concert - have not been confined to newspaper columns. Intimidation - fear of being labelled "red" - is the principal method being used. We know of one Denver man who was threatened by his employer with being discharged if he did not stop talking up the Robeson concert. We think there are very few Denverites who will surrender their birthright, who will meekly stay away from a great cultural event through fear or intolerance.

'DONE IN VAIN'

"Now a' is done that men can do,
And a' is done in vain."

So sang Robert Burns, and he couldn't have put the matter better if he had been looking squarely at the Versailles peace conference and the bolshevik menace which leered through its east window.

The world in 1919 had one great worry, and it was not imperial Germany. It was the red flame of communism, which had spread over Russia, was licking at the borders of Germany, Hungary and France, and was threatening, eventually, to spread to the shores of England itself.

The conference, it is true, took some prudent steps to limit (as it thought) the future power of Germany, but it took far greater pains to block (again, as it thought) the westward spread of bolshevism.

For that purpose the victorious powers set up, or recognized, the chain of republics which became known as the "buffer states." There was Finland on the north. There was Estonia. There were Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. To the south remained Rumania, Bulgaria and Turkey.

Those smaller states, all dominated by the allied powers, were supposed to present an unconquerable obstacle to the spread of bolshevism. They would protect Italy, Germany, France, Spain and England.

[p.25]

tänään

No 6
1956

TÄSSÄ NUMEROSSA:

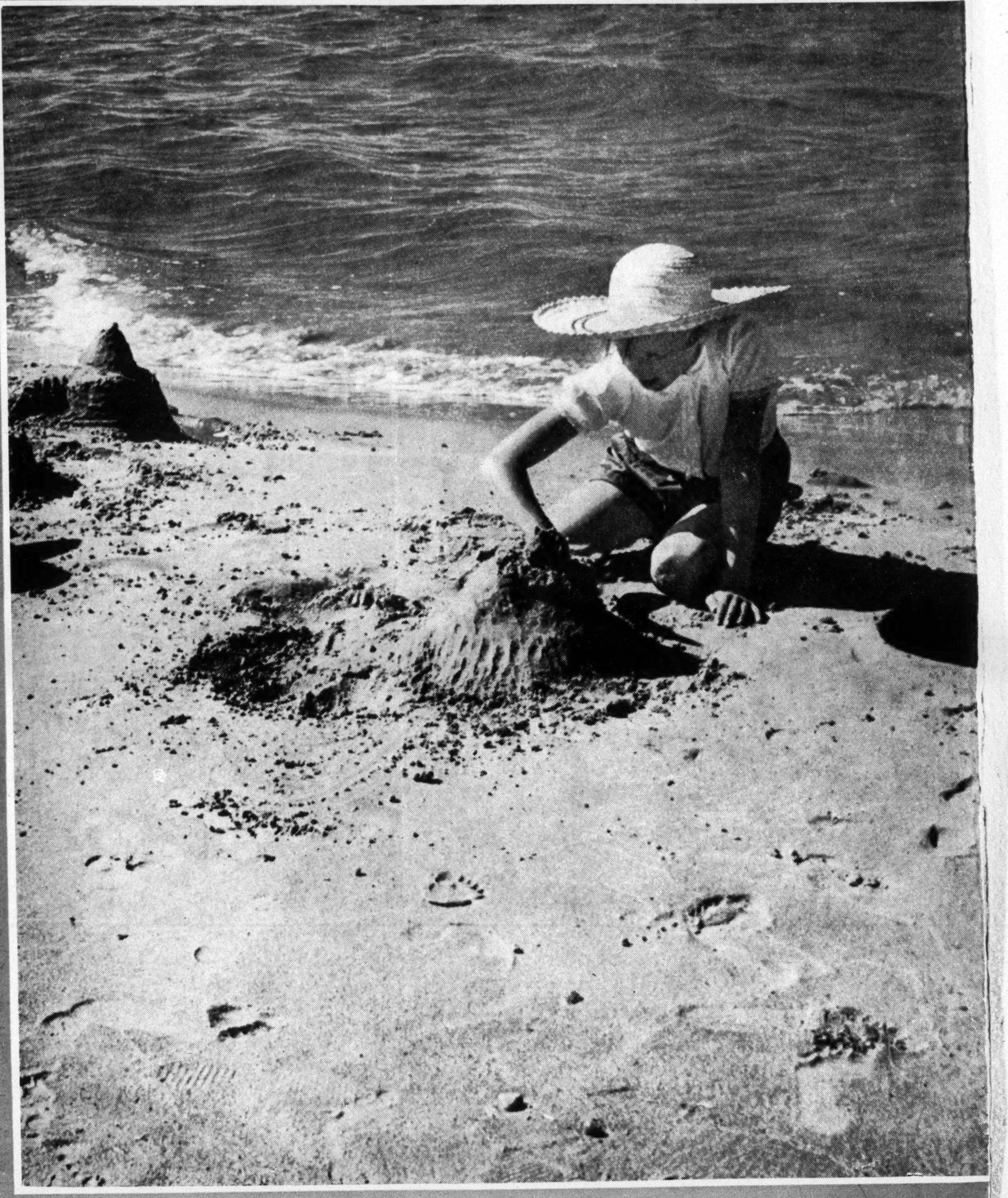
Ammatiltaan — urheilija!

Muurien varjosta vapauteen

Karhu on käynyt karjassa

Kansa vaatii traktoreita

Hinta
70:—



Linnoja meren rannalla

Valok. Pertti VILJANEN

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Paul Robeson

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* * *

Tänään-lehden elokuvakertomus:

”SKANDAALI MINISTERIÖSSÄ”

(La Presidentessa)

PIETRO GERMIN OHJAAMA ITALIALAINEN FARSSI
VUOKRAA SUOMI-FILMI

Ohjaaja Pietro Germi tunnetaan meillä ”Toiveitten tie” ja ”Lain nimessä” elokuvistaan etevänä uusrealistisen elokuvasuuntauksen edustajana, jonka tuotteissa on voimakasta yhteiskunnan kritiikkiä. ”Skandaali ministeriössä” edustaa aivan toista lajia. Se on vallaton, lähinnä tilannekomiikkaan perustuva farssikomedia. Sitä ei voida pitää Germin onnistuneimpana tuotteena, mutta se on paikoitellen hauska ja osoittaa Germin tuotannon monipuolisuutta.

Teksti: T. S.

1. Lumoavan kaunis Gobette (Silvana Pampanini) laulaa ranskalaisen maaseutukaupungin pienessä teatterissa ja esittää ”uskallettuja” lauluja verrattain vähissä vaatteissa.

2. Hän herättää pahennusta kunnon kansalaisissa, joten paikallisen oikeusistuimen puheenjohtaja lähettää tutkintotuomari Pinglierin (Aroldo Tieri) perehtymään asiaan. Pinglieri joutuu kuitenkin laulajattaren lumoihin ja ”asian tutkiminen” jatkuu hotellihuoneessa.

New York Amsterdam News Feb/12/55

Are We Headed For War?

The Question Of Formosa

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

Men who are willing to substitute common sense for power politics should sit down and scan maps of China and the United States. Suppose an island nearly the size of Holland lay a little more than a hundred miles off our eastern coast and was in possession of an enemy determined to use it for attack on us. This would be serious. But suppose that in addition, other small islands lay right on our coast, and had been seized and fortified by our enemy; with Chinese military officers and equipment on these islands. Also, that these islands have repeatedly been used for armed attack on our mainland. No great nation today would for a moment endure such open aggression. These facts in themselves would have been in the past ample cause for war.

DuBois

Add to this the fact that Formosa for nearly 300 years has been universally recognized as Chinese and in Chinese possession, save when it was forcibly seized by Japan in 1895 and held 50 years. After the Second World War the Allies deprived Japan of Formosa and declared that it belonged to China. The question certainly arose as to whether Chiang Kai-shek or the Communist regime was the real Chinese state. Most of the civilized world recognized the Chinese People's Republic as the real China. The fact that the United States insists that six million people on Formosa constitute China while 600 million on the mainland are not only to have no recognition, but not even to be treated as respectable, may be justifiable to some. But surely to add to that the threat of war unless this great Chinese Republic should acquiesce in allowing a discredited man like Chiang Kai-shek to camp on their door step and bomb them at will—this no decent administration can ask.

By what far-fetched logic can Formosa, on the opposite side of the earth from us, be regarded as necessary for the protection of our western border? Does it protect our Philippines? But we just announced the independence of the Philippines. Does it protect our Japan, or does Japan belong to the Japanese? Do we simply pretend to own the earth?

Instead of clinging to such an untenable position why could not the President of the United States say clearly: "We ask that the island of Formosa remain undisturbed at present, eventually to be disposed of in accord with the decision of the International Court of Justice. All other islands, we agree, shall revert to the Chinese People's Republic. We recognize this republic as the government of China, entitled to a seat in the United Nations. We will neither aid nor abet war or hostilities between China and Formosa."

This would be the greatest step toward a peaceful world since Hitler's death. And what would we lose? To such an overture there can be no doubt but that China would assent. Of her legal right to Formosa there is no doubt. She will never surrender that right. But if without surrender, she is asked to await peaceful processes and at the same time is treated in other and vital respects as a civilized nation, she will sacrifice immediate war for peace and work with the civilized world to maintain it.

a statement TO THE PRESIDENT AND ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the undersigned Negro Americans, do not believe that Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois is or ever was a "foreign agent"; and we fear that his prosecution for alleged violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act is designed to intimidate into silence other leaders of our people who speak out boldly for full democratic rights for Negro citizens.

When Dr. Du Bois denies the "foreign agent" charge and declares that he and his associates in their work for peace through this (Peace Information) Center were acting as Americans for America and that the work was supported by funds raised solely in the United States, we accept his statement as completely valid.

The integrity and loyalty of Dr. Du Bois have been firmly established during his more than half-century of public life. However we may differ with some of his opinions, we do not and cannot question his honesty and loyalty.

We have long been proud of Dr. Du Bois as an able leader of the Negro people and as a scholar with few peers in our country. Moreover, we admire his courage and defend his right, now at the age of eighty-three, to continue to speak out for the democratic rights of oppressed people and for world peace as he has been doing for many decades.

It is our considered opinion that the indictment and prosecutions of Dr. Du Bois under the Foreign Agents Registration Act constitute unjust and cruel persecution of one of the very best citizens and one of the greatest scholars the United States has produced.

We endorse fully the resolution on the indictment and prosecution of Dr. Du Bois which was adopted by the Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Atlanta, Georgia, June 26-30, 1951), namely: *"that this Convention go on record as being unalterably opposed to such methods by any Governmental instrumentality to silence spokesmen for full equality for Negroes and affirm its determination to continue to fight for such citizenship rights for all Americans."*

We, therefore, respectfully petition you to drop the "foreign agent" indictment against Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and to call off the unwarranted trial scheduled for October 2, 1951. This action by our Government, especially at this time, would do much to uphold the requirements of justice and the democratic traditions of our country.

SIGNED..

I agree to cooperate with the campaign to have the unjust "foreign agent" indictment against Dr. Du Bois dropped. (Please check one or more of the following)

.... 1. I have (not) signed the above statement.

.... 2. I agree to become a member of the *Friends of Dr. Du Bois.*

.... 3. I enclose $.............................. to help defray expenses for the campaign to defend Dr. Du Bois.

(Please make checks or money orders payable to GRACE P. GOENS, Treasurer)

Issued by FRIENDS OF DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, 101 North 52nd Street, Philadelphia 39, Pa.

CELEBRATE NATIONAL NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

WITH THE COMMITTEE TO WELCOME

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

We Southern Californians feel enormously fortunate in our Negro History Week celebration this year. A world renowned scholar, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has accepted our invitation to appear for us as our chief speaker.

There is no need to tell you that the fame of Dr. DuBois precedes him wherever he appears. Historian, anthropologist, novelist, educator, scholar—there are few the world over whose background can pace his. Certainly, there is no other leading scholar who can equal him on the subject he has chosen:

"Africa and the Future of the World".

THE TIME: SUNDAY, FEB. 15th, 3:00 P.M.

THE PLACE: ELKS AUDITORIUM, 4016 S. Central Ave.

This man and his subject have an infinitely wide appeal. Men and women of all walks of life have joined hands to welcome and honor him.

You and your friends will want to join with the sponsors who will be on hand to greet him at the Elks Auditorium.

We look forward to having you with us on that occasion.

THE COMMITTEE TO WELCOME DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

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John Gray
Shoes

Calif. Eagle
Oct. 5, 1949

Youth Rampages

By NELLIE BECKER

What a team! What a score! What a game ... you should have been there. U.C.L.A. was ahead, then Oregon, then U.C.L.A., then Oregon ... but U.C.L.A. won. You should have seen Woodley Lewis (Oregon State) carry that ball down the field and Harry Thompson (U.C.L.A.) ... they just couldn't stop that man. With aching bodies and voices hardly above a whisper (don't get me wrong, they were hoarse), a few spirited folks piled into their cars and drove over to the West side to a party given in honor of Woodley Lewis. I understand he is Arthur Lewis cousin. Saw Weldina Heflin riding with Enoch Spann; Ennis the Dentist in that big car all alone; Gene Williams driving three lovelies, one of them was Vera Francis. Already there and partaking of the refreshments were Zoe Wise, Gloria Crouch and Kenneth Hill, and Mary Drye. Exchanging bits of conversation were Johnny Lewis and Lucille Jones; Hugo and Charlette Hill, Billy Benefield, Jackie Price, Walter Young, and Jo Ann Johnson.

On that same night in another part of the city the heavy mellow voice of Paul Robeson sent shivers of delight up the spines of his audience. Outside a few people hovered near the radio; others on their front porch pulled their bathrobes tightly around them while they waited anxiously for sounds of a riot which never came. Tc! Tch! It's a good thing that there are still many Americans who have the courage to stand up for their rights (freedom of assembly, speech, etc.) so that other Americans might go on enjoying the card games, parties, football games and what have you. It was an educational as well as a social event. I must not forget to mention the wonderful performance put on by the players who presented the history of the California Eagle. Bob Davis who acted in "Knock on Any Door" was the narrator. I might add that Louis Robinson looked right proud escorting his mother Dr. Shelby Robinson to the platform. The ministers Rev. Henderson and Rev. Clayton Russell didn't bite their tongues that night. Dorothy Bass Morrow, who was one of the most popular gals on Howard Univ. campus, still maintains that glamour. She was in there "pitching" with Phyllis Scott, and Gertie Gipson, Dr. and Mrs. Prince Cobbs turned out with their children, Marcelyn and Prince Cobbs. Ozie Boone had on one of those ultra feminine hats. Sam Strain, Leroy Beavers and Gilbert Rivers were among the honor guards. Thomasina Ayers, Dr. Oner Barker and Atty. Ed Maddox were so wrapped up with Robeson's performance no one could even make a casual remark to them. There was also Vera Jackson, Tom Bradley, Lillian Lomax, Rudy Henderson, Mrs. Robbie Slaton, Atty. and Mrs. Herb Simmons, Gerry and Dorothy Dandridge Nicholas and hosts of others. The following day, Saturday, Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity invited representatives from all the fraternities to an informal reception given in honor of Paul Robeson (who is also an Alpha man) at Atty. George Cannady's domicle.

* * *

The County Fair

Barring none the transparent man that was exhibited at the county fair was a masterpiece. As the lecturer explained the various organs and veins in the body, they were lit up and one could easily see them because the frame was made of plastic material. The Transparent man was created in Dresden Germany twenty-five years ago. The fair had just everything imaginable. Frank and Rudy Eagleson were seen winding their way between the aisles of pigs. The Leroy Beavers, Leola Beavers and her mother were bobbing in and out of the manybuildings. Incidentally after seeing the cute little goats, I sampled some of their milk ... a bit sweet but nice. Vernon Jackson tasted various food items that the fair had to offer ... special treat was a chocolate covered frosty sprinkled with freshly roasted nuts. Kendall Jackson and his pal saw the fair via the ferris wheel, whip etc.

The circus doesn't come often but when it does dig out that piggy bank. To get inside the big tent this year at the Ringling Bros. circus the parents had to pay $3.00 a piece for each child and that didn't include souvenirs, rides or refreshments. The newly married Mrs. Johnny Beaman treated her nieces to a day at the circus and oh what fun they had even though it was expensive.

* * *

Rare Bits

Mrs. Patricia Harewood, active A.K.A. and social worker and wife of a prominent Chicago attorney, came out here especially to see her new grandson. Her daughter is married to Atty. Ed Maddox.

Almeda Johnson and Norman Shivers who eloped to Yuma Arizona and became man and wife on Sept. 12th were given a beautiful reception Sunday at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Norman Shivers.

On October 14th that popular club the Crop N' Tails of which Marcella Miller is president, is giving an informal dance at the Avodon Ballroom.

The Alpha's are busy making plans for their Halloween affair to be given on October twenty-eight. There are to be several booths and inside of each one will be a "gorjus" gal.

U.S.S.R. VISIT OPENED EYES:

Mrs. Robeson Regrets Having Defended Nehru

Afro-American

By JIMMY HICKS

1/28/50

NEW YORK—Mrs. Paul Robeson, wife of the noted baritone, denounced India's Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, at a press conference here, Monday, on her return from Russia and China. She said she was embarrassed at ever having defended Mr. Nehru.

Mrs. Robeson also leveled a blast at Secretary of State Dean Acheson, inviting him to "get on his horse and go to China."

She leveled a third attack at A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, for stating that her husband, Paul Robeson, is not a recognized spokesman for colored Americans.

Says Nehru Gags Press

The fusillade of criticism came as Mrs. Robeson reported to the press on her recent visit to Soviet Russia and China.

She denounced Mr. Nehru for what she called destroying democracy in India.

She said she had learned in China that 20,000 Indians recently have been sent to jail without a trial and that Nehru has com-

(Continued on Page 2, Column 5)

U.S.S.R. VISIT OPENED EYES:

Mrs. Robeson Regrets Having Defended Nehru

(Continued from Page 1)

pletely gagged India's democratic press. India, she said, represents one of the worst pictures in the whole of Aisa, today.

Mrs. Robeson said she had supported and defended Nehru when he came here recently, but that she is now embarrassed because of it.

Acheson in Dark, She Charges

She criticized Secretary Acheson for "talking in a vacuum on China" and said he really knows nothing of what is going on there.

Admitting that some of her remarks about the Secretary of State might be regarded as "impudent," Mrs. Robeson said she feels free to criticize the Secretar of State because she helps to pay his salary.

"I have no respect for a Secretary of State unless he acts like one," she said.

Ridicules Randolph

Of Mr. Randolph's criticism of her husband, Mrs. Robeson said the press and the world accepted Robeson as a leader of his people until he began to speak out against vested interests. But now they say he is not a leader, she added.

"If he is not a leader, why is it necessary to tell the people. They will know. I think they just protest too much," she said.

Mrs. Robeson, maintained that no one can say what colored citizens will do in the event of another war, but she added "Paul's guess is as good as anyone else's and perhaps better."

She then stated that she does not believe colored citizens will fight another war "for democracy as they have democracy, today." I think that is what Paul is saying in effect," she said.

Say Democracies Are Despised

Handling herself like an expert before a battery of cameramen and reporters, Mrs. Robeson scored the "so-called" democratic governments including that of the United States.

She said they are "generally despised" around the world.

"Everybody is clear that this democracy is just talk and cheap talk at that that," she added.

She ended by expressing her belief that the United State would eventually have to recognize Communist China.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Minneapolis Spokesman

Apr 7, 50

Mrs. Paul Robeson Speaks At Wheatley Tuesday, April 11

The wife of the most discussed American Negro, Paul Robeson will be in the Twin Cities next week.

Eslanda Goode Robeson who just returned from a visit to China will speak at the Phyllis Wheatley House, 809 Aldrich Ave. No. Minneapolis, Tuesday evening, April 11, at 8 p. m. Her subject will be "The New China." She is being sponsored by the Minneapolis chapter of the Civil Rights Congress.

ESLANDA ROBESON

Mrs. Robeson has traveled widely and is the author of several books, one of them, "African Journey," the result of her observations in Africa.

Pearl Buck's Appraisal

Another book she co-authored with the famous American writer on China, Pearl Buck. At the conclusion of their book, "American Argument," Mrs. Buck wrote of Mrs. Robeson: "Were she a lesser person, she might be smugly content, she might let sleeping dogs lie, she might say to herself that since all is well for herself and hers, she would let be. But Eslanda will not let herself be merely an individual.

"She sees in herself every Negro in the United States, every poor white in a poll-tax Southern state, every black man, woman and child in Africa, every untouchable in India, every colonial in Indonesia and Indo-China, every woman anywhere who longs for equality."

In Detroit Mrs. Robeson addressed the Baptist and Methodist ministerial alliances, Negro and white missionary societies and women and youth groups. In St. Louis she was sponsored by the Centennial Christian Church. In Oakland, California, her meeting was sponsored by the California State Association of Colored Women, Mrs. Lillian Dixon, state president.

OPEN FORUM

The Minneapolis Tribune invites readers to express their opinions or contribute information on subjects of current interest. Brief letters are more easily read, and those not exceeding 150 words are preferred. Letters should be addressed to the Open Forum of the Minneapolis Tribune.

How the Phyllis Wheatley Board Decided

To the Editor:

In my opinion the publicity given the action of the Phyllis Wheatley board, (refusing permission to Mrs. Paul Robeson to speak at a meeting of the Civil Rights congress) has been distorted and submerged under a smoke screen of racial bias and denial of free speech. The first mentioned factor has been further enhanced by the reports of the balloting, which designated the racial origin of the voters.

The board has also been accused of succumbing to "outside pressure," implying that the board members lacked the courage of their own convictions. In view of the racial propaganda and freedom angle that has been dragged into the controversy, it is not surprising that organized Negro groups have taken a public stand against the board's action.

As one of the directors of Phyllis Wheatley house, I believe the people of Minneapolis and the vicinity are entitled to full knowledge of both sides of the issue. Having been present at the special session called to decide the question, I can truthfully state that at no time during the discussion did Mrs. Robeson's race enter into the deliberation. The rights of all people to freedom of speech and assembly were firmly upheld by every member present.

However, these were not the issues at stake—all reports to the contrary. Our duty, as a board of directors, was simply to decide whether or not the planned meeting would serve the best interests of Phyllis Wheatley house, and whether or not this community house was the proper place for such a controversial figure as Mrs. Robeson to speak.

According to the information presented, several residents of the immediate neighborhood had voiced strong disapproval directly to Phyllis Wheatley house. Other citizens protested to the Community Chest office. Further information indicated the possibility of violence should the meeting be held. Since the purpose of this institution is to serve the entire community by fostering healthy, harmonious neighborhood relations, the board had to decide whether or not the resulting dissension would be a force for good or bad in its effects on Phyllis Wheatley house.

Each individual weighed the factors involved very carefully and then voted, by roll call, his or her convictions. Unanimous consent was given for the results of the balloting to be a matter of record.

Also the names of those voting, as well as the way they voted, was to be made available to the daily press.

It was a distinct shock to learn that the unidentified board member who prepared the press release saw fit to substitute the race of the board members in place of their personal identification.

The accusation of outside pressure forcing the final decision is ridiculous, unless the above mentioned considerations can be termed pressure. Inconsistent as it seems, some of the very group who made such accusations are now using deliberate and somewhat vicious pressure tactics in an attempt to force a reversal of decision.

As a Negro I am fully aware of the status of the minorities in America and have never hesitated to take a definite stand in our struggle for first class citizenship.

As an adult member of the human race I cannot allow my thinking to become so psychologically warped that I find bigotry and veiled innuendo in every issue.

Minneapolis. —*MARYEDITH KYLE,*

MINNEAPOLIS MORNING TRIBUNE

into which has been incorporated the Minneapolis Times

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apr 12, 50

Mrs. Robeson Calls Life in U.S. Faulty

Mrs. Paul Robeson, wife of the Negro singer, declared here today that the "American way of life on the statute books is wonderful, but in practice it is ridiculous and obscene."

Mrs. Robeson arrived here to be greeted by what she said was a "typical" reception on her current lecture tour—denial for her use of a hall in which she had been scheduled to speak.

Minneapolis chapter of Civil Rights congress had scheduled Mrs. Robeson's talk for Tuesday at Phyllis Wheatley house, but directors of the house voted Friday to ban the meeting.

Charles Fist, chairman of the board, said today that "to my knowledge" the decision will not be changed as asked by the congress.

Irene Paull, executive secretary of the congress chapter, said "we are still hoping the board will change its mind."

* * *

Otherwise, she said, the meeting will be at 8 p.m. Tuesday at CIO hall, 724 Fourth avenue S.

Referring to the fact that Phyllis Wheatley house is a Community Chest agency, Mrs. Robeson said that "across the country the people who really pay for halls are finding out they have nothing to do with them. This is typical. It's the trustees directly who call the tune."

"A lot of people are finding out what freedom of speech really is," she added.

Mrs. Robeson, whose husband is an outspoken sympathizer with the Soviet Union, would not comment on his political views, saying that is "his business."

"But I know he is much more interested in conditions here than anywhere else," she said.

"I don't know anything about the communistic system of government. We don't have to go anywhere for a system of government. All we have to do is to go to Washington and implement the constitution. This system of government, if it were ever to work properly according to the laws, would be wonderful."

That involves the "right of every citizen to vote, no discrimination and no segregation," she said, adding:

"That has nothing to do with communism."

Americans who "are opening their mouths so big" about Russia ought to start in on getting personal freedoms at home, she said.

Mrs. Robeson hit at what she said was the continual linking of her family with Russia, saying that "altogether we spent two years in Russia, and 12 years in England, but does anybody ever say anything about England."

Asserting that "you can't talk about peace just with your mouths," she declared the United States should "stop supporting wars, such as in Indo-China, and stop sending arms to western Europe."

"Russia is none of my business," she said. "I don't know what she is doing. They say she's taking away Manchuria—I was there in January and so far as I could see it was entirely Chinese."

Minneapolis Star apr 10 50

BOARD BARS HALL TO MRS. ROBESON

Wheatley House Cancels Talk Permit

Directors of Phyllis Wheatley house voted Friday to deny the Minneapolis chapter of the Civil Rights congress permission to hold a meeting at the house Tuesday — a meeting at which Mrs. Paul Robeson was scheduled to speak.

Decision to ban the meeting from the house came by a vote of 8 to 6 after a two-hour special session yesterday.

The meeting will be held and Mrs. Robeson will speak in Minneapolis Tuesday, Irene Paull, executive secretary of the congress, said.

"I don't know where," she added.

Yesterday's board session was devoted specifically to the question of whether the wife of Paul Robeson, controversial figure in the American Negro community, would be permitted to speak at Phyllis Wheatley house under Civil Rights congress sponsorship.

Approval of the meeting had been given by Henry Thomas, head resident at Phyllis Wheatley house, said a board member who asked to remain unidentified. The Civil Rights congress often had met there in the past, he said.

The board member said "outside pressure" had been exerted on the board to get it to reconsider its decision.

Breakdown of the voting of the board, an inter-racial group, found five Negro members and one white member balloting to permit the meeting to be held, with two Negroes and six white members voting for refusal, the board member said.

(The Civil Rights congress has been described as a "Communist front" organization by a congressional committee on un-American activities.)

BOMB KILLS THREE

CALCUTTA, INDIA—(Reuters)—Three persons were killed and 17 injured by a bomb explosion in suburban Howrah Friday night, police reported.

Minneapolis Tribune
Apr 8, 50

Mrs. Robeson Hits At Ban On Talk

Banning Mrs. Paul Robeson from speaking at the Phyllis Wheatley house in Minneapolis "should show the citizens of that city what free speech really amounts to these days."

This was the summary by the wife of the famous Negro singer here today regarding the controversy which arose when the Wheatley board of directors voted to bar her appearance there Tuesday night.

"It would be interesting to know, in a nation where free speech is supposed to be an inalienable right, who the elements and persons opposed to my speaking are," Mrs. Robeson said. "It would also be interesting to know which of the Wheatley directors wished to stop my talk.

"I have never in my life been accused of any subversive activities. Presumably, therefore, I am barred because of what my husband's convictions are supposed to be.

"But what my husband's convictions are supposed to be and what they really are, are two different things. He told the congressional Un-American affairs committee that he is loyal to this country, that he loves his country, every bit of it. He stated, though, that he could not go along with supporting Chiang in China and Franco in Spain and other foreign despots.

"The committee, however, never published his statements."

Other developments in the controversy today indicated Mrs. Robeson will not be permitted to speak in the Wheatley house, but will give her talk elsewhere in Minneapolis.

Charles D. Fist, Wheatley board president, said he could not state definitely that Mrs. Robeson's speech there would be banned, but could be quoted as saying that "apparently the decision of the board will stand as decided upon."

Mrs. Irene Paull, executive secretary of the Minneapolis chapter of the Civil Rights Congress, expressed regret that the board presumably had not changed its stand in view of the widespread protest against it, but had made arrangements for Mrs. Robeson's talk to be given at 8 p. m. Tuesday in CIO hall, 724 Fourth ave. S.

The speaker's subject will be "The New China," from which she recently has returned.

St Paul Dispatch
Apr 10, 50

Mrs. Robeson's Rights

THE board of directors of Phyllis Wheatley house has refused to let Mrs. Paul Robeson speak there, and out of its refusal there has sprung a lively controversy in which "thought control" and "free speech" are presented as a burning issue.

The Tribune believes that this issue is being badly overplayed by spokesmen for the Minneapolis chapter of the Civil Rights congress, which is sponsoring Mrs. Robeson's appearance here. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that some critics of the board's decision are less interested in free speech than they are in manufacturing a background of martyrdom against which Mrs. Robeson can speak.

We do not recall that the Minneapolis chapter of the CRC ever bled for Gerald L. K. Smith when a scheduled meeting here was broken up by irresponsible pickets several years ago. The CRC is not interested in free speech per se, but only in free speech for those who happen to follow the CRC line.

In the present instance, the right of the Phyllis Wheatley house directors to determine who shall use its facilities must be conceded. If they feel that the appearance of Mrs. Robeson there might prove harmful to the reputation and welfare of that institution, then it is obviously their right and responsibility to deny her a meeting place.

Even though Phyllis Wheatley house is supported through the Community Fund, there is no issue of free speech involved in the sense of a broad, public denial of right. If the city council had tried to abridge Mrs. Robeson's right to speak in Minneapolis, or if it had refused her public facilities on the same terms as those accorded other speakers, then the Tribune would have been deeply concerned over the issues raised. But Mrs. Robeson will still speak in Minneapolis, the Phyllis Wheatley house decision notwithstanding. She will simply not have the particular facilities which the CRC demanded for her.

Whatever one's opinion of it, the Phyllis Wheatley house decision does not affect Mrs. Robeson's clear right to speak in Minneapolis. While the Tribune deplores the pro-Soviet views of both Mrs. Robeson and her husband, it would not curtail that right by one iota. Mrs. Robeson is entitled to speak her piece tonight so long as she remains within the law, and she is entitled to speak it in an atmosphere of orderliness and restraint.

The rowdyism which attempts to break up meetings of this sort is thoroughly un-American, whether it occurs in Peekskill or Minneapolis, or whether it is directed at the Robesons or the Gerald L. K. Smiths.

There is no compulsion, fortunately, for anyone to listen to Mrs. Robeson. But a decent respect for the American tradition of free speech will forbid the tactics of the hoodlum and the bully.

Minneapolis Tribune
Apr 11, 50

MINNEAPOLIS MORNING TRIBUNE
Wed., April 12, 1950 ★★ 3

MRS. PAUL ROBESON ADDRESSES STUDENT GROUP
Singer's wife praises new China government

RED REGIME LAUDED

New China Frees Masses, Mrs. Robeson Declares

China's new people's government was praised in Minneapolis Tuesday by Mrs. Paul Robeson for bringing freedom for the first time in history to "99 per cent" of the country's people.

The famed Negro singer's wife, who recently attended the Asia Women's conference at Peiping, addressed a meeting sponsored by the Young Progressives of America in Coffman Memorial union, University of Minnesota.

She also spoke last night at a meeting sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress at CIO hall, Fourth avenue and Eighth street.

Both meetings were orderly.

Through land reform, Mrs. Robeson said, the new government has emancipated the nation's peasants from the feudal system which has chained them for centuries.

For this reason, she said, "the new government is the first in China's long history to enjoy the full support of the people.

"As the people's army advanced against the nationalists," she said, "it confiscated farm property from the feudal landlords and redistributed it equally to all."

In this way, the Chinese people realized equality for the first time in history, she continued. This equality extends to the women who are recognized as citizens on the same basis as the men.

Last night's meeting was originally scheduled at the Phyllis Wheatley settlement house.

Yesterday Mrs. Robeson said the board of directors of Phyllis Wheatley had been panicked into canceling her appearance there by a police phone call offering protection in case of violence.

This was denied by Charles D.

Eslanda Goode Robeson (Mrs. Paul Robeson,) just returned from a visit to China, will speak at the Phyllis Wheatley House, 809 Aldrich Ave., No., Minneapolis, Tuesday evening, April 11, at 8 p.m. She will speak on "The New China." She is being sponsored by the local chapter of the Civil Rights Congress.

CALIFORNIA EAGLE
APR 12, 1951

IS IT A CRIME....

to talk and think?

The Bill of Rights says "NO"! **The Smith Act says "YES"!**

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

To speak your mind out, to talk as you please, to think what you wish has been the hard-fought tradition of our people and our nation since 1776.

These rights are the bedrock of all our freedoms, conceived in liberty and so dedicated by people like you and your neighbors.

Whenever the right to belief or opinion is forbidden to any person or any group by government edict or even by law — danger threatens not only the rights of you and all the people, but it erases democratic self-government itself.

The Smith Act of 1941 is such a danger. It makes it a crime for you to think and speak your mind out. The menace of Section 10 of the Smith Act is that it flagrantly opposes free speech and free press and free assembly.

While the views presented here are not to be construed as a defense of certain creeds, or political doctrines, we are aware of the danger of the present-day persecution and conviction of men for their thoughts whether they be Catholics, Republicans, Democrats or the officials of the Communist Party.

We feel if the citizens have to decide between Section 10 of the Smith Act or the Bill of Rights, you and people like you will vote for the Bill of Rights.

The FIRST AMENDMENT SAYS: "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people to assemble, and to petition the government for the redress of grievances."

In direct contradiction to this "fixed star in our constitutional constellation," Section 10 of the Smith Act actually tells us the First Amendment is illegal and that it is a crime for any person or group of persons to print what is on their minds or what is in their hearts.

Inasmuch as the Smith Act seeks to control and punish for speech, press and assembly—and such control and punishment is clearly contrary to the Bill of Rights—the Smith Act is patently unconstitutional and must be repealed.

Should our law-makers wish to punish anyone for criminal ACTIONS, it has such power already vested in it. But to prosecute, punish and convict any person, or group of persons, for their thinking is as odious as the decrees of our late enemy Nazi Germany.

If the Smith Act can punish one person for his belief—then the Bill of Rights is destroyed.

President Abraham Lincoln said: "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it . . . ." If Lincoln were alive, and he said that today, then under Section 10 of the Smith Act he could be prosecuted and convicted.

YOU MUST DECIDE! THE SMITH ACT OR THE BILL OF RIGHTS!

—●—

WE THE UNDERSIGNED agree with Voltaire's thought—"While I disapprove of what you say, I will defend to the death, your right to say it."

Therefore we Californians take this means to inform and remind our fellow Americans of the danger of Section 10 of the Smith Act, and urge you to raise your voices to the end that the Smith Act be repealed and the Bill of Rights be maintained.

Educators, Professional and Businessmen
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Rev. Emmer Engberg
Rev. Stephen Fritchman
Dean Ellie Matthews
Rev. J. E. Mitchell

(This is an abridged version of an advertisement to be inserted in the Washington (D.C.) Post

A CALL TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE

Begging Should End Now Says Eslanda Robeson

I believe the time has come for us, the Negro People, to stop thinking of ourselves in terms of inferiority — asking, pleading, begging for a crust or two of the bread of citizenship. The time has come for us to demand the whole loaf, which is our lawful right under the Constitution. We have earned it, we have paid for it with labor, taxes, and blood on the battlefields; it is time now to go and collect it. We cannot do less as self-respecting men and women, worthy of the respect of others; we cannot do less as loyal Americans, worthy of full citizenship; no honest government and no loyal American should want us as fellow-citizens, if we do less.

We cannot do less in this new and radically changing world. There've been some revolutionary changes made in these last few years. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas said recently: ". . . there are rumblings in every village from the Mediterranean to the Pacific; a force is gathering for a mighty effort. The revolutions which are brewing, are not communistic in origin, nor will they end even if Soviet Russia is crushed through war. The revolutionaries are hungry men who have been exploited time out of mind. **This is the century of their awakening and mobilization. . . ."**

Well then, with these rumblings, this awakening and mobilization everywhere, shall we, the Negro People, be quiet and continue the long sleep, or shall we wake up, mobilize, and join this march toward Freedom? Or shall we listen to the Un-American voices—including the voices of some of our Negro Leaders—who tell us to be patient, we are making progress, gradually does it, and if we are good boys and girls and help The Nice Man, he will give us our rights all in good time?

It is true that patience is a virtue, but it is not patience, nor virtue, to sleep when the world is marching,—it is laziness and cowardice. If we sleep now, we can be left so far behind that we'll never catch up. If we do not wake up, mobilize, and join the march toward Freedom now, it will surely pass us by, and we may be left to sleep indefinitely.

If we Negroes are to join the march toward Freedom in this new and revolutionary world, we will have to discard your old outworn thinking and strategy (which has not, after all these years, succeeded in getting Freedom for us anyway). We must revolutionize our thinking and strategy in order to survive and operate in this changing world. We can no longer depend on a Leader here, an Organization there, some Friends and some Good-Will. They all mean well, but they haven't got us very far. We must try depending on ourselves, upon **us,** the 16 million Negro People, acting together for what we all want—our full rights as citizens in our country. We cannot do less and call ourselves People.

Two World Wars have been fought in the name of Democracy and Freedom; the majority of the Colored Peoples of Asia have fought their way up, and out from under white Colonial domination; the rest of Asia, Africa and the West Indies are fighting now to also come up and out from under; "there are rumblings in every village from the Mediterranean to the Pacific", — yet here we are, the Negro People of the United States, still thinking and talking and behaving as though the Colored Peoples of the world, including ourselves, were still in slavery, still servants of the "Free Nations".

This will never do. What must the Colored Peoples of Asia, Africa and the West Indies think of us? As citizens of the "leading democratic country in the world", we Negroes should be **leaders** in this fight for Freedom of Colored Peoples everywhere; but here we are, quiet, trailing far behind, and not even full citizens yet.

This will never do. What must people think of us? We know what the white Colonials think of us: they think we are servants and slaves and inferior. That's bad, but not matter what they think and say, no matter how they treat us, **it is not true unless we make it so by our own thinking and behavior.**

But what is much more important, what must we think of ourselves? Are we really essentially servants,—Uncle Toms and Jemimas, — to be despised but used, and then kicked and discarded? Or are we men and women, Human Beings?

If we **are** Human Beings, then we must **prove** it by **behaving** like Human Beings,—**by defending our Human Rights,** here and now, not 50 or 100 years from now. If we do not, we might just as well retire as a People, and descend to the status of animals (which Un-Americans have long tried to say we are). But then I doubt if even the animals would have us, because they certainly defend their animal rights.

Me, I know I'm not an animal, and I'm not going to sit quiet and let anybody put me in the animal kingdom. They'll have to put me in jail, or kill me, before I'll permit it. I mean that. I see no point in existing at all, if I'm forced to exist as an animal.

And listen, all you Fellow-Negroes: if they put me in jail or kill me for defending my Human Rights, and you 16 million sit quiet and do nothing to defend me,—then they can surely chop you down also, if you don't : Yes Sir or No Sir to The Man; they can chop you down one by one, two by two, six by Trenton Six, seven by Martinsville Seven.

But if you all—16 million of you—defend me in the fight for my rights, you defend yourselves, you defend us all together, and we'll most surely get our rights. Yes indeedy. It would be impossible to put 16 million in jail, or kill them. There isn't much The Man can do with 16 million acting together as One Man. Sixteen million is a good solid number which everybody would have to respect, and which nobody and nothing could stop.

I believe the time has come for us, the Negro People, to stop acting as though the Colored Peoples of the world, including ourselves, are still in slavery to the white Colonials of the "Free Nations". Colonialism is just about finished, and all the bombs, soldiers and dollars cannot revive it again,—they can only postpone the final bell.

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There've been some changes made in our world, and all these changes directly concern us; therefore we shall have to change our strategy if we are to survive and march forward to our rightful place among our fellow-men.

In this new world situation, we Negro People just cannot allow our Negro Leaders, in our name, to go to the Great White Father in the White House and ask: Please Sir, may we have this bit and that bit of our rights as citizens?

Nobody, but nobody in this day and age believes in the Great White Father myth any more; the so-called primitive Peoples in the remote areas of Asia and Africa know better; they must be amazed at us.

We, the 16 million Negro People, just cannot afford to settle for a 30-minute chat with the President, and for Tea at the Shoreham Hotel with the Nice White Ladies.

Mind you, I like tea, and during my years in England I learned to enjoy and appreciate tea as a pleasant and gracious social custom. But a tea to **honor** someone is something more than a pleasant social custom, and when the National Council of Negro Women honors Mrs. Alben Barkley, Mrs. Dean Acheson, Mrs. Tom Clark, Mrs. Howard McGrath,—we Negro People naturally want to know **why.** What, exactly, have the wives of the Vice-President, Secretary of State, Supreme Court Justice, Attorney-General done for the Negro People, what specific interest have they,—or more importantly, their husbands, — manifested in the welfare of 16 million Negroes, that Negro Women should honor them with tea at the Shoreham?

Mrs. Mary McCleod Bethune said of the tea: "This is what the Council has been striving toward through the years . . . this is an example of what the Council stands for, — world brotherhood and inter-racial good-will. . . ."

Well, I for one don't think that's good enough. As a Negro I want my example of inter-racial good-will and world brotherhood to be first enacted in the legislative halls of Congress and in the United Nations, **then** I'll be proud to celebrate it's **achievement,** and honor **those who helped achieve it,** with tea at the Shoreham. **After** the fact, not before.

I have been thinking a lot about that thirty-minute visit "The Twelve Top Negro Leaders of the Nation" paid to the Great White Father in the White House. The more I think of it, the less I think of it, and the more it worries me. And it should worry 16 million Negroes, because those leaders said they spoke for all of us. The leaders declared that **16 million Negroes are solidly behind the country** in this emergency.

I'm one of the 16 million, and I'm not solidly behind it. I'll bet Lt. Gilbert and his family, and the families' neighbors and friends of other Negro soldiers drafted, segregated and mistreated in the army are not solidly behind it;

I'll bet the families, neighbors and friends of Rosa Ingram, Amy Mallard, John Derrick, Willie McGee, the Trenton Six, the Martinsville Seven, are not solidly behind it; I'll bet the 10,000 Negro inhabitants of Martinsville, Virginia who attended the funeral of the Seven, and the 4,00 who attended the Moourning Meeting for them at Rockland Palace in Harlem, are not solidly behind it;

I'll bet the families, neighbors and friends of our 18 year-olds and others who are now eligible for the draft are not solidly behind it;

I'll bet the millions of Negroes who want to march toward Freedom and live in Peace, who do not want to spend the next 10, 15 or 20 years of their lives, labor and money in war and plans for war are not solidly behind it.

No, they are not. Therefore I protest. I vigorously protest this statement of The Twelve Negro Leaders. **I say it is not true.** I say that 16 million Negroes are **not** solidly behind the country in this emergency. And I would warn the President and his Administration that it ain't necessarily so, because The Twelve uhite-House-men say it's so.

It's a matter of cold and bitter fact that the majority of the 16 million Negroes have been **deliberately prevented** from being solidly behind the country. We have been carefully kept out, pushed back,—so far back, that we are not only not solidly behind, we are so far behind in the rear, as to be almost out of sight.

Our country shows us every day in every way, that We Negroes don't belong, that we are not wanted except to work, to pay, to fight and die, when there is an emergency. Only on two occasions are 16 million of us sure that we are included: when the Tax Collector knocks, and when the Draft Board calls; then we know we are included, temporarily.

It is **because** we Negro People have been counted out of the American Family, and pushed back, that The Twelve leaders tried for months to see the President, and finally met with him, to suggest ways and means to hastily bring us forward from the remote rear, so that "the fullest possible use of our services can be made."

I object. I protest. I bitterly protest and will vigorously resist the fullest possible use being made of me and my People,—so long as our country ignores, abuses and kills at whim. I say No.

I say first things first. First I must be a full citizen, before full use of me as a citizen can be made. First I must be **a citizen,** before I can be a **useful** and **loyal** citizen.

It is possible to be a useful and loyal servant or animal, but it is not possible to be a useful or loyal citizen, until first you are a citizen. There is just no way to get around that.

The moment my country convinces me that I'm a citizen, that you are a citizen, that we 16 million Negroes are full citizens,—**then** I will rush forth proudly and offer my services, together with respectful suggestions as to ways and means of using them constructively. I believe that millions of my fellow-Negro citizens will do likewise.

Until then, so long as my country insists upon counting us out of the Family, it cannot at the same time count us in,—no matter what The Twelve White-House-men say.

The Twelve Negro Leaders took a program of Six Points to the Great White Father,—&six suggestions as to how we, the 16 million Negroes can be made the fullest possible use of. Those Six Points did not include the Civil Rights Program, which is the heart of the matter. I believe if we had been **asked,** not told, the points to be discussed, we would all have agreed upon the following:

1. Civil Rights: The President was elected on a platform of Civil Rights, so it's a normal point to begin with.

2. Police Brutality: The police in many places are becoming more and more violent and irresponsible in their attacks on the Negro People (John Derrick, Peekskill, etc.)

3. Physical and Legal Lynching: The law-enforcement machinery—local, state and federal — is becoming more and more negligent in providing the protection of the law to the Negro People, and more and more vicious in convicting them before their guilt, if any, is proved (Martinsville Seven, Trenton Six, etc.)

4. The persecution by our Government of our most respected and militant Leaders, who fight for Civil Rights, against Police Brutality, Physical and Legal Lynching, and who champion the Negro People (Dr. Dubois, William Patterson, Paul Robeson, etc.)

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5. Peace: There are no points which do not refer back to Peace, because Peace means life, and life is surely basic; War means death, and death is surely final. Peace means survival, and the chance to use our brains, labor and money for construction and progress for ourselves and our fellowmen. War means death for soldiers on the battlefield, and for civilians in the towns and the remote countryside, and the destruction of homes, farms and factories. The total casualties of World War I in dead, wounded, prisoners and missing was 37½ million; the total casualties, military and civilian, of World War II, were estimated by the Vatican to be 56½ million.

So, for my money, The Twelve Top Leaders are just no-where with their Six Points. They don't lead me, and they haven't listed my Points. If they don't lead you, now is the time to get up on your feet, lift up your voice, and **say so.**

Because now is the time the President, the State Department, the Administration, the Military, the Congress are sensitive to the voice of the Negro. So for heavens sake let the mighty chorus of our 16 million voices be heard. Such a chorus could send some wonderful music on sound waves right around the world to billions of anxious ears.

It was not by chance that the State Department approved certain Negro leaders: Raymond Pace Alexander, George Schuyler, Max Yergan, Edith Sampson, Walter White, Sugar Ray Robinson, etc., going abroad to tell the world what progress we 16 million Negroes are making in the United States,—while it prevents Paul Robeson from going.

It was not by chance that the United States and the United Nations sent out urgent calls to the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Siam for Colored troops to fight in Korea, and the press suddenly began to praise the courage of our Negro fighting men; it was to try and refute the widespread charge that the Korean War is a war of White against Colored Peoples:

It was not by chance that the Congress appropriated $89 million for the Radio Program VOICE OF AMERICA; it was to tell a doubting world how "democratic" we are;

No, it was not at all by chance. It was because in this new and revolutionary world, everyone everywhere has suddenly become aware of the fact that two-thirds of the population of the earth is Colored, and it is now necessary to pay attention to the voices of the Colored Peoples. That's why they're sensitive to the voice of the Negro.

Therefore I, as a Negro, am going to raise my voice. I'm not going to be quiet and let The Twelve speak for me. I'm not going to settle for a half-hour with the President, nor tea at the Shoreham. I'm going to settle for nothing less than Peace and Civil Rights, in that order, and then I'm going to take it from there.

I have the warm and comfortable feeling that I'm not all by myself, standing on this solid ground of Civil Rights and Peace. I **feel**—although I don't yet hear—the vast majority of you 16 million Negroes standing right here beside me, and I feel millions of our white fellow-Americans standing right here beside us.

I'm not going to be lured off this solid ground by The Twelve White-House-men, nor by the Un-American Activities Committee, nor by the F.B.I. There is too much confusion, quicksand and danger all around, so I'm going to stay right here on my solid ground, and dig in to work and fight for my survival as a Human Being. And I dare anybody to say me nay.

When I'm challenged as to my duties and obligations to my country, I shall challenge right back that these duties and obligations go hand-in-hand with my rights and privileges; they are the two sides of the medal of citizenship, and cannot be separated.

And what is more, I'm going to challenge everyone everywhere who describes my country, and the Western Colonial Countries, as "The Free Nations of the Free World". The "Free World" is not free for me as a Negro, nor for my People, nor for Colored Peoples:

The 60 million Africans, Malayans, and West Indians under British Colonial Rule, know that Britain is not a Free Nation for them;

The 50 million Africans, Indo-Chinese, and West Indians under French Colonial Rule know that France is not a Free Nation for them;

The 14 million Africans in Congo and Ruanda Urundi under Belgian Colonial Rule, know that Belgium is not a Free Nation for them;

The more than 10 million Africans in South and South-West Africa under the terrible Malan Government know that the Union of South Africa is not a Free Nation for them;

The 9 million Africans under Portuguese Rule, and the nearly 1 million Africans under Spanish Colonial Rule, know that Portugal and Spain are not Free Nations for them;

The 16 million Negroes, the 16 million Filipinos, the 2 million Puerto Ricans, the half-million Hawaiians, Alaskans, people of the Canal Zone and the Virgin Islands,—nearly 35 million Colored People under United States Rule, know that the U.S. is not a Free Nation for them.

Now when nearly 200 million Colored People know, from bitter and prolonged experience, that these Western Colonial Nations are **not** Free Nations, it is time for all Negroes—including The Twelve — to stop talking about them as "The Free Nations of the Free World".

But while I insist, along with these 200 million Colored Peoples, that the Western World is **not** The Free World, I also insist that it is high time for us all to wake up, mobilize, work and fight **to make it The Free World**,—free for all of us, the 16 million Negroes, and for everyone everywhere.

Esland Goode Robeson,
The Beaches, Enfield, Conn.

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

An Open letter to
Mrs. Paul Robeson

Dear Mrs. Robeson:

Not having read the article to which you refer, "The Strange Case of Paul Robeson" by Walter White, I can't comment on that gentleman's criticism of your husband, but I would like to let you know the reason why I (and the same reason probably goes for a fairly high proportion of the millions who hold him in affectionate regard and high esteem) have not come to his defense. One defends the weak — it had never occurred to me that Paul Robeson needed any defense—I think that the principles Paul Robeson, Howard Fast, Dr. Dubois, Jane Addams in her day and all those others in this and other countries have worked and suffered to defend are themselves the defence. I for one would not presume to "defend" Paul Robeson any more than I would "defend" the innocence of Christ against his accusers. I feel there is an analogy there, by the way, maybe Walter White could try his hand on "the Strange Case of Jesus Christ" — from your letter and my knowledge of the character and works of Paul Robeson, the two cases have much in common.

We are all in this thing together, Mrs. Robeson, some of us realize that fact and some of us are oblivious of our interdependence one on the other for our very survival in a world where scientific and technical progress has so outstripped morality (in the western world at least, by all accounts the other side of "the iron curtain" science and technology are enriching life instead of destroying it). Paul Robeson is one of few who understands the issues, and understanding how can he do less than write and speak to help others gain that understanding, there are others who have gone to prison rather than fail their people, and others again have given their lives in a gesture of protest, foremost of these who comes to my mind is Francis Otto Matthiessen, so Paul is not alone in the course that he is following.

Still, in spite of the fact that I have written this open letter to make clear why I and probably millions who feel as I do (am I being unduly optimistic, I wonder, perhaps I should be safe and say thousands) have not rushed to defend Paul Robeson against his detractors, I am glad of your statement of his position, as I am sure it will encourage and strengthen many to see so clearly the calibre of a man who is on our side.

Very sincerely yours,
Sybil Sticht

NEW WORLD Review

JULY
1954

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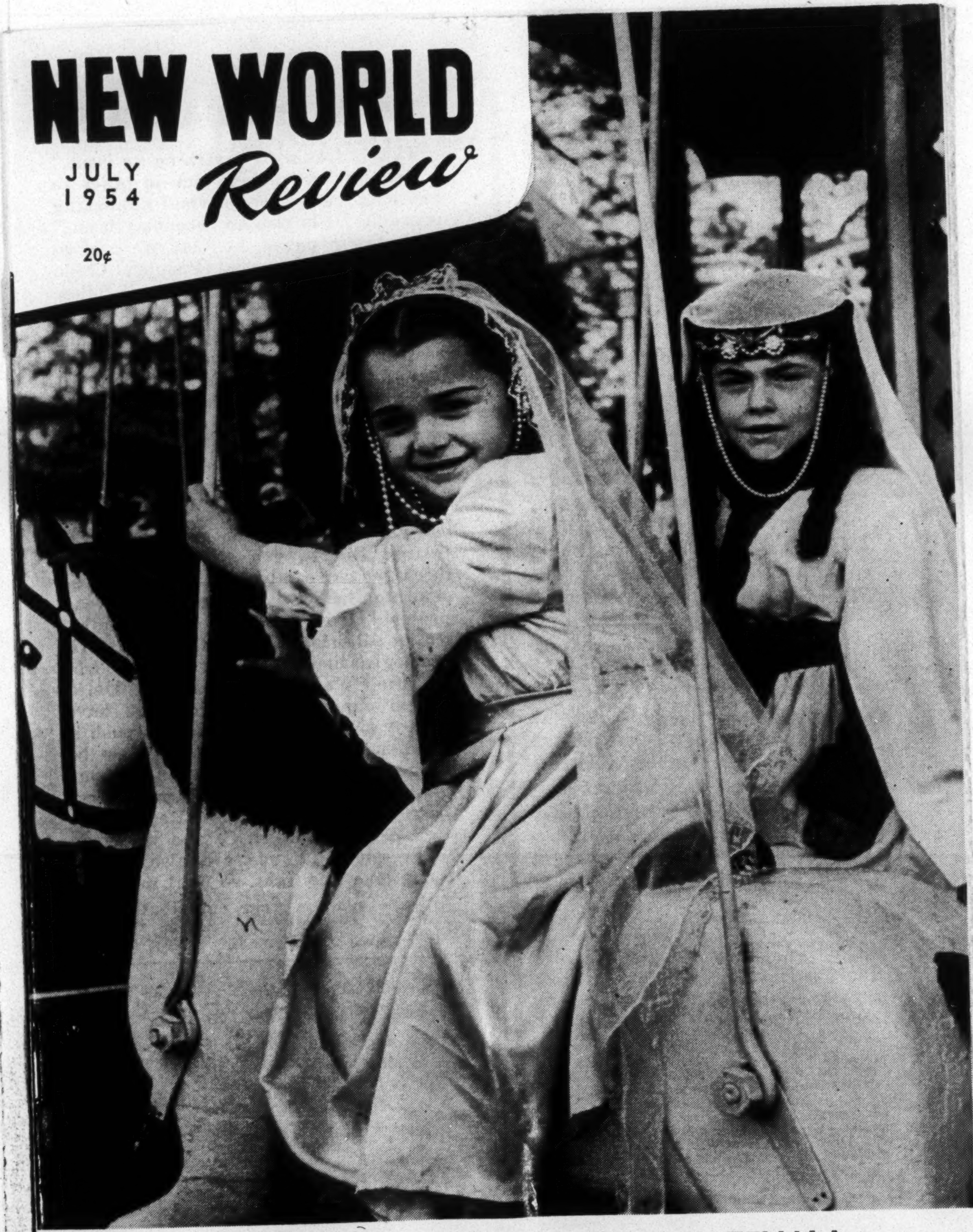

WHAT A U.S. ARTIST SAW IN GUATEMALA

Women in the UN • Leisure Time in Moscow

Women in the United Nations

by ESLANDA ROBESON

IT IS unfortunate, but true, that our general press pays too little attention to the activities, and important contributions, of the women at the United Nations. This is an omission that the press should rectify, for these delegates represent women throughout the world and they deal with vital matters.

During the Eighth Annual Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (March 2 to April 9) convened at UN Headquarters in New York, I sat through their deliberations, observed them at work, noted their serious approach to problems that touch every woman in every land, and I would like here to give a kind of kaleidoscopic report of what I saw and learned.

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The 18-member Commission, all women, unanimously approved its Report to its parent body, the Economic and Social Council, and also unanimously decided to hold its next session in Geneva.

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Some of the women this year were especially interesting and colorful. There were the familiar figures:

Miss Minerva Bernardino (Dominican Republic), again Chairman, plump and very feminine with her fascinating hats, perched at precarious angles on the far side of her curls. Miss Bernardino is a very experienced chairman, and conducted the deliberations of the Commission with efficiency, discretion and tact.

There was equally plump Mrs. Faina Novikova (Byelorussia), complete with dimples, soft voice and warm smile; and plump irrepressible Mrs. Fortuna Agustin Guery (Haiti), a school teacher whom her students must enjoy; and Mme. Marie-Helene Lefaucheux (France), charming, chic, very brisk, very French, and friendly; and Miss Uldarica Manas (Cuba), with the familiar braids coiled over each ear.

Among the not-so-familiar figures were Mrs. Agda Rossel (Sweden), very tailored, a stunning white streak in her dark hair; quiet, wistful-looking Mrs. Mitra Mitrovic (Yugoslavia), Member of Parliament, author, partisan heroine; tall cropped hair Miss Gabriela Mistral (Chile); quietly friendly Mrs. Vera A. Fomina (USSR), university professor; Mrs. Lorena Hahn (USA), trim and businesslike, important personality in the women's auxiliary of the American Legion; Mrs. John Warde (United Kingdom), First Vice-Chairman of the Commission, a countrywoman in tweeds; Mrs. Zofia Dembinska (Poland), Second Vice-Chairman, Vice-Minister of Education, with a nice sense of humor; and dark-haired Mrs. Safiyeh Firouz (Iran), Rapporteur, very serious-looking but attractive.

There was also Mrs. Isabel S. de Urdaneta (Venezuela), Mrs. Laure Tabet (Lebanon), President of the Red Crescent (Red Cross) and leader in her country; tiny little Miss Daw Khin San Yi (Burma), who usually sat forward on the edge of her chair; and not-too-tiny Miss Grace Yang. (China, Formosa), who always sat slumped back in hers.

And finally there was the beautiful and glamorous Begum Anwar Ahmed (Pakistan), graceful in her gorgeous saris, always taking keen interest in the deliberations.

The personalities of the women were varied and interesting, and some of them were very attractive, and so were their clothes, suits, and hats.

And let's face it—the best dressed women of the West are just no match for the women of the East in their simple, colorful, graceful, flattering, comfortable, fascinating saris.

•

There were some men occasionally in attendance during the meetings of the Commission. Most of them (Burma, China, Poland, USA) remained respectfully in the background, acting as consultants and advisers. But two of them, namely Mr. Patrick Attlee (Britain) and Aleksandar Bozovic (Yugoslavia) sometimes took the seat of the women delegates and expressed their views.

Mr. Attlee was most conspicuous in this respect, especially during a sharp exchange which occurred in the closing meeting of the Commission, when Mrs. Fomina, Mrs. Novikova and Mrs. Dembinska criticized the decision of the Economic and Social Council to remove consultative status from the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Both Mrs. Hahn and Mr. Attlee kept interrupting the speeches, raising points-of-order, objecting that it was not for members of the Commission to criticize the decision of a higher body. Finally, Mrs. Novikova, annoyed especially by Mr. Attlee's continued interruptions, raised her dimpled arm, asked for the floor, neatly called his hand, verbally spanked him and put him in his place as a mere man in the Women's Commission.

In her soft, calm, quiet, firm voice she said, in effect: She saw no reason why her delegation, or the delegations of the USSR and Poland, should not express regret at being deprived of the services of the WIDF. This Commission is a *United Nations body* in which everybody has the right to express her opinions freely; it is *not* a *United States club;* it seems a pity, she added gently, that the one man in this Commission (Mr. Attlee was sitting in the official UK delegate's chair at the time) should raise so many objections to our procedure.

A titter went around the room and Mr. Attlee, disconcerted, subsided, and was not heard from thereafter.

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The Commission accomplished a lot of work during its three-week session, and the results of this work were reflected in the resolutions which were adopted.

There were two resolutions on the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women workers. (We Negroes think of "equal pay for equal work" in relation to Negro and white workers, as well as to men and women workers).

One proposal, introduced jointly by Sweden and the United States, recommends that

> . . . further attention be given in each country to the development of appropriate measures by which the principle of equal pay for men and women for work of equal value be given practical effect. . . .

Another proposal, introduced by Byelorussia, recommends that

> . . . all Governments . . . take necessary legislative and other measures to apply the principle of equal pay . . . and urges all States to encourage the activities of governmental and non-governmental organizations directed towards the practical application of the principle of equal pay in all countries, including Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. . . .

In the debate around the equal pay issue, two different viewpoints emerged. One, led by the United States, felt that further practical application should be left to trade unions and employers; the other, led by Byelorussia, felt that governments should enact laws for practical application, and then see that those laws are carried out.

It was pointed out that so far only six countries—Austria, Belgium, Dominican Republic, France, Mexico and Yugoslavia—have ratified the International Labor Organization Convention on Equal Pay.

The Resolution on Women's Access to Education, submitted by the USSR, recommends that:

> . . . States, both members and non-members of the United Nations should:
>
> 1. Take the necessary steps to ensure that women have equal access with men to all types of education, without distinction as to nationality, race or religion;
> 2. Enact laws and regulations to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women in education and to ensure access for women to all types of education, including vocational and technical education, and equal opportunities to obtain scholarships for education in any field and in preparation for all careers.

Two resolutions on the rights of married women covered a wide field. A proposal submitted jointly by Haiti and France recommends that:

> . . . governments take all necessary measures to ensure the right of a married woman to undertake independent work, to carry it on and to administer and dispose of her earnings without the necessity of securing her husband's authorization.

A resolution submitted jointly by Haiti and Iran:

> Requests the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, as appropriate, in collaboration with States administering Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories to take all appropriate measures to ensure complete freedom in the choice of a spouse . . . to guarantee the right of widows to the custody of their children and their freedom as to remarriage . . . to ensure also that family allowances, where these are provided, be administered in such a way as to benefit directly the wife and children. . . .

A joint resolution by Sweden and Yugoslavia recommends that

> governments take all necessary steps to eliminate legal discrimination against married women in property

> rights . . . that men and women shall have equal rights and responsibilities as to marriage, during marriage, and at its dissolution.

The Commission proudly announced that the International Convention on the Political Rights of Women had now received its sixth ratification, and would therefore come into force on July 7th, 1954. The Convention provides that:

> . . . women shall be entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men; that they shall be eligible for election to publicly elected bodies; and that they shall be entitled to hold public office and to exercise all public functions on equal terms with men. . . .

The six countries which have so far ratified the Convention are: the Dominican Republic, China, Greece, Bulgaria, Sweden and Cuba. (The USSR has just ratified the Convention, also, making seven, in all.)

The Commission recommended, by a vote of 16-0, with 2 abstentions (UK and USA), that a renewed appeal be addressed to governments to sign and ratify the Convention.

And last but not least, the Commission, by unanimous vote, adopted a proposal submitted by the Chairman on the participation of women in the work of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies:

> The Commission on the Status of Women. . . . Looks forward with confidence to a constantly increasing number of women in policy-making or senior positions in the Secretariat of the United Nations;
>
> Recommends to non-governmental organizations that they continue to emphasize the importance of expanding opportunities for women in public service at the national level as a means of encouraging their participation in international civil service.

I might add, that the women of the world look forward to the time when women, appointed by their governments, will sit, side-by-side with men, in the top policy-making bodies of the United Nations—in the Security, Trusteeship, and Economic and Social councils.

That will be the day.

USSR MOVES TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL TIES

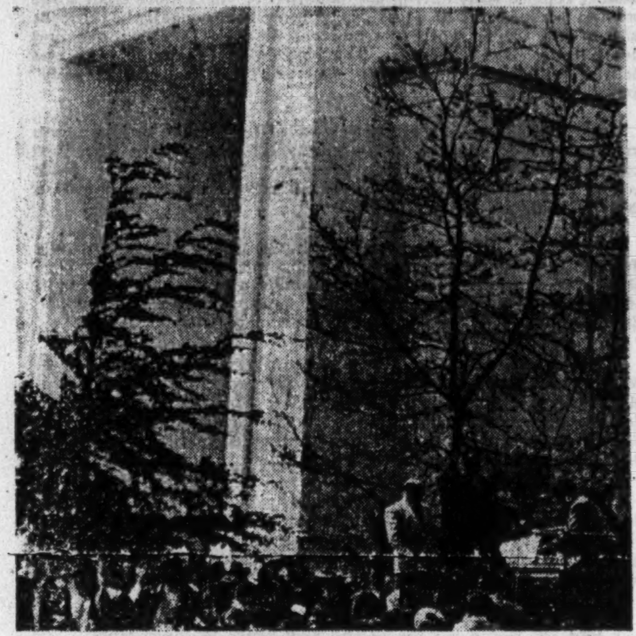
ON APRIL 29, the USSR became a member of the International Labor Office, after having notified the ILO of its decision to accept the commitments under the ILO Charter. In Geneva, the U.S. challenged the right of the USSR worker and employer members to be seated. The Credentials Committee, however, recommended seating, and the conference, by a decisive vote, supported the Credentials Committee. The New York Times report described the vote as "a considerable triumph for the Russians."

On April 21, the Soviet Union became a member of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

On April 23, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR ratified the 1949 Geneva Conventions concerning the protection of war victims, including the conventions on improving the lot of the wounded and sick in Field Forces and Naval Forces; the convention on the treatment of war prisoners and the convention on the defense of the civilian population during wars.

AME Zions — Half Million Strong — Back Paul Robeson Passport Fight

Freedom
"Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!"
Vol. II—No. 6 JUNE, 1952 10c



FORTY THOUSAND ADMIRERS gathered at the International Peace Arch at Blaine, Washington, on May 18 to hear Paul Robeson sing the songs of peace and of the peoples of many nations.

SEE STORY ON PAGE 8.

Mrs. Sampson and State Dept. Sit Out Vote as 3,000 Cheer

On May 16, Senior Bishop William J. Walls took the microphone at a session of the 34th quadrennial conference of the AME Zion church and said to the assembled audience of 3,000 delegates and visitors:

"We are not judges here, but we can demand fair play for all. Everyone here who is in favor of having Mr. Robeson's passport returned to him—Stand up on your feet!"

Three thousand people stood at once. Only two persons in the entire church remained seated: **Mrs. Edith Sampson, U. S. State Department spokesman, and Mrs. Ruth Whitehead Whaley, Secretary to the Board of Estimate of New York City.**

That action brought to Mr. Robeson's suppport in the fight to restore his right to travel abroad, the backing of the third largest Negro church denomination in the country, boasting 600,000 members in the United States, the Carribean area and Africa.

In calling for the action, Bishop Walls noted that the State Department's brief in the passport case which is now before the Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C., admits that Robeson's travel right is denied because he has been "politically active on behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa."

(Mr. Robeson held and used a passport continuously for 22 years until it was cancelled without explanation almost two years ago.)

The action of the AME Zion conference climaxed the most exciting evening of the drama-packed two week session. Mrs. Sampson read a prepared speech describing the interest of Europeans in the Negro question and what she had told them of the progress made by Negroes in the past decade.

As a State Department representative, she called for support of U. S. foreign policy and said, "If America goes down the drain, we go down with it."

As Mrs. Sampson left the stand and Mr. Robeson and a group of artists rose to present the cultural program of the evening, the two outstanding personalities exchanged greetings. Then Robeson and the supporting artists presented a program which the delegates will not soon forget.

They performed a script, written by Julian Mayfield, and based on the anti-slavery history of the church. Robeson recited a speech of Bishop John Loguen, revered 19th century leader of the church, castigating the fugitive slave act. He read Frederick Douglass's famous admonition on the philosophy of reform—"Where there is no struggle there is no progress"—and the audience joined him in singing songs beloved in the Church and by the Negro people.

He ended his performance by saying that he had been born and brought up in the AME Zion Church. He pointed out that he had always fought and would continue to fight as long as he lived for the oppressed peoples of the world.

It was in the midst of the thunderous applause which greeted this statement that Bishop Walls called for the action on the passport issue. As the audience stood, the Bishop declared: **"Let the record show that the Church of Zion is in favor of his having his passport**

(Continued on Page 4)

Mrs. Sampson Tells Europe Negroes Happy, Almost Free

By ESLANDA G. ROBESON—see page 2

DuBois Calls Third Party Only Hope in 1952

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

What is wrong with the United States? We are an intelligent, rich and powerful nation. Yet today we are confused and frightened. We fear poverty, unemployment and jail. We are suspicious not only of enemies but especially of friends. We shrink before the world and are ready to make war on everybody. General Eisenhower has assured us that "we can lick the world," and we are preparing to spend seventy billions of dollars to do it, even when we do not know whom to fight or why or how. Of the 35 civilized nations of the world, we and Japan are the only ones who have refused to sign the International Treaty promising not to resort to germ warfare; and it is widely charged that we are now using bacteria in China.

We are deprived from day to day of knowledge of the real facts. Our sons fight and die and we cannot learn why or how. Deaths by bullets are reported but deaths by freezing, accident and disease are concealed. We are allowed no free discussion on platform or over radio; in newspapers or periodicals. Nearly every independent thinker has been silenced, while stool-pigeons, traitors and professed liars picked by wealth, industry and power, can talk to the nation unhampered and ungagged. . . .

(Excerpts from the keynote speech delivered at a Progressive Party rally in Madison Sq. Garden, N. Y., May 13.)

What can we do about it? How can we face and heal our plight? Not by silence, not by fear; not by voting again for the same old parties and going continually over the same mumbo-jumbo of meaningless elections. We are boasting we are free when we are not free even to cast our ballots. We are peddling freedom to the world and daring them to oppose it and bribing them kindly to accept it, and dropping death on those who refuse it; while we, the real victims, whose taxes furnish the bribes and whose dead and crippled and insane children furnish the soldiers, sit and ask with vacant faces: for whom shall we vote, which candidate shall we vote for, and if you please, dear candidate—will you kindly please tell us: what the hell do you stand for anyway? Is it too much for us to ask your Majesty?

Yet we are fooling nobody, not even ourselves. We have no choice. There are no two parties. There is no choice of candidates whether his name is Eisenhower or Taft, Kefauver or Stassen or Warren, Dulles or Dewey, Joe or Charlie McCarthy. All of them listen to their master's voice, the steel trust, the aluminum trust, the rubber combine, the automobile industry; oil, power, plastics, the railroads, tobacco, copper, chemicals and coco-cola, telegraph and telephone; liquor; radio and movie—all of the more than 200 giant corporations which wield the power that owns the press and the magazines, and determines what news the news agencies will distribute; what opinions the publishers will print, and what the movies will screen. They are united in that super-congress of which the National Association of Manufacturers is the upper house and the National Chamber of Commerce is the lower, which are preparing world war to rule mankind and reduce again the worker not simply to slavery but to idiocy.

W. E. B. DuBOIS

What can you do about it? Vote for a Third Party. There is absolutely no other way. A Third Party or die! . . .

If we are going to have democracy in America, we must organize the Third Party by homes and blocks; we must jam meetings and halls. We must contribute our little dollars, remembering that the dollars of the masses can outweigh the huge endowments of the business foundations, and that full employment and high wages which now depend on murder and destruction can have a more civilized foundation in housing, hospitals and schools. We must listen to facts and read reason instead of being entertained by stupid radio and television advertisements and tawdry, vulgar pictures. We must know the issues and talk about them and tell others. We must unite our wards, villages and cities into a nation, and in November, rain or shine, cast our votes for men, not for Generals or College Presidents or Rich Men's babies.

Vote! That is what democracy is for. There is no question: We can have peace if we want peace; we can have war if we want war; and if we don't know what we want or don't dare to tell, we will get whatever makes the most money for those who own Congress. We can get low taxes, social security, housing and slum clearance; social medicine; cheap light, heat and telephone service; decent schools taught by teachers with guts; streetcar fares spent on passengers and not on subway bonds born in dishonesty; all this any people can have, if they dare vote for it.

I am not one who despairs even when brasshats and thieves seem triumphant and it costs a man life, liberty and happiness to dare express his opinions, when this nation is about to be black-jacked into selecting as President a war-maker who cannot reveal a policy because he has none to reveal; when we have crime because there is no essential ethical difference between private theft, big business methods and public graft. Beneath this stampede and filth; this

(Continued on Page 2)

Mrs. Edith Sampson Tells Europeans Negroes Are Happy, Almost Free

By ESLANDA G. ROBESON

Did you know that the Negro people will have complete equality in five years? Mrs. Edith Sampson said so in these words: **Progress has been so great, Negroes will have complete and full equality within five years."**

Did you think Negroes are the last hired and first fired? It isn't so; it's all lies and Russian propaganda. Mrs. Sampson said so, in these words: **"People say Negroes are last to be hired and first to be fired. That's just not true. Management is interested in profits, so when they cut down they keep those who perform best. Of course, shiftless Negroes are fired."**

Did you think Negroes don't like conditions in the South? Well, don't you believe that either, says our Mrs. Sampson, as follows: **"If Negroes didn't like conditions in the South, all they would have to do would be to take a bus, train or plane, and go north. But they prefer to stay in their beautiful homes and take care of their land."**

Europeans Criticize

She also said: **Negroes won't buy second-hand cars. They buy Cadillacs, big black shiny ones."**

What kind of company does Edith Sampson keep? She must travel with Negro Cadillac leadership—certainly not with Negroes typical of our millions, or of the one-third of our nation who are ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed.

Mrs. Edith Sampson, Negro lawyer from Chicago, former U. S. alternate delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, recently on a State Department mission in Europe, said all that and much more in a lecture tour entitled, "Negro life in America" last February in the National Museum at Hellerup, Denmark.

But she didn't get away with it. She got her ears pinned back by members of her audience. A Mrs. Kirsten Lauritzen, social leader and wife of a shipowner, criticized her in these words: "Her speech seems only a defense for the U. S. A. . . . I question the advisability of making speeches that seem to be very one-sided. . . . I do not think Mrs. Sampson is serving the best interests of the Negro people."

MRS. ESLAND G. ROBESON

A young Negro in the audience asked for the floor several times but it was denied him; he told friends later that Mrs. Sampson had completely distorted the truth about the Negro people.

"Silly" Jim Crow

Direct reports from Scandinavia reveal that Mrs. Sampson was irritated because many in the audience disputed her glowing picture. In Gothenberg, Sweden, she angrily left her meeting before it was adjourned, because she did not like the questions from the floor.

You can imagine what kind of questions they must have been, because in Stockholm she is quoted as having made these statements:

MRS. EDITH SAMPSON

"Jim Crow still exists in the South, but it is such a silly thing." Silly? !

"In Northern cities like Chicago Negroes own property in various spots throughout the city." That must have been in answer to a question about Cicero!

"The Governor of South Carolina is an old man. That's why he insists on discrimination." The "old man" is only James Byrnes, former Secretary of State, who helped make our foreign and domestic policies.

Meets Diplomats

"Paul Robeson is beginning to waste people's time making speeches. His passport has not been taken away because he is a Negro. When he says untruths about America, we cannot allow him to travel." Note the "we" if you please. Maybe Edith feels very we-ish with Dean (Acheson) and Ruth (Shipley), Secretary of State and Chief of the Passport Division, but I'll bet they don't feel visa versa.

While on her missions, Mrs. Sampson was associated with U. S. embassies and met with leading diplomats of the world. It is said that she was very charming and witty and very fast with the sharp words.

For example, at a diplomatic reception where food was being served, Mrs. Sampson approached Mr. Julius Katz-Suchy, Poland's chief delegate to the U. N. "Mr. Katz-Suchy," she said, "I brought you a piece of pumpkin pie. I thought you would like it. I understand they don't eat very well in your country."

Mr. Katz-Suchy looked at our overfed Edith, coughed, accepted the pie and commented on the weather.

A little more humanity, Edith, if you please. Is hunger—even when it exists in your fertile imagination—a proper subject for "wit"?

Here's another Edith Sampson gem: "I would rather be a Negro in America than a citizen in any other land." Well, maybe Edith can pick and choose her land to be a citizen in, but most Negroes cannot. We're stuck with this one, and so we are fighting to make it feasonably safe for our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. A little help from Mrs. Sampson would certainly be appreciated.

National News

Florida was news in the Negro press again last month with the birth of a new white supremacist hate organization called the "White Democrats of the South." To join is to pledge: ". . . I believe in States Rights and Segregation of the White Race from the Colored Race" and "I will support the White Democrats of the South in their program to bring to the public's attention the truth of all civil rights cases framed against white citizens and peace officers by Communists and all the deceptive popular front groups."

• • •

The new civil service re-classification of janitors and charwomen in the South will cause large numbers of Negro workers to lose thousands of dollars in pay. Typical is Mrs. Suzie Henderson of Atlanta, formerly employed at an army post in the South, who says that her reclassification loss will amount to as much as $500 per year.

• • •

An Official Federal Bureau of Prison pamphlet released last month reports that during the last twenty years more than three colored persons out of every 30,000 have been "legally" executed; where only three white persons out of every 270,000 have met death in a similar fashion. The colored population is only one tenth of the total population. But 57.2% of the total "legally" executed are colored.

• • •

PITTSBURGH—An all white jury of ten women and two men in a court room packed with indignant Negro citizens acquitted Lawrence Robinson in the "attempted-rape-murder" of a white school teacher who insisted on "positively" identifying the dark skinned man as "light skinned."

• • •

CHICAGO—Mrs. Hortense Spaulding of the Greater Chicago Negro Labor Council reported that business had fallen off 85% at the West Madison Street Woolworth and Scott Department Stores where the NLC has organized Saturday afternoon picket-lines to protest the store's Jim Crow hiring policies.

• • •

NEW YORK CITY—The Community FEPC committee in Washington Hts., scored another victory last month in collecting $475. back pay for a young Negro worker who worked six months for less than the legal wage minimum 57½ cents per hour. The committee also won a minimum wage guarantee for a second Negro youth now employed in the same store as a delivery man.

• • •

BOSTON—The Boston Car Company has agreed to pay Cary Hunt, a Negro mechanic $1,700 as a settlement which was reached when Hunt filed a complaint with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, ~~charging he was fired from the company~~ because of color prejudice.

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SAN FRANCISCO—The National Negro Labor Council won four jobs for Negro women at the new Sears-Roebuck store.

• • •

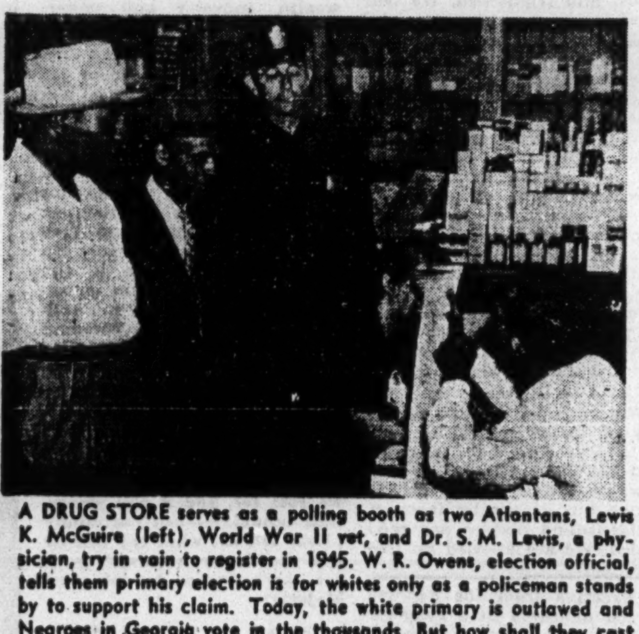
LOS ANGELES—The Student Government at the University of California at Los Angeles has withdrawn recognition from the campus chapters of three national musical sororities because of discrimination against Negro women.

• • •

With the NAACP

At Columbia South Carolina, NAACP State Chairman James M. Hinton has promised potential Negro voters that the NAACP with provide legal assistance for "any attempt to molest, intimidate, confuse or otherwise victimize and interfere with the right to register and vote."

Michigan State NAACP has announced a campaign to defeat state legislators who voted against FEPC. . . . While in Detroit, NAACP attorneys filed a motion last month seeking the admission of Negroes into the Colonel Hamtramck housing project.



A DRUG STORE serves as a polling booth as two Atlantans, Lewis K. McGuire (left), World War II vet, and Dr. S. M. Lewis, a physician, try in vain to register in 1945. W. R. Owens, election official, tells them primary election is for whites only as a policeman stands by to support his claim. Today, the white primary is outlawed and Negroes in Georgia vote in the thousands. But how shall they cast their ballots? Dr. DuBois says, "Third Party Or Die!"

DuBois Calls for Third Party

(Continued from Page 1)

deception and fear, there is a real America like that of which our fathers dreamed, and dreamed about in vain from 1776 until 1864. Dreamed and persisted in dreaming and in striving and pushing Third Party movements despite the Supreme Court and mobs; while in the face of the Declaration of Independence my fathers were being bought and sold as real estate. Nobody was more arrogant than the slave barons of the cotton kingdom. They strutted along Broadway with airs and impudence that scared most Americans then as their successors are scared today, when anyone who speaks of peace with the Soviet Union can be showererd with tomato juice, while policemen grin between their trials for graft.

Yet America crawled out of that darkness and dungeon of indecency—will crawl again today—crawl to stand and march. Out of caves of fear they will creep as once men crept in the dawn of civilization when beasts had driven them to caverns down beneath the sun, where they cowered and whined; with hope and heaven lost and lost so long, men said there is no honesty, no truth. There can be no freedom, no democracy, no peace. Crouch lower, yield, conform, give up! But some never lost faith, never ceased to struggle toward the stars. They let men jeer, until at last down there at the edge of hope somebody pointed, another groaned, and a third screamed. They stood, staggered and walked out into the night, and a chorus swelled:

It is the stars, it is the
ancient stars,
It is the old and everlasting
stars.

N.C. Furniture Workers Blaze Union Trail

By GEORGE JOHNSON

THOMASVILLE, N. C.—When I started at the Thomasville Chair company twenty years ago, I worked ten hours a day for 20 cents an hour. It was a long time before the union came, but when it did everybody in Thomasville knew it. For 17 long weeks in 1946 Negro and white workers in this Jim Crow town walked the picket lines together, ate out of the same soup kitchens and won a strike which established Local 286, United Furniture Workers of America, CIO, as our bargaining agent.

GEORGE JOHNSON

Today we're out on strike again. This time we're fighting to keep our union which has won more benefits for the workers at Thomasville Chair in the past six years than the company had granted in all its past history.

For six months we negotiated for a measly five cent wage increase and for six months the company refused to budge. It offered—nothing! Now we've been out for 12 weeks and Thomasville Chair has already lost more than the wage increase would have cost them for a year. It seems the company has one aim: **to smash our union.**

Union Brought Dignity

When the union came in 1946 the average worker at the plant was making about 40 cents an hour. The union has won a wage increase every year except 1951, so that the average wage is now around 90 cents. We now get insurance, sick benefits and paid vacations.

But mostly, the union has won dignity. There was a time when if a foreman didn't think you were working hard enough and fast enough, he would just walk over and kick you good. If you complained, you lost your job. It was usually the Negro workers who got most of that, but they used to kick the white workers too.

Negro workers in the plant average between 85 and 90 cents an hour tops and as usual do the dirtiest work—in the lumber yard, the filler room and the glue room. My own hands are stained white from having to clean them with strong solutions to get the varnish off. For this, I draw 99 cents an hour.

Jim Crow Wages

The big job is to get the white workers at the plant to understand how white supremacy hurts them. For instance, only whites are hired in the higher skilled jobs in the cabinet, machine and upholstery departments. They average around $1.10 an hour. Now this is a little more than the Negro workers get, but it is a lot less than all workers, Negro and white, could get if the discriminatory hiring policy were wiped out and the union's bargaining strength increased. **Compared with a New York upholsterer who makes an average of $2.50 an hour, the Thomasville upholsterer, in his "white-only" job, loses about $1.35 an hour to the bosses pocket and to Jim Crow.**

Thomasville Chair works about 1500 men and women; between five and six hundred of them are Negroes. At present the company is trying to keep the plant going with about 350 scabs, and among these you will only find four or five Negroes. In fact, most of the white workers on the picket lines will tell us that if the white workers would stick together like the Negroes are doing, we could make a whole lot of trade union progress in this town.

It wasn't easy to build a union in a company town like Thomasville, especially a union with Negro and white workers together. The Finch family which owns the plant also owns the bank, most of the land, controls the newspaper and owns most of the houses the workers live in. But the coming of the union changed a lot of things. Even those who aren't in industry don't bow and scrape to the Finches as they used to.

That's why they want to get rid of the union so bad. The company offers the workers a little more money and better jobs if they quit the union. Sometimes the union signs up 150 workers in a month, and the next month maybe 100 of them have been fired. The bosses tell the white workers: "Are you going to join that Negro union?" They know, of course, that most of our members and officers are white, but they try to stir up the worst prejudices to keep the workers divided and the union weak. But still in spite of these things, the union has stuck.

Worked Night and Day

That's why our strike is so important. It will affect the trade union struggles of 50,000 furniture workers in North Carolina and Virginia. It is a trail blazer in unity of Negro and white workers in Southern unions.

The company has no use for those of us who have fought for decent living wages, and they have tried to intimidate me in every way they know how.

I am just a plain working man who has worked day and night for many years to educate my seven children. Two of my daughters are nurses, my son is a vet and goes to A & T College in Greensboro, and I have another daughter who went to Johnson C. Smith College in Charlotte. I haven't had much education myself and there must be many things I don't know, but I figure like this: **there is one thing a man has got to have and that is the guts to stand up and fight for himself and his people.**

One thing is sure. When this strike is over, the workers are going to be a lot more interested in political issues. They have seen how the elected officials treat their strike. I was one of the men who handed out leaflets asking Negroes to register to vote.

I believe that if we can keep our union strong and build up the voting power of the workers and the Negro people, we can make Thomasville a happy place to live in—a place where folks won't have to worry about being hungry and living in shacks and not having enough to send their children to school.

That's the kind of country our union stands for and I hope all the people who read this article will do all they can to help us win it.

Help the Thomasville Strikers!

The story of the Negro and white strikers at the Thomasville Chair Company, as told to FREEDOM'S readers by one of their leaders, is one of the encouraging stories of united struggle by the working men and women of the South. We look to them to bring to an end the system of poverty, Jim Crow and race hate which is a halter on the progress of the nation.

The Thomasville strikers need your help. They can win their demand for a five cent raise if they receive enough food and money to hold out against a notorious anti-union, anti-Negro employer. So, take it up with your friends, your union, church group or social club. Most important, sit down right now (the Thomasville workers may have made the chair you use) and send a money donation and wrap a package of canned or boxed foods and send them to: Thomasville Strike Relief Committee, 17 Trade Street, Thomasville, N. C.

Army Fires FEPC Leader

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—"The so-called loyalty program has got to go if FEPC is to become a law!" That's the sentiment being expressed in this city following the suspension of a Negro worker from the Army's Jeffersonville Quartermaster Depot for circulating a petition for fair employment practices.

The worker, Walter E. Barnett is a World War II veteran who was injured on Iwo Jima. He has been chairman of the Progressive Party of Louisville and Jefferson County for two years and is a member of the executive committee of the Louisville Area Negro Labor Council.

Barnett contends that on the morning of April 18 he got signatures to the Council's FEPC petition from fellow workers "on his own time." Later that day, he was called to the office of Brig. Gen. L. O. Grice, depot commander, and questioned.

Nathaniel McKenzie, chairman of the Council here, in discussing the Barnett case, declared: "His suspension is part of a pattern that has been established to silence all who stand on the side of the people as oppposed to those who serve the interest of Big Business and who seek to opppress the people."

Veteran Labor Leader Dies at Seattle Post

Charles Nichols, Seattle port agent of the Marine Cooks & Stewards Union, died on Tuesday, May 18. FREEDOM joins his family, his fellow union members and the friends who knew him from coast to coast in mourning our common loss.

No one had been more instrumental than Charles Nichols in breaking down Jim Crow on the ships sailing out of Seattle. He first went to sea in 1925 on the Jim Crow Admiral Line ships. Even as a youngster he wasn't interested in just a job for himself, but in equal rights for all Negroes.

During the rugged days of the 30's, through the great West Coast maritime strikes of 1934 and 1936 Charlie joined with Joe Harris, fomer Seattle port agent of MCS and Eddie Tangen, secretary-treasurer of the Union, in carrying on a fight for jobs for Negroes and advancement on all ships sailing out of Seattle.

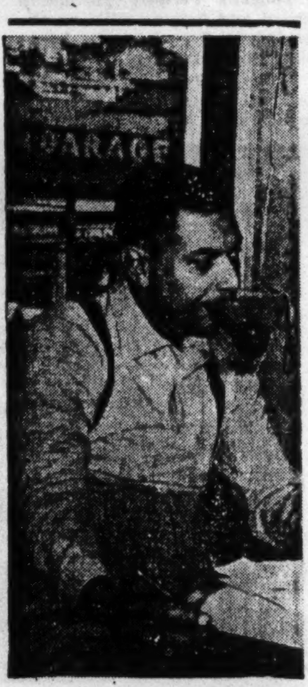
In 1940 he became a patrolman for MCS, his duty being to board all ships and make sure the men and women abroad had good conditions. Later he became a dispatcher, shipping the jobs from the union hall, and in 1950 he was elected port agent.

Charlie Nichols did not confine his energy to the Union. He was active in community organizations, including the National Negro Labor Council. He worked unceasingly for the labor movement and for Negro rights for so many years he just couldn't slow down.

Long a victim of an asthmatic condition which eventually affected his heart, he was told by his doctor he would have to "take it easy." He didn't know what the words meant.

During the past year, despite the pleading of his wife, Anita, the MCS brothers who knew him best such as President Hugh Bryson, Eddie Tangen, Bob Ward and Joe Johnson, Charlie Nichols tried to keep up the hard pace of a leader in a progressive union under constant attack from reactionary government agencies, the employers, and the misleaders of other raiding unions.

He is survived by his wife and two children, Charles Edward and Carol. He was 44 years old.



CHARLES NICHOLS

South African Unions Plan Anti-Malan Fight

"One may say with certainty, that if the Native workers are deprived of their freedom today, the European, Coloured and Indian workers will be deprived of theirs to-morrow."

Eighty seven African and white delegates representing fifty four unions and 90,000 organized workers listened to these remarks of Mr. E. S. Sachs of the Garment Workers Union at the annual conference of the Trades and Labour Council which met in Durban in late April.

A key point in the trade union conference was the attack on the Malan Government proposal to segregate unions on a racial basis and put them under the control of the minister of Labor. The conference voted in favor of strike action if the segregation proposals are voted into law.

A nation-wide campaign for higher wages for workers in the inflation-ridden country was outlined. A forthright stand for freedom of the press was taken, and the Malan government efforts to suppress the Cape Town weekly, the **Guardian**, were specifically condemned.

Representatives to the conference came from motor, building, transport, garment, laundry, baking, theatre and leather industries.

In the face of the ferocious attacks unleashed by the Malanist party against progressive labor in South Africa, the Trades and Labor Council has maintained its militancy, unity and interracial membership. It is charting the path which all labor in South Africa will most likely follow.

Volunteers Ready To Start Campaign

At a joint meeting of the executive committees of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress held on May 30, it was decided that the actual launching of the civil disobedience campaign should take place June 26.

There has been in progress for several weeks the mobilization of volunteers to take part in the action by refusing to obey the various Jim Crow regulations in the urban areas.

The Malan government has sought to crack down on the movement by decreeing that more than a score of its leaders must resign from their organizations, remain in their residential areas and not take part in any public meetings.

In open defiance of these measures African leaders like Kotane, Marks and Ngwevela continue to speak at meetings, indicating the government measures have only aroused greater militancy.

South Africa Land of Passes

The Government of the Union of South Africa employs some of the most senseless and brutal and fantastically complicated patterns of oppression in the world. The famous and universally abhorred "pass system" is typical of the fascist government's efforts to control, humiliate and harass the black African population with nuisance devices. An African worker setting out to find work will have to obtain most of the following passes.

Traveling Pass: Issued by the Location Commissioner before leaving the residence area. He is not allowed to leave the location without this pass.

A Special Pass: which is good for six days and which he must wait sometimes as long as three days to obtain.

Main Pass: To be given to the employer.

Visiting Pass: For visiting friends in the evening this pass is issued by the employer.

Night Pass: To visit after 9 PM.

Trek Pass: For farm workers to leave the farms.

Inward Pass: For any African who should want to enter Natal.

Lodger's Permit: To obtain board and lodging with another family. Issued by the Location Superintendent.

Women's Pass: Aside from all the other permits which she must carry, the South African woman must also carry a special permit to visit friends in the evening.

Beer Permit: If an African family decides to give a wedding or birthday party they must apply to the Location Superintendent to obtain beer for their guests which may not in any case exceed four gallons.

Exemption Permit: a person who carries this permit is exempt from carrying other passes. The permit is obtainable only after an African has worked for the same white employer for not less than three years. And if he is stopped by the police and is for any reason without it he is arrested.

Daily Laborer's Pass: If a person owns a small business and is not employed by any one, he is issued this pass for which he pays two shillings a month.

Apart from any policeman having the right to stop an African anywhere and asking to see his passes, any railway official before issuing a train ticket can demand to see his train pass.

It is illegal for Africans, Indians and Colored people to live in areas set aside for whites only. They are not allowed to walk in parks, sit on benches, board buses, trams, taxis, enter cafes theatres or meeting places reserved for whites only.

MEETINGS LIKE THIS one at Market Square in Johannesburg are being held all over South Africa in protest of the Non-European Franchise Bill and other racist policies of the Malan Government.

DANGER!
COLOUREDS
IF YOU ENTER

SOUTH AFRICAN LANDSCAPE. The Malan dictatorship, which fosters these signs and practices, receives arms, equipment and loans from U.S. taxpayers' money as part of "Western civilization's" crusade against "communism."

Unity Grows in Africa as Black Rodesians Fight for White Brother's Freedom

Simon Zukas is Vice President of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress, an organization of almost two million African people. He was arrested on May 6th by the British Colonial government of Northern Rhodesia which is attempting to deport him out of the colony.

Zukas is white. The government charges him with "endeavoring to excite enmity between one section of the people and any other section."

The Rhodesian people seem to feel just the opposite. Zukas will be defended in the Court of Appeals in Central Africa by the internationally famous British lawyer, Mr. D. N. Pritt, whose services will be purchased with money raised by the people themselves. Sections of the Northern Rhodesian Mine Workers Union of 30,000 copper workers have demanded a strike in protest of the government's deportation intentions.

Zukas, a working symbol of growing African-European unity on the African continent, is a member of the Supreme Action Council which is fighting against proposals for Central African Federation. These proposals are being pushed by the white colonial minority in the country. The Africans say such a federation will extend racist policies of Southern Rhodesia into the other two colonies, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

Enemies of African freedom charge internationally that the freedom movements of the African people are "race wars" and "anti-white nationalism." While it can be seen how racist theories brought to the continent by the whites, might in this time be turned against them by the black majority populations, such a position is rejected by politically mature leaders. These leaders distinguish between Europeans who are friends and those who are exploiters.

In Northern Rhodesia, the **Freedom Newsletter**, official organ of the NRAC, commented on Zukas' arrest: ". . . New leaders will rise in place of those snatched away . . . the heart of every African is dark with sorrow and full of love for our true European friend."

AME Zion Backs Passport Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

returned. The press is here; let them put that in the paper."

Apparently stunned by this spontaneous support for the great artist by his people—support which she has been denying throughout Europe—Mrs. Sampson told reporters after the session she thought it was "unfortunate that the church should take such action. . . ."

The following week, in a letter to Bishop Walls, Mrs. Sampson presumed to lecture the outstanding churchman on "the kind of conduct one expects from an advocate of Christian ethics," and accused him of "discourtesy" in permitting Mr. Robeson to share the platform with her.

When asked for a reaction to Mrs. Sampson's attack on the Bishop, a leading churchman responded: "That was to be expected. How would you feel if you were on the short end of a 3,000 to two vote? But the Bishop and the Church did the right thing, because that's just about how the whole Negro people feel about Robeson. They're for him—3,000 to two!"

FUR WORKERS RESORT .. WHITE LAKE N.Y.
INTER-RACIAL Young Folks Make This Your GALA VACATION CENTER
SPECIAL PRE-SEASON RATES FOR
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Student Killing Exposes NYU Bias

By LORRAINE HANSBERRY

On Friday, May 9, Enus L. Christiani, a graduate student in economics at New York University, walked over to a game booth at a university fund raising block party, and asked the students who were running the dart game there to change the target, which was the stereotyped head of a Negro woman.

The white fraternity and sorority students argued with him and refused to move it. Christiani, a member of the campus chapter of the NAACP and his community FEPC committee, went back to the booth several times during the evening and insisted on the removal of the anti-Negro drawing.

Enus L. Christiani

A fight started and the university special guard, James G. Giordano came up and began to scuffle with the angry Negro student. Then the guard pulled out his regulation .45 caliber pistol and fired twice at Christiani.

The following Tuesday afternoon Reverend Harold Williamson stood up in the pulpit of the Friendship Baptist Church in Harlem before 200 mourners of the militant veteran and began the funeral services: "Injustice stalks the land. Let us pray, and as we pray, let us prepare to fight for a new day."

Mrs. Natalie Christiani, widow of the murdered 35 year old student, who even in stunned grief had attended an NAACP protest meeting the night before, sat in one of the front pews with other members of the family.

Word War II Vet

The obituary was that of a football star, a World War II hero with six battle stars who had worked his way through West Virginia State College. He had only a few days before completed work on his masters thesis in economics and would have received his Master of Arts Degree in June.

In one section of the church sat a block of Negro and white students from New York University. To them, the funeral bier of Enus Christiani resting in the front of the church, was a tragic, angering climax of the very things they had been fighting against.

The killing of Enus Christiani at NYU served as a terrible opening expose of the racist policies existing at the "liberal" university.

For months the campus chapter of the NAACP has conducted a campaign to get the University administration to remove race and religion questions from class registration cards. The University administration has sought desperately to cover up the practice, saying that the information was needed for "statistics" and that various campus religious organizations requested the information, which was denied by the heads of the organizations when they were visited by an NAACP committee.

Domitory Segregation

The day before the Christiani funeral a picket line was organized in front of the main building protesting the registration card practice. The student picketeers shouted: "WE WANT EDUCATION . . . NOT DISCRIMINATION!"

Racism at NYU aside from the registration cards persists in several forms. One Negro woman student reported that not only were Negro women segregated at Judson House into one section of the dormitory but that Negro women students are only paired with other Negro women. Then there is the basket ball team which has been strictly Jim Crow for the last 11 years; a lily-white guard system and the free functioning of lily-white fraternities and sororities on the campus. It was such a sorority, the Alpha Epsilon Phi, which put up the caricature that started the arguments and insults which led to the slaying of Christiani.

All over the Washington Square campus students were discussing the Christiani slaying. The NAACP called a special protest memorial meeting to outline the special demands it would make in the case. The N. Y. University administration failed to even send a representative, blatantly reflecting it's white supremacist attitude that the murder of the graduate student was nothing more than an "unfortunate incident." The student paper **The Square Bulletin** also representing the worst of callous bigotry, commented in glowing terms on the success of the block party—and added a thin line that it was too bad it had been marred by the—"incident."

Still the majority of white students spoke in favor of an investigation and expressed doubt that Christiani would have been killed had he been white.

This letter sent in to the FREEDOM office is typical of the anger of Negro students on the NYU campus:

To the Editors:

The greedy fist of racist oppression has struck again! This time, firing a fatal shot. This time, on the campus of one of the "most liberal" universities in the country.

Enus Christiani, a Negro graduate student at New York University was murdered by a University cop. Chris' voice cries out to us, pleads to us: "Unite against our enemies!"

Let your voice be heard protesting this killing, demanding a Negro white grand jury investigation, demanding disarming of the guards at NYU.

Protest through your civic organizations, social clubs, religious organizations, sororities, fraternities, unions or as individuals.

Write or wire: Chancellor Henry T. Heald, New York University, Washington Square, New York City. Also write or wire District Attorney Frank Hogan.

Act now for the right of the Negro people to live and fight for their rights.

A Negro Student
New York University

About the Author

Mr. Williams

As we go to press, more than 10,000 Negro students will be stepping forward to receive their degrees in colleges throughout the nation. They are the graduating classes among some 120,000 Negro college students, most of whom attend still-segregated schools in the South.

What do these youth think of their education and their responsibilities in the struggle for first-class citizenship? To get an answer, FREEDOM asked this question of one of our student readers whose article appears on this page.

Robert F. Williams, a veteran of World War II, is a junior in the School of Liberal Arts at Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C. He has contributed to the Victory Anthology of Verse and the Lincoln Leader. His poetry is currently appearing in the periodicals: Scimitar and Song, The Westminster, Hearth Songs Journal and The Monroe Inquirer.

N. Carolina College Youth Calls for A Militant Student Generation

By ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

Throughout the South today the echoes of hurrying footsteps fill the congested corridors and fade beyond the vastness of the Jim Crowed Negro college campuses. Many of these echoes trail off into a past that saw previous generations of the same lineage pass from the carefree scene to the world's most serious business, the business of living. To be one among and a part of this throng is a great experience.

In the South one is constantly reminded that he is a Negro and thus, must live in a third class world with a very slight hope of the ultimate expression of his human capacities. Many Negro college students become resigned to this pathetic fate. They slide into a set pattern to play a minor role in the drama of life. They are conditioned for a passive acceptance of a limited life by the discouragement of militancy that demands immediate rather than gradual action toward the solution of the race problem.

The Negro college students in the South should be the most militant agitators for democracy in America today. They have nothing to lose and all to gain. They are free from entangling alliances, while some of the older generation have discovered that segregation can be profitable to quislings, sweat and blood pimps.

The great tragedy is not so much that some of the older generation adhere to a policy of passive gradualism, but that they are constantly striving to sell the younger generations their outmoded ideals and policies. They are endeavoring to stifle all inclinations toward militancy.

Many teachers are introducing a new version of Uncle Tomism which will surely leave its crippling marks upon the race.

On many campuses freedom of expression is limited to the praising of the American way of life without condemnation of its fascist hypocricy. Many militant students have rebelled, and successfully forced stagnated administrations to let campus minds develop unbridled and free to express the objective truth.

In many instances, the greatest threat to student militancy is the Negro teacher. They fear integration, because they feel that it will take away the security of their jobs. They look upon the school as an industry to supply white collar jobs, rather than an institution to train and properly direct youth toward a fuller and more productive life.

The lack of a progressive curriculum inclusive of an objective analysis of current events places the southern Negro college student at a disadvantage in understanding the problems of his world. Forty students queried at random on the campus of Johnson C. Smith University were asked whether they had heard of 10 outstanding personalities, and the results were as follows:

HAD		HAD NOT
0	Charlotta Bass	40
24	Taft--Hartley	16
24	Philip Murray	16
40	John L. Lewis	0
16	Harry T. Moore	24
4	Smith Act	36
24	Walter Reuther	16
28	Judge J. Waites Waring	12
16	William Green	24
30	W. E. B. DuBois	10

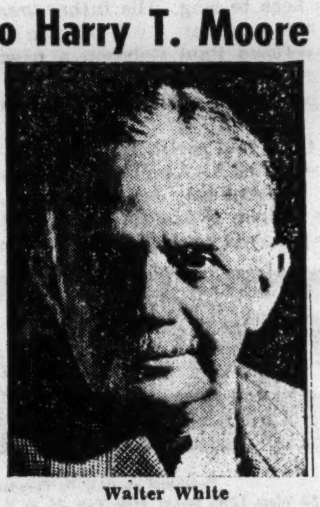
Having also been a student of W. Va. State college and N. C. College at Durham, I do not find this situation confined to this institution alone. The fallacy is that most students are thinking as they have been taught to think, of their personal careers, or becoming a third class aristocracy in a Jim Crowed world. In spite of the fact that tradition dies hard, there are a few militant Southern students determined to seek truth and justice. In them is hope and strength for Negro liberation, the dignity of the Negro race.

N. Y. School Offers Music Scholarships

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The Metropolitan Music School is offering advance scholarships, covering full tuition, to talented Negro students in piano and voice. Applicants are urged to contact the director or registrar of the School at 18 West 74 St., N. Y. C. Phone TR 3-2761.

Spingarn Medal to Harry T. Moore

Harry T. Moore



Walter White

Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, has announced that the Spingarn medal will be awarded posthumously to Harry T. Moore at the Association's 43rd annual convention, to be held June 24-29, at Oklahoma City. Mr. Moore and his wife, the school teacher Mrs. Harriet Moore, were both killed by a bomb which wrecked their home at Mims, Fla., on Christmas night, 1951. Moore was state co-ordinator of the NAACP.

Editorials

Support Labor's Battles

AS THE EYES OF THE NATION are turned to the just struggle of the steelworkers for a living wage, two other strike actions of special importance to Negroes deserve our attention.

Mr. George Johnson tells the story on page 3 of this month's FREEDOM of 1,500 furniture workers in Thomasville, N. C.

Nearby, in Reedsville, Va., 700 Negro Menhaden fishermen are standing firm in the first strike in the history of an industry which has maintained conditions close to slavery. They are members of the progressive and militant International Fur and Leather Workers Union. They are a section of an industry involving more than 10,000 Negro fishermen up and down our eastern shores. Everyone interested in the security and well-being of the Negro people should rally to their sdie.

Hearts and Hides

NOW WE KNOW.

Ex-General of the Army Eisenhower is against discrimination.

For that matter, so is Kefauver of the coon-skin cap and Russell of the Dixiecrats. And Taft, Kerr, Harriman, McMahon and Warren, too—they are all against discrimination for the record. There are not many self-proclaimed pro sin people in the world these days.

The problem is: what to do about it? And here Ike let's the cat out of the bag. He doesn't believe in complusion, he says. The problem has to be solved **in the hearts of men.**

Negroes have been waiting for the **hearts** of some men to change for more than 300 years. Sometimes we think its about time to go to work on some of their **hides.**

In any case we know that we're not going to have an end to Jim Crow and lynching and job discrimination without passing laws which penalize these crimes, and enforcing them.

It's clear that the General, who has just finished a tour of duty in which he organized "areas of strength" to force the whole wide world to bow to the will of the Truman administration, doesn't agree with us.

Hosannas to Zion!

(Guest editorial from the Boston CHRONICLE)

RT. REV. WILLIAM J. WALLS, senior bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, is one of those "men of light and learning meet for the people" about whom Ecclesiasticus wrote when he enjoined us: "Let us now praise famous men that begat us . . . the Lord hath wrought great glory by them." The scholarly prelate's action at the 34th quadrennial General Conference of his denomination will become "an example unto all generations." After Paul Robeson finished acting and singing, Bishop Walls rose to assert: "Tonight we have a son of Zion here to sing. His father was a pastor in our church and also a fighter. I will tell you why the State Department has refused Paul Robeson a passport. The reason he is barred from going abroad is that Paul Robeson advocates independence for the colonial people."

• • • •

Only two persons, neither of whom was a free agent, are reported to have kept their seats when the audience rose tumultuously to record that, as Bishop Walls said: "The church of Zion is in favor of having his [Mr. Robeson's] passport returned." Go sound the Jubilee!

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Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!

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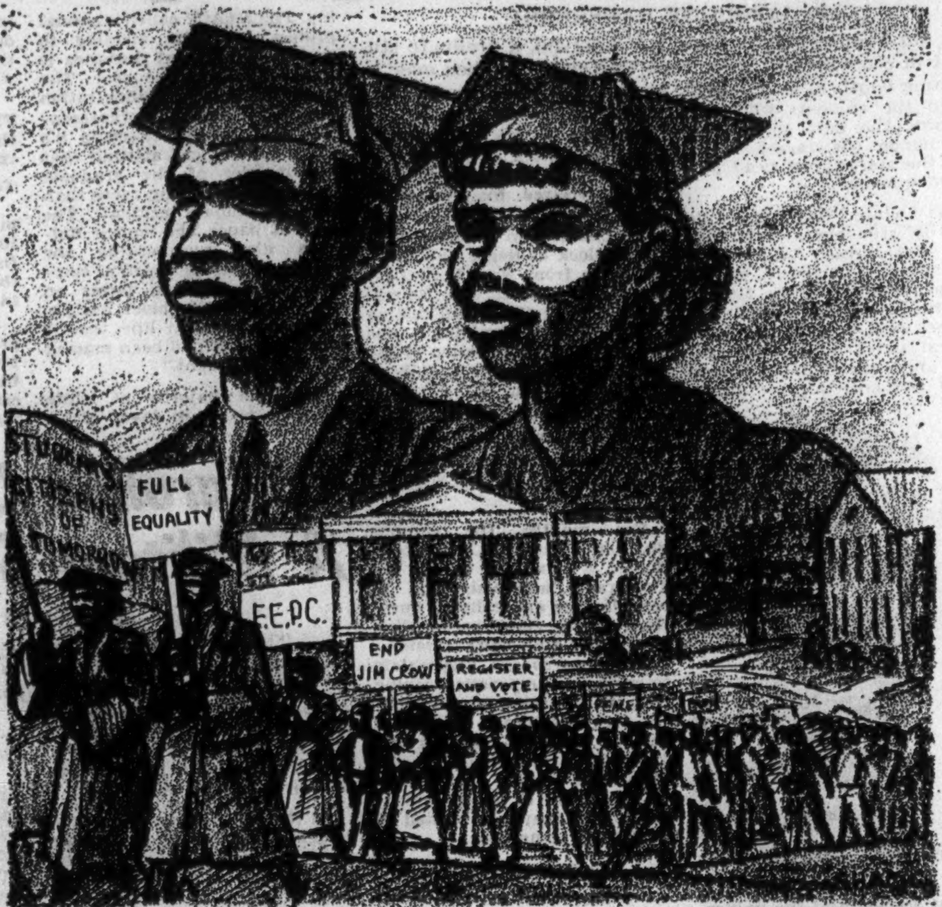

LETTER COLUMN

Get It Off Your Chest

Dear Paul Robeson:

I have heard you sing over the records. I liked it very much. I have been waiting to see you for several years, but I have not been able to see you. If you had any spare time for a children's concert I would appreciate it very much.

Eric Shtob
Brooklyn, N. Y.

•

Abstain for FREEDOM

Enclosed find M. O. for one dollar to assist in meeting debts. Why not suggest to supporters of the paper that if they are in earnest, they will not spend any money for either tobacco or liquor? The money thus saved will make a tidy sum to donate for FREEDOM.

A Reader
Los Angeles, Calif.

•

United Action Needed

Here in the Christmas City, as Bethlehem, Pa., is sometimes called, the mayor and city council are displaying a complete disregard for Christian principles by evicting on short notice, from a city-owned row of shacks on Shawnee St., a number of Negro families, and refusing to provide them with adequate housing.

The main Bethlehem Steel plant which coils itself for six or seven miles in and about Bethlehem has now begun to swallow up an alarming number of homes. Last year 10 blocks of the town were turned over to the steel mill, again with no provisions being made for the residents.

Negroes have born the brunt of the hardship in the housing crisis. An increasing number of Negroes find it necessary to move out of Bethlehem.

A few Negro leaders and local steel union presidents have made token protest but have failed to press the issue with the membership of their organizations. What is needed here is united action from Negroes and rank and file steel workers demanding adequate housing programs with a non-discriminatory clause.

A Steelworker
Bethlehem, Pa.

•

That Did It!

A friend brought me a copy of FREEDOM—(I happen to be laid up with TB at the moment)—and I am greatly inspired by its rich and progressive content. Then I read Alice Childress' column about how helpful it would be if everyone bought a subscription and donated an extra dolllar. That did it! So here are two bucks.

I am also very interested in the request of James Sutherland, the young miner of Glasgow, Scotland, who stated, in your "Get It Off Your Chest" column, that he would like to get FREEDOM each month. If it hasn't already been arranged let me know, and I'll see if I can stir up the cost of an overseas sub among my fellow patients.

Jack Reed
Duarte, California

Children's Stories Solve Problems

Allow me to express briefly my debt to you for your **Children's Stories.** Before I became acquainted with **Freedom,** as an elementary teacher in the South, I was found with the problem of offering my students something that would be of interest to them as well as counteract the racist mythology with which they are daily bombarded from the movies and the comics. Your paper contributes a great deal toward the solution of my problem.

Louis Henderson
Marion, Alabama

•

Inspiration

With mounting enthusiasm and sustained interest I have read every page of **Freedom** since a friend introduced your paper to me a few months ago.

As a Southern youth who has ever been interested in furthering the struggles of my people along progressive channels, I find it a new source of enlightenment and inspiration.

Edward Robinson
Selma, Alabama

•

Christ Will Win

You are sure putting out a fine littile paper. I sure like the work you are doing. I believe the U. S. is going to have to give in and allow peace in the world. I believe in Christ. I believe Christ is going to win in the world.

Ira Benton
Mountain View, Mo.

Classified Ads

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BOOKS

Invisible Man by Ralph Ellison. Random House, $3.50, 439 Pages.

Mix a heavy portion of sex and a heavy, heavy portion of violence, a bit of sadism and a dose of redbaiting (blame the Communists for everything bad), and you have the makings of a best seller today.

Add to this decadent mixture a Negro theme with Negro characters as Uncle Toms, pimps, sex perverts, guilt-ridden traitors—and you have a ppublisher's dream. Don't take my word for it—ask Ralph Ellison, who has used this recipe in writing Invisible Man.

But how does Ellison present the Negro people? The thousands of exploited Negro farmers in the South are represented by a sharecropper who has made both his wife and daughter pregnant. The main character of the book is a young Uncle Tom who is obsessed with getting to the "top" on the basis of pleasing the Big-Rich-White-Folks. A million Negro veterans who fought against fascism in World War II are rewarded with a maddening chapter of crazy vets running hog-wild in a down-home tavern. The Negro ministry is depicted by an Ellison character who is a Harlem pastor and at the same time a pimp and numbers racketeer.

This book would give the impression that the Negro people as a whole are a hopeless bunch of dehumanized beings. This is precisely the Big Lie that the enemies of Negro freedom have been telling the world since slavery time—that the Negro is sub-human.

The book is being hailed as "One that can well be called an epic of modern Negro life" . . . and "a profound and uncompromising interpretation of the Negro's anomalous position in American socitey." In this reviewer's opinion it is a vicious distortion of Negro life. It is a modernized "surrealist" anti--Negro stereotype.

The Negro people need Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man like we need a hole in the head or a stab in the back.

John O. Killens

Spartacus, by Howard Fast. Published by the author. $2.50.

From the very sparseness of ancient history, Howard Fast has remarkably reconstructed the story of the Thracian gladiator, Spartacus, who at one moment in history threw his weapon into the bloody sand of a Roman arena and resolved to fight gladiators no more.

Forty thousand slaves followed this man and destroyed powerful Roman armies in an early move for human freedom which shook the foundations of the mighty Roman empire.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Fast chose to tell his story so largely through the eyes of the degenerate slave-holding class and so little through the eyes and hearts of the slaves who were the heroes of both the book—and of history. The author almost creates illusion that somehow under the contemptible exteriors of slave holders, exists an inner jealousy, admiration or even love for the militant integrity of slaves, which is extremely doubtful.

A second weakness is the ending of the book. Six thousand slaves were crucified along a great Roman road as "tokens of punishment." The last one, the heroic Jewish gladiator, David, hangs from his cross and cries out: *"Spartacus—who did we fail?"*

The whole book is an *implication* of the answer: that this was the morning time of human history, that concepts of freedom and slavery were fresh and raw, that many centuries had to pass before all men would see that chains are not the only symbols of slavery. Somewhere this might have been put concisely and clearly, lest the reader conclude that human struggle is romantic and idealistic—but futile and foolish.

As it stands this story of slaves who conceived, two thousand years ago, organized and carried out a revolt and for at least a short while knew freedom, is an inspiration for all oppressed today—told by the finest historical story teller in the U.S.

L. H.

Stories for Children

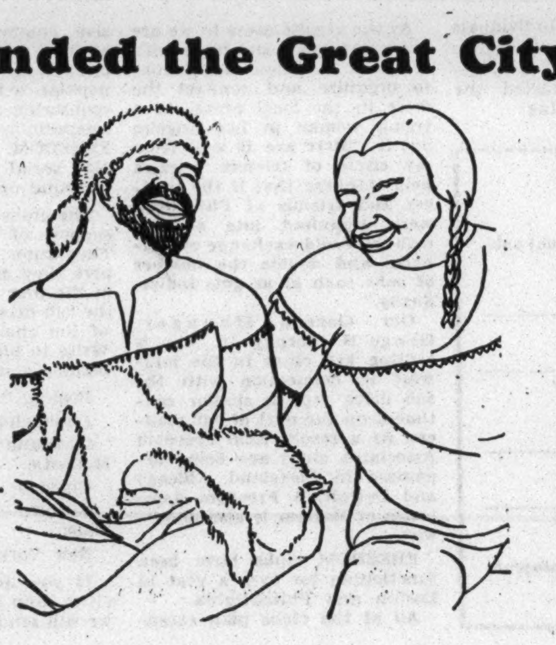
Jean DuSable Founded the Great City of Chciago

Just east of the Mississippi River, on the great green plain of Illinois, at the edge of the deep blue water called Lake Michigan, there once lived a trader whose name was Jean Baptiste Pointe DuSable.

Everywhere in the Great Lakes region, the people of the Indian nations told of the tall, strong black man who had come as a young man into the territory, perhaps as an escaped slave from New Orleans, or perhaps from Haiti.

He and his wife, a young woman from the Patowatomi tribe, worked hard building their home and their trading store among the trees near the edge of the great lake. They built a bakery and a smoke house, a dairy, a stable and a poultry house and a trading store.

This was long ago when white men were just moving across the territories of the west. At first the Indians had been friendly to them, but they learned that often the white men would try to cheat them of the real values of their skins, their silver goods and woven material. And sometimes they would take land and destroy villages.



The Negro DuSable was known as an honest trader and it was said that a traveler who spent the night at his house would know kindness. Throughout the territory the Indians respected this man who spoke their languages and knew their ways. Many times there were arguments with the white men over land or trade. The Indians invited DuSable to come and speak with them for justice.

Today, tall buildings stand where the trading outpost used to stand. The buildings begin right at the edge of the deep blue lake and spread for miles around. For in place of the smoke house and the dairy and the stable built by DuSable, now stands the second largest city in the United States—the city of Chicago.

Conversation From Life

By ALICE CHILDRESS

About Those Colored Movies

You know one thing, Marge . . . I get real salty sometimes when I listen to some of my folks yammerin' away about "What's wrong with the Negro." . . . "The trouble with us is we don't this or that." . . . or "Oh, Lord! When will we learn?" . . . and a whole gang of other remarks like that!

Honestly, Marge, it just bugs me to death! You are absolutely right . . . a lot of white folks are always doin' it too! Now it is very true that everyone can stand some correction some times but it gets awful wearysome when it begins to look like we're to blame for everything that happens to us.

For an example, I go to see a lot of movies about colored people . . . in fact almost all that they put out . . . and I'm beginning to get a little warm under the collar about what they all say. Do you remember that picture, "Pinky?" It was all about a colored woman bringin' misery down on herself by passin' for white, only it was a white woman actin' out the part . . . and then the good white folks saved her property for her and taught her how she should be nice and not so ornery. And then I saw that "Lost Boundaries" and it was all about how these colored folk caused their children so much misery by passin' for white, only it was so confusin' 'cause all the folks that was passin' really was white and should not be passin' atall. But anyway they lived in a pretty old house in a white neighborhood and the upshot of it all was that the neighbors proved how they would treat them just as well if they knew that they was colored.

I remember seein' another picture . . . "Home of the Brave" . . . and there was a colored soldier in it. . . . Oh, no, Marge! He was not passin' for white . . . but he was just real touchous about bein' colored and would have spells and things, and finally he got to the point where he couldn't WALK cause he was colored, until a nice white doctor called him a real nasty name and then he got up and walked. . . . No, Marge, he didn't pop him in the mouth. . . . he just walked —that's psychology.

Then I saw "Cry The Beloved Country" . . . and it showed how good white folks can't help no colored folk 'cause they will kill good white people instead of thanking them, and it also showed how we just don't do right, and it ends up with a nice white man givin' another one some money to help little African boys. . . . Yes, Canada Lee was in that and I was so sorry to hear that he died just a few weeks ago. He was such a talented actor. . . . Don't you remember we saw him in "Haiti" some years back when the Lafayette Theatre was the FEDERAL THEATRE. . . . That was a play about colored folk doin' right. . . . Why sure I remember the LAFAYETTE stock company. Monty Hawley played with them. . . . Yes, he is dead now and so is A. B. De Comathier . . . and Lionel Monagus . . . and Mercedes Gilbert . . . and Dorothy Paul . . . and Gertrude Harvey . . . and many more.

They were real good actors alright. I only wish that those who are still living will make some pictures and plays sometimes all about how we are not to blame for everything that happens to us. . . . Yes, Marge, I know that THEY don't pick out the stories . . . but after all SOMEBODY DOES.

Robeson Sings to 40,000 At Border; 13,000 Chicago

PART OF AUDIENCE of 40,000 at Canadian border.

Smashing all records for public gatherings in the Northwest, an estimated 40,000 persons from Canada and the United States flooded into the sunlit Pece Arch Park on the Canadian Border on Sunday, May 18, to hear Paul Robeson speak and sing.

The huge influx of people began early in the day. By 2:30 p.m. thousands of men and women and children were massed on either side of the stately white arch, other thousands were packed in a vast, colorful arch along the sloping hillside, across the landward stretch of the grounds.

Robeson entered the park with an honor guard of members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union. He was greeted and warmly embraced by Harvey Murphy, the regional director of the Canadian Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union.

At 3 p.m., with the crowd still building rapidly, a U.S. Immigration official estimated that 25,000 persons had already gathered to hear Robeson. Latecomers told how they had walked three miles past densely packed rows of parked cars on the Canadian side. Untold thousands were simply unable to reach the site before the program ended.

Thousands on the U.S. side came from Seattle (110 miles away), from Tacoma, Olympia, Vancouver, Bellingham, Blaine and Sedro-Wooley.

Advance efforts to stir up trouble never got started, despite radio broadcasts that claimed Bellingham "veterans" were ready to heckle Robeson. The alleged "veterans" never showed up; there were however hundreds from Bellingham who came and cheered.

News cameras of Seattle station KING-TV were on hand and part of Robeson's remarks was heard by a vast television audience in western Washington the same evening, and later in other parts of the country.

This great concert and peace rally demonstrated beyond question the immeasurable audiences in other lands being denied Paul Robeson by the Truman administration's action which took away his passport.

The border concert was one of a series in a national birthday celebration tour Mr. Robeson is making in behalf of the United Freedom Fund.

A Seattle concert was held in that city in the Civic Auditorium on May 20th. The Seattle Negro Labor Council challenged in court attempts to sabotage the concert by denying the hall to Robeson. Superior Court Judge Robert Jones ruled that Robeson had every right to sing in the auditorium. The concert was held as scheduled in Civic Auditorium, to an audience of more than 2,000.

In Berkeley, Calif., the Board of Education voted two to three to permit use of the recently constructed Community Center and when called upon to reconsider its action the board held a three hour hearing attended by more than 1,200 citizens. In a show of hands vote, the people of Berkeley voted more than two to one in favor of granting Robeson use of the hall, and the Board sustained its approval.

The Berkeley concert attracted a crowd of 3,500. The night before another Bay area audience of 2,000 San Franciscans heard Robeson and two days later an enthusiastic audience of concert goers in Los Angeles greeted the great artist.

An unprcedented audience of 13,000 Chicagoans turned out June 1st to hear Robeson sing at a great open air concert in the South Side's Washington Park. The affair was sponsored by the Chicago Chapter of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts and the Greater Chicago Negro Labor Council.

Mr. Robeson's apppearances will continue during June in the following cities: Philadelphia, June 7; Newark, June 13; Pittsburgh, June 20; Detroit, June 22.

In the Freedom Family

Start a Freedom Club in Your Town!

By BERTRAM ALVES

Our drive for 20,000 new readers by June 30 has entered the home stretch. The response from all over the country has been encouraging. Individuals in all types of communities have put their shoulders to the wheel and have started the FREEDOM train rolling.

As the results come in we are impressed more and more with the need for sponsoring groups to organize and conduct the drive in the local areas. As a young woman in Los Angeles put it: **"Here are 10 subs from my circle of friends. I can't help thinking that if the readers and friends of FREEDOM were organized into a local club we could exchange experiences and double the number of subs each of us gets individually."**

Our General Manager, George B. Murphy Jr., who is visiting key cities in the midwest in connection with the sub drive reports similar sentiment on the part of our readers. As a result, local Freedom Associates clubs are being organized in Cleveland, Chicago and Detroit. A Freedom Associates of Harlem is also underway.

FREEDOM clubs have been functioning for over a year in Boston and Philadelphia.

All of the clubs plan extensive community programs in addition to promoting and circulating FREEDOM. Most popular activities seem to be sponsoring forums, debates and symposiums around articles in FREEDOM. Most clubs also plan social and cultural events to round out their program.

The clubs are anxious for the support of FREEDOM readers. They know that with this support they can go over the top in the four weeks remaining in the sub drive. Here is the name of the chairman in each city. Write to him or her today and become a member.

Boston: Miss Janet Johnson.

Philadelphia: Ralph Adams.

Cleveland: Mrs. Catherine McCastle.

Chicago: Mrs. Rachel Ellis.

Detroit: Mr. LeBron Simmons.

New York: Mr. Frank Scott.

If you live in one of these cities drop us a post card and we will send the address of the chairman of your Freedom Club. If there is no club in your home town, write to us anyhow, and we'll help all we can in getting one started. You'll enjoy meeting and socializing with the other members of the FREEDOM family in your community.

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES
53 West 125th St., New York 27, N. Y.

Enclosed is one dollar each for the following annual subscriptions to FREEDOM:

NAME (print)

Address City Zone No. State

NAME (print)

Address City Zone No. State

Also enclosed find $...... in support of the program of Freedom Associates.

Urgent Notice!

Don't be without FREEDOM IN 1952 — RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION NOW!

Your address-plate on the wrapper tells the month and year your sub expires. "6-52" means June, 1952—THIS MONTH.

If your sub has expired or is expiring with this issue—RENEW AT ONCE. Just clip out the address-plate and mail it today with $1.

Freedom
Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!

10c

Vol. III—No. 6 178 JUNE, 1953 10c

Here's My Story

By PAUL ROBESON

A Thousand Years? No — Now's the Time For African Freedom

I "DISCOVERED" AFRICA in London. That discovery — back in the Twenties — profoundly influenced my life. Like most of Africa's children in America, I had known little about the land of our fathers. But in England, where my career as an actor and singer took me, I came to know many Africans. Some of their names are now known to the world—Azikiwe, and Nkrumah, and Kenyatta, who has just been jailed for his leadership of the liberation struggles in Kenya.

Many of these Africans were students, and I spent many hours talking with them and taking part in their activities at the West African Students Union building. Somehow they came to think of me as one of them; they took pride in my successes; and they made Mrs. Robeson and me honorary members of the Union.

Besides these students, who were mostly of princely origin, I also came to know another class of Africans—the seamen in the ports of London, Liverpool and Cardiff. They too had their organizations, and much to teach me of their lives and their various peoples.

As an artist it was most natural that my first interest in Africa was cultural. Culture? The foreign rulers of that continent insisted there was no culture worthy of the name in Africa. But already musicians and sculptors in Europe were astir with their discovery of African art. And as I plunged, with excited interest, into my studies of Africa at the London University and elsewhere, I came to see that African culture was indeed a treasure-store for the world.

Those who scorned the African languages as so many "barbarous dialects" could never know, of course, of the richness of those languages, and of the great philosophy and epics of poetry that have come down through the ages in these ancient tongues. I studied these languages—as I do to this day: Yoruba, Efik, Benin, Ashanti and the others.

I NOW FELT AS ONE with my African friends and became filled with a great, glowing pride in these riches, new found to me. I learned that along with the towering achievements of the cultures of ancient Greece and China there stood the culture of Africa, unseen and denied by the imperialist looters of Africa's material wealth.

I came to see the root sources of my own people's culture, especially in our music which is still the richest and most healthy in America. Scholars had traced the in-

(Continued from page 11)

AFRICA: KEY TO WAR OR PEACE

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

In Africa, today, the lure to war, the temptation to murder and violence, is greater than formerly in Asia. Africa has more free, rich land in proportion to population; it has relatively more strong, cheap labor, more capable of being hammered into a modern industrial proletariat by brute force.

Its potential wealth is fabulous: thick priceless forests and miraculously growing vegetation; invaluable minerals and unharnessed water power. Africa's gold and diamonds tempt to robbery and greed; Africa's copper, tin, zinc and uranium feed electricity and [illegible] bombs to our factories, armies, navies and airplanes.

Let Firestone Rubber, Republic Steel and Lever Brothers tell what fabulous profit the white world can reap in black Africa today, if only the white man's grip can be riveted and the Black Man's subservience bought.

The familiar cormorants of world graft, theft and murder are gathering now over Africa: unrepentant Britain with its ancient and blood-smeared jaws; France, who sells to greed the freedom she once at fearful price bought for the world; Italy, who began World Wars to restore an empire once holy but now sunk in poverty and crime; little Belgium following Holland to buy peace, beauty and security by sucking the blood of eleven million black slaves on territory eighty times the size of the homeland and a thousand times as rich.

U.S. Taking Over

But above all looms the United States of America, who by trade, force, bribery, and investment, owns today the owners of Africa, dominates missions and philanthropy, and leads the present effort to reenslave the Dark Continent.

Against all this, against power and wealth and empire, Black Africa struggles up today, its head "bloody, but unbowed." It depends for guidance on its own intelligentsia and on the descendants of Africa strewn over the world. It looks also toward Asia, colored India and China, and the dark islands of the South Seas. Africa looks to Egypt and the Middle East; and last but far from least, to the one world power which has renounced colonialism and color preju-

(Continued on Page 3)

THE FACE OF AFRICA

(The expression of a young Sudanese woman mirrors black Africa's determination to be free.)

ATTENTION CHICAGO!

On Sunday afternoon, July 5, the world famous artist, PAUL ROBESON, will appear in concert at Washington Park under the auspices of Freedom Associates of Chicago. Plans are being made for an audience of 25,000, so don't miss it! Bring the family.

Is African Civilization Backward?

By ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON

The western world has traditionally arrogated to itself the name of "civilization." Only those Americans who are fortunate enough to have studied archeology, anthropology, or comparative sociology are able to recognize that the western civilization is only one of the world's civilizations. They know that Africa and Asia have had their own highly developed cultures that have contributed much to the culture of the West.

Mrs. Robeson

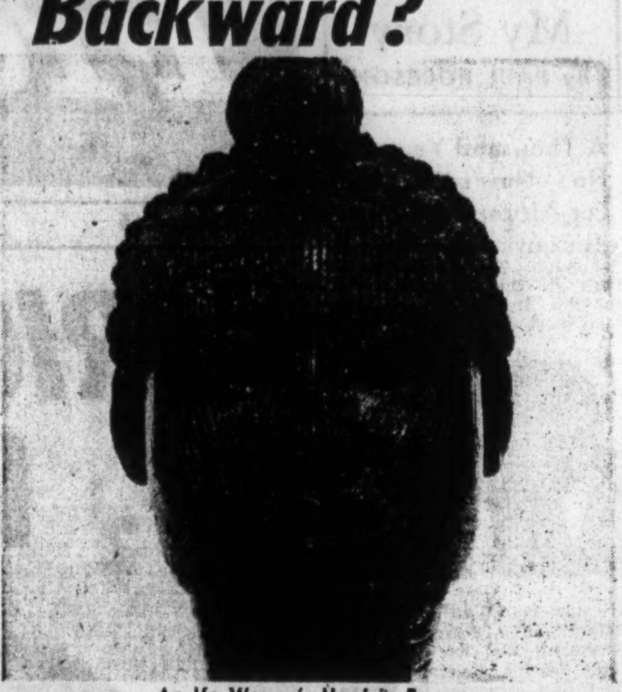
The African's culture, prior to the coming of the Europeans were highly organized and well integrated systems, perfectly adapted to their economic and environmental requirements.

Black Africa then, has a history reaching back to the very dawn of human consciousness. Black empires existed for centuries in the Sudan, Central Africa; well established empires with regular succession of rulers, graded organization of court officials and provincial governors, and all the ceremonial incidental to such a political structure. There were temples, towns, records; there were flourishing markets attended by thousands of people.

The Hausa Police maintained order at their markets. Sociologists point out that a police force, paid out of public monies is a very late development in the history of European cities. When Africans had their police, it was still the custom for wealthy people in England and on the Continent to take their retainers and servants with them for protection against robbers when going out after dark.

The law abiding nature of the African has often been commented upon by travelers and explorers. African tribes love to settle their disputes in their courts by discussion, called palaver. Every tribe has a clearly developed code of law. There are imposing volumes on Ashanti Law and Custom, and on Hausa Law, in most good university libraries.

Most people think of Africans' so-called witch-doctors and medicine men as primitive, ignorant men, playing upon the superstition of their people. Reliable investigators — white investigators, mind you—point out that these medicine-men do not generally resort to magic and spirits, but have a considerable knowledge of materia medica, and often treat diseases on purely scientific principles; that is, they examine the patient, diagnose the ailment, and prescribe specific medicine and diet.


An Ife Woman's Head in Bronze.

Smelted Iron

In very early times, Africans were smelting iron. Dr. Franz Boas, the dean of American anthropologists, says: "It seems likely that at a time when the European was still satisfied with crude stone tools, the Africans had invented the art of smelting iron. Neither Ancient Europe, nor Ancient Western Asia, nor Ancient China knew iron, and everything points to its introduction from Africa."

A Bronze Mask of Nigeria.

The Ashanti people knew how to make cotton fabrics,, turn and glaze earthenware, forge iron instruments and arms, embroider rugs and carpets, set gold and precious stones. The fashioning of musical instruments is one of the industries found throughout the length and breadth of Africa. It is quite possible that the African invented the harp, violin and.

The Bahima, a tribe in Uganda, Central Africa, weave baskets so fine that they can contain milk without leakage. Boas points to the products of African craftsmen—the blacksmith, weaver, wood carver—as furnishing cultural achievements of no mean order.

Great modern artists have said that the whole school of art known as abstract representation derived its inspiration from African handiwork —from wood carvings of ceremonial masks and figures, and the famous bronze castings in Benin, West Africa. Some of these brilliant African works of art make stunning exhibits in some of the finest museums in the world today.

And what was the nature of the life of these so-called primitive people. It is worth noting that in traditional African society, land has always been held in common, and used for the benefit of all the population. A man could not retain his land unless he used it, that is, unless he actually lived on it or cultivated it. The simplest village life of the African tribe has developed forms of common action which might well be copied by more civilized and complex societies. The politeness and the ceremonial considerateness of the African people have received exceptional tribute from many early explorers.

African languages are rich and expressive, and almost all tribes have many proverbs and tales and riddles which embody their experience of life, folk humor and wisdom. Every tribe has a well established code of morals, scrupulously adhered to and enforced. One investigator writes: "The Negro Tribe that has no moral conceptions is yet to be discovered and described."

The Answer

They call it the "Dark Continent." Their movies show ignorant, ridiculous savages. They must be inferior, so say the school books, and learned men. If not, why haven't they advanced beyond the stages the white man found them in the 15th century when he was looking for new routes to the East?

The answers are many and horrible. It is the answer of the slavers and European adventurers who destroyed over 100,000,000 Africans. Who knows the untold wealth and property destroyed when the "enlightened" Europeans destroyed cities, villages, and uprooted entire social systems?

They came with guns and lust for gold and the wealth of Africa. Since the beginning of the 19th century Africa has been partitioned and re-partitioned by European nations competing with each other for her wealth. The science and learning of the West has been denied Africans, who were regarded only as an unlimited source of cheap labor.

An African Folk Tale:

Why the Smith Couldn't Make a Man

A very long time ago there was a king who called Walukaga, king of the smiths, and gave him a great quantity of iron and said: "I want you to make a real man for me, one who can walk and talk, and who has blood in his body, and who has brains."

Walukaga took the iron and went home, but he was at a loss what to do, and no one could advise him how to set about making the real man. He went about among his friends telling them what the king had said, and asked what he had better do. No one was able to give him any advice. They all knew that the king would not accept anything short of an honest trial, and would punish the man for not carrying out his commands.

On the way home one day Walukaga met a former friend who had gone mad, and who lived alone on some wasteland. Walukaga did not know that he was mad until he met him. When they approached each other, Walukaga greeted his old friend, and the madman asked him where he had come from. Walukaga reasoned for a moment and then said to himself: "Why should I not tell him my story? Even though he is mad, he used to to be my friend." So he answered: "I have come from some friends where I have been trying to get advice.".

The madman asked what advice he wanted, and Walukaga told him all the king had said, and about the work he had given him to do, and how he had given him the iron, and then added: "What am I to do?"

The madman answered: "If the king has told you to do this work, go to him and say that, if he really wishes to have a nice man forged, he is to order all the people to shave their heads and burn their hair until they have made up a thousand loads of charcoal, and he is to get one hundred large pots of water from the tears of the people with which to slake the fire and keep it from burning too fiercely."

Walukaga returned to the king and said to him: "My lord, if you wish me to make this man quickly and well, order the people to shave their heads and burn their hair, and make a thousand loads of charcoal out of it for me to work the iron into the man. Further, make them collect a hundred pots full of tears to act as water for the work, because the charcoal from wood and the ordinary water from wells are of no use for forging a man."

The king agreed to the request and gave the order to all the people to shave their heads and burn their hair into charcoal, and to collect all the tears. When they had all shaved their heads and burnt their hair, there was scarcely one load of charcoal, and when they had collected all the tears there were not two pots full of water.

When the king saw the results of his endeavors, he sent for the smith Walukaga and said to him: "Don't trouble to make the man, because I am unable to get the charcoal or the tears for the water."

Walukaga knelt down and thanked the king. he then added: "My lord, it was because I knew you would be unable to get the hair for charcoal and the tears for the water that I asked for them; you had asked me to do an impossible thing."

All the people present laughed and said: "Walukaga speaks the truth."

Africa: Key to World Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

dice, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic.

Not that insurgent Africa today can depend on all those to whom it looks. Its own intelligentsia is divided and uncertain in aim. Its members have been educated mostly in the reactionary nations of the world: mainly in England, the United States, and a few in France; fewer in the Soviet Union. Nkrumah of the Gold Coast knows something of the Soviet Union and was once jailed as a Communist; but he knows more of British capitalism and, as the first prime minister of a West African state, faces the temptation of yielding to British investors. Azikiwe, leader of Nigeria, the largest Negro state in the world, now approaching autonomy, also is not unaware of the Soviet Union and socialism; but faces within his own group endless difficulties arising from racial and cultural differences and from poverty, ignorance and disease. His wisdom and finesse will be sorely tried. In old colonies like Gambia and Sierra Leone lie little hope of understanding from colored leaders who are more English in culture than African.

But despite all this, British West Africa is unified and driven left by South African intransigence and the determination of Malan to force white supremacy on all blacks. If this attitude continues to be backed by white West Europe and financed by America, black West Africa will inevitably be forced left and into greater sympathy and cooperation with the Communist nations of Eastern Europe and Asia.

In North Africa, including Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt, long subjection to Europe and resident Europeans have so buried native culture and native unity of ideal that a new culture must rise in the midst of a struggle for liberty. But for what, toward what shall this struggle be? And is it orientated toward black Africa, the land of slaves; or toward white Europe, the home of Imperialism?

Turning south we face first the vast stretches of French West and Equatorial Africa, where so long integration with France has prevailed in the small territory of Senegal; and elsewhere almost unbridled exploitation of every kind including mercenary soldiery to help subdue Europe, Asia and Africa. The black leaders of Senegal have usually proven more French than the French in exploiting blacks despite a few liberal leaders. On the other hand, in the rest of French Africa there has lately arisen a powerful mass movement of Africans whose program and outlook are distinctly anti-imperialist.

The Sudan Boils

In Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, a distinct color-line has long been drawn. Although the majority of Egyptians are of Negro descent, a very few of those noticeably Negroid arise to place and power. Most of them are poor and ignorant peasants. Yet today, pushing desperately up from below, they are the driving power back of revolutions like that of Naguib; and more particularly in the Sudan, black British-educated civil servants; black members of trade unions; and black tribesmen of the lower Sudan which was ancient Ethiopia and once conquered Egypt, will increasingly play a part in the future of central Africa. Today both Egypt and Britain are bidding for this part of Africa. Anything could happen here, but complete white European control and exploitation is unlikely.

This brings us to modern Ethiopia on the east, and, far to the west, Liberia. These we bracket together because they were long the only African black nations recognized as independent. Their future is today uncertain. Liberia has become an American colony, completely dominated by American corporations and the American navy. Ethiopia is still independent but subservient to the West; she is accepting, albeit cautionsly, European and American investment; has helped a little to murder Koreans and has a medieval system of government. But her emperor is well-meaning promotes education and fights disease. If his younger, educated followers conceive a more liberal economy, a more democratic government and a wider socialism, Ethiopia may emerge from the world of exploiting imperialism into the modern socialist world. There is as yet no sign of this.

The Belgian Congo is trying desperately by enlightened state capitalism, industrial training, total disfranchisement and restricted education, to keep the Africans in contented serfdom, protected from revolt by the vested interests of Europe and America. This plan has worked so far, but it has grave dangers for world peace.

Will War Come?

In Kenya and soon in Tanganyika, British greed and stubbornness has driven some of the population into murderous revolt and turned the small black leadership into irreconcilable hate. Open rebellion would spread rapidly if arms and ammunition were available. Suppose West Africa or North Africa should furnish them, and Europe and America should start to aid repression there? Here a new world war might bring in both Asia and the Soviet Union.

With fatuous stubbornness, Britain is allowing the creation of a new dominion where a few hundred thousand whites will rule 25 million Negroes in the Rhodesias and Nyassaland.

The United States is furnishing Malan all the capital he needs for enslaving blacks. If this eventually does not end in war, human nature has altered entirely.

This then, is Africa today. This is its threat to Peace, its call to War, its challenge to civilization.

Dogs, Men, Barbed Wire

Vicious police dogs and barbed wire guard the miners in South African gold mine compounds. The workers are confined in them for the duration of their contracts which run from 10 to 12 months. They can leave the compounds only with the seldom-issued and hated passes. The dogs are trained to tear them to pieces if they try to get through the barbed wire, and if they're caught outside without a pass they're arrested.

About 300,000 miners work the mines which have produced untold wealth. But the workers get only about 45 cents a day, which is fixed by the mine owners association. About 60 percent are recruited outside South Africa. There is an appalling death rate from the dread lung disease, phthisis. Unions are ruthlessly suppressed, but in 1946 over 100,000 miners went on strike.

A Nine-Year-Old Negro Boy Visits South Africa

By PAUL ROBESON, Jr.

Some things you don't forget, even though they happened when you were very young. I'll never forget 1936, when, at the age of nine, I was in So. Africa with my mother.

I remember the family trudging the hot, dusty road through the plains—a sharecropper and his family who had rebelled against slave conditions on the white man's farm. They had left without permission—that is a crime under South African law.

We passed them at a lonely spot more than 20 miles from the nearest town. We wanted to give them a ride, but our small car was full. We stopped and I got out and walked toward them, the half-crown (65c) mother had given me clutched in my hand.

They stopped as I approached. The man carried a little boy of about three on his shoulders; his wife carried their few belongings on her head. Their clothes were ragged, their faces dusty and tired; but in their eyes was determination and quiet dignity. I walked up to the father and held out the coin to him. He looked at me with eyes full of pride and said nothing. His free hand did not move.

I wanted to say something but I didn't know his language. I stepped closer, dropped the half-crown in his pocket; then I grabbed his hand and shook it. He looked down at me and smiled—his eyes told me he understood. . . .

We were in the compound of the "Robinson Deep" gold mine outside Johannesburg. It was a concentration camp pure and simple: barbed wire and dogs surrounded the compound to keep the workers from getting out; food was miserable; 36 men lived in a stone hut with one vent in the roof for air and light, and concrete slabs along the wall to sleep on.

As we entered the compound, miners began to surround us; they talked freely—word had spread that friends had come to see them.

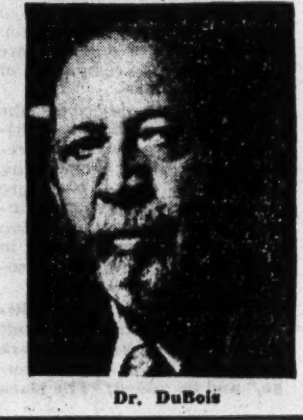
They cheered when mother told them she had come to help—to tell their story to the people of England, America, and other countries. One of them tore a medallion from around his neck and handed it to me through the bars. "Remember us," he said, "tell others about our fight." Then he raised his clenched fist with the thumb turned up and started to sing. I didn't understand the words, but I knew it was about freedom, from their faces and the way they sang. . . .

The African people — the family on the road, the miners — are going to win their freedom. I saw it in their faces.

World's Foremost Expert on Africa

For over 50 years Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has studied and written about the peoples and history of Africa. He has always been an advocate of cooperation between peoples of Africa origin, and was one of the first to proclaim that until the people of Africa are free of imperialist exploitation, there will be no world peace.

Among his notable books bearing on Africa are "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade"; "The Gift of Black Folk"; "Color and Democracy"; and "The World and Africa." He was the initiator of the Pan-African Congresses, and his latest book is "In Battle for Peace."



Dr. DuBois

Lott Carey: First Negro Missionary

By JOHN HENRY

He bought his freedom to preach the gospel. And when he still wasn't free in his native land, he went to Africa, the land of his fathers, and became the first Negro missionary.

Lott Carey was born a slave in Virginia about 1780. After growing to manhood he was a tobacco packer in a Richmond warehouse, where he saved enough money to buy freedom. It is said that Carey had such a miraculous memory he could produce on an instant's notice any one of the hundreds of hogshead of tobacco he shipped. He was never known to make a mistake.

Studied Bible

A black man of great stature and commanding appearance, Carey heard a sermon from the third chapter of St. John, and was so moved by the story of Nicodemus he vowed to learn to read, so he could tell the story word by word. A New Testament was the first book he bought. This was around 1807.

The former slave was soon "called" and began preaching on the plantations around Richmond. His sermons were so powerful that his fame spread throughout the area.

And then around 1815 he heard a white man telling about the Burgess and Mills report of an exploration to Africa. It so thrilled Rev. Carey he startled his friends and associates by declaring his intention to go to Africa and preach the gospel. But before leaving he turned his great zeal to the cause of African missions in this country. The Rev. John J. Coles, president of the Baptist Vey Mission in his 1886 book "Africa in Brief," declares Rev. Carey "contributed probably more than any other person in giving origin and character to the African Missionary Society," established in 1815.

Many people were amazed that Carey wanted to give up a great career in the U. S. for the physical hardships of Africa. But he replied to a friend, "I am an African, and in this country, however meritorious my conduct, and respectable my character, I cannot receive the credit due either. I wish to go to a country where I shall be estimated by my merits, not by my color."

And so, accompanied by Rev. Collin Teague, another Negro, Rev. Carey went to Liberia for the American Baptist Missionary Union, arriving there in the spring of 1820.

Acting Governor

Rev. Carey immediately began caring for the spiritual and health needs of the colonists and the natives, but soon he found the administration of Gov. Ashmun oppressive, and demanded reforms. He founded a church and in 1826 was elected vice-agent of the colony, and in 1828, upon the return of Gov. Ashmun to the U. S., he was named acting governor.

But shortly thereafter, he was wounded in an explosion, and died on Nov. 10, 1828. He was mourned throughout Liberia and in the U. S.

MISSION TO AFRICA: In 1951 the Baptist leaders shown above, under the leadership of D Wendell C. Summerville (second from left), executive secretary of the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention, conducted a pilgrimage to African missions supported by the Conventio

"The Man in the Moon Knows More About the Moon Than All the Astronomers on Earth. . ."

By DR. E. C. SMITH

A vote was about to be taken in the United States Senate on a problem of vital concern to the Negro race. A colored bootblack, while shining the shoes of a distinguished senator, sought to do a little lobbying on the question with the senator. To this the senator informed him that he needed no suggestion from any member of the colored race on the question, and that he had thorough knowledge of the problems of all minority groups.

The Bootblack Said

The old bootblack, who was well versed in senatorial politics from long years of association, patted the senator on the toes gracefully, indicating that the job was finished; but as the senator stepped down from the bootblack stand, the bookblack replied, "See here, senator, the man in the moon knows more about the moon than all of the astronomers on earth."

Dr. E. C. Smith

Western Christians through the Foreign Mission Enterprise, have sought to impose Western Christian Culture upon the social processes of other peoples, apparently forgetting that our Christian Culture and our economic, social and political idocyncracies are inseparable, and that while transplanting one, we necessarily transplant the other.

The success of the Foreign Mission Cause has been greatly curtailed because, in the past, the missionary to the Foreign Field, while understanding the potentiality of Christianity, did not properly understand the social implications of the environments in which Christianity was to be transplanted.

It should be the hope of every lover of Foreign Missi to have the peoples of Forc Lands to develop their cultures in ways so that highest possible attainment their innate natures flower forth. We should not so selfish as to desire a tra plantation of our cultures other peoples as the summ bonum of the social proc We must remember that wl the social techniques of otl are developed to the higl points of ethical achieveme then it is that we have c parative racial and natic progress. People are, by ture, heterogeneous. He their cultures, whether de oped or undeveloped, are c pelled to take on the hete geneous aspect.

"The man in the m knows more about the m than all of the astronomers the earth."

Dr. E. C. Smith, an emin clergyman, is minister of M ropolitan Baptist Church Washington, D. C., and pr dent of the Virginia Bap Convention. His article is cerpted from a report to Lott Carey Baptist For Mission Convention on "E cating Tomorrow's Foreign M sion Workers."

Leaders and Laymen View Social Role of Missions

By EUGENE GORDON

It would take several pages to list the tens of millions of dollars sent by Christian denominations to Africa last year. Every Christian group—plus Jehovah's Witnesses—has a Mission in French Equatorial Africa or in Liberia or in Nigeria or in the Belgian Congo or in Kenya or in the Rhodesias or in South Africa.

There were, at the end of 1952, four million African Christians in Nigeria alone, 3,000,000 being Protestants and a million Catholics. And, in all parts of the continent, 21,000,000 professing Christians are to be found among the peoples of Africa.

Take just one U. S. Negro denomination, the Baptists. The 72nd annual report of the Foreign Mission Board to the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc., shows they collected in this country between July 1, 1951 and June 30, 1952, a total of $362,581.77.. Fifteen out of 19 missions supported by U. S. Negro Baptists are in Africa.

The eminent African scholar and teacher, Professor Zachariah K. Matthews, said in a speech in New York recently that "the record of the church in Africa is impressive." He admitted that the Christian mission in Africa "has been subjected to much adverse criticism, some constructive and some reverse"; but said "the slightest acquaintance with the facts will show that the Missions are unsurpassed in the positive contribution which they have made or are making to the development of Africa."

Others have described the 'missions' work somewhat differently—especially when referring to white missions. Charles Williams, a Negro Presbyterian elder, for instance, returning to Boston from a trip to the Congo in 1929, was quoted by the Associated Negro Press:

"Rum, syphilis and illegitimate children are the result of 50 years of missionary work of white people in the Congo," and he added: "The black people of Africa are crying for the advent of their blood brothers from America as missionaries, who, they believe, will bring them the teachings of real Christianity, void of the white man's lust for gold and thirst for power."

Malan Bans Bishops

And what is meant by "paganism?" A white South African minister, Rev. Frederick B. Bridgman gave an indication when he said in 1925 that "the interests of the Kingdom" should be "more precious" to the Africans **"than those much coveted rights and privileges and honors of recognition"** which mission-educated Africans were even then demanding in the social and political life of South Africa.

This question of the social role of Negro missions is posed with special acuteness in the recent action of the Malan government in banning two AME bishops from entering South Africa. One prominent minister pointed out to this writer that the millions of Negroes who contributed to African missions expect the money to go toward teaching the Africans "self-respect." And there is no question but that self-respect is the last thing the colonial powers want to see grow among the victims of their exploitation.

In a recent issue of **Life** a growing group of Africans is described as leaders of the anti-colonial movements; they are "a class that is notably different from the tribesm the farm laborer and the f tory hand"; they are "doct teachers, businessmen, prof sors, politicians, priests ministers, and trained welf workers . . . in large meas the gift to Africa of the Ch tian missionaries."

All reports from Africa in cate that "the tribesmen, farm laborer and the fact hand" are joining with mission-trained minority build powerful movements t will eventually lead to Afri liberation from colonial bo age.

The Negro church in United States has made, we may expect it will conti to make, an important contr ution to this development.

Freedom

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Let Africans Speak for Africa!

JOMO KENYATTA, President of the Kenya African Union, was recently jailed for seven years for alleged Mau Mau activities. A brilliant scholar, he lived in England, studied at Moscow University, and is author of "Facing Mount Kenya."

SYLVANUS OLYMPIO, 51 year-old representative of the Ewe peoples, has made three appearances before the U.N. Trusteeship Council pleading for unification and freedom of Eweland, partitioned first by Germans and English, then English and French.

SERETSE KHAMA, hereditary chief of the Bamangwato peoples of Bechuanaland, was exiled by British in 1950, after he married English woman. He and wife were lured to England then return was refused and chieftainship taken.

HAILE SELLASSIE, Emperor of Ethiopia since 1930 led his people's resistance to Mussolini invasion. Selassie shifted his ties from London to Washington after war, gave U.S. business big rights signed military treaties with U.S. and sent troops to Korea.

Western Europe and the Pentagon have their plans for Africa— but here Africans speak about their own plans for the future.

Africa & the "Free World"

"They tell us we are in a Free Country. . . . Yes, we are Free. Free to starve, free to live in shacks, free to be idle and unemployed, free to die for want of medical attention. Free to work for low wages, free not to have anything to save, free to vote only if you own so much, earn so much or pay so much rent, free to have a legislature loaded with government hacks of one kind or another.

"It is possible that democracy and freedom have different meaning for different people."

—*(African Standard, organ of West African Youth League, Freetown, Sierra Leone.)*

Terror—British or Mau Mau?

"We do not feel that we have received justice or the hearing that we would have liked. We also feel that this case, from our point of view, has been so arranged as to bring Mau Mau on us as a scapegoat, in order to strangle the Kenya African Union—the only African political organisation which fights for the rights of the African people.

"What we have objection to and shall continue to object to is discrimination in the government in this country and we shall not accept that, in jail or out of it. What we have done and shall continue to do is to demand rights for the African people as human beings, that they shall enjoy the same facilities as other people. We look forward to the day when peace shall come to this land.

"I am not asking for mercy, but we are asking for justice, and that injustices that exist among Africans will be righted."

—*(Jomo Kenyatta, outstanding leader of the Kenya African peoples, upon being sentenced recently for leading his people towards freedom.)*

"Threat" of Communism

"As for us, the Negroes in Africa, when we are threatened by a certain bogey, we simply say: 'We do not know whether the Soviets want war, but we can state that so far we cannot see a Soviet base in the whole of Africa.'

"We know, on the contrary, of some which belong to the U.S. We also remember that already in 1945, immediately after the victory of the United Nations, Mr. Truman declared that the security line of the U.S. passed through Dakar and Casablanca. . . .

"All the anger of the reactionaries directed against the Soviet Union is also directed in other forms against the colonial peoples. The latter have learnt, thanks to these reactionaries, that there is a natural alliance between the country of socialism and the oppressed people the world over."

—*(Gabriel D'Arboussier, Vice-president of the African Democratic Union, the million-strong national organization of French Africans below the Sahara.)*

"I resent the suggestion that the African people require Communists to teach them to defend their rights. Even since the Bantu encountered the Europeans on the banks of the Great Fish River long before the Communist Manifesto was even thought of, they have struggled for equal rights in the land of their birth. They will continue that struggle, and not allow themselves to be browbeaten by smear tactics in their determined fight for their liberation."

—*(Z. K. Matthews, chairman of the Cape Province section, South African National Congress, former Henry Luce Visiting Professor at Union Theological Seminary, in interview this year by Ted Poston of the New York Post.)*

U.S. — Friend or Foe?

"What the Americans understand as 'colonial development' is precisely what we (in the colonies) condemn as 'economic imperialism.' . . . Let the people of the non-self-governing areas take warning against the 'Point Four' program, for, as at present constituted, it will only mean their enslavement to a new imperialism."

—*Kenya Daily Chronicle (Nairobi).*

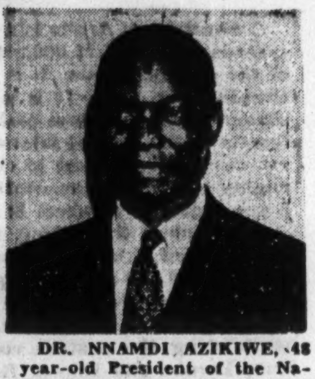
Africa—Ready for Freedom?

"There is now a rising tide of nationalism among our people. Our national spirit, now rife, is an up-thrust from our long suffering. There is no going back. We are a race and, like any other race on earth, we love to rule ourselves.

"How shall we achieve a home rule? We shall respect and protect the interests of the minorities in our nation. But the last word as to the form of government we shall have, shall be for us to decide."

—*Harry M. NKumbula, President, Northern Rhodesian African National Congress.*

KWAME NKRUMAH, 43 year-old Prime Minister of Ghana (Gold Coast) is the only black man holding such post in Africa. Election while in a British jail, forced his release. Studied in U.S. at Columbia, worked as dishwasher. Founded Convention Peoples Party.



DR. NNAMDI AZIKIWE, 48 year-old President of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. Popularly known as "Zik" was educated in U.S. at Lincoln U. Publisher of several papers, he is advocate of self-government for Nigeria.

GABRIEL d'ABOUSSIER, 45 year-old Secretary-General of Rassemblement Democratique Africaine (African Democratic Rally). Once vice-president of the Assembly of the French Union, and vice-president of World Peace Council, was barred from U.S.

ABDOULAYE DIALLO, 36 year-old secretary-general of the Regional Trades Council of Trade Unions in the French Sudan, a vice-president of the World Federation of Trade Unions, he made report on bias, to U.N. Economic and Social Council, N.Y. 1950.

PROF. Z. K. MATTHEWS, scholar, author, and teacher is President of the Cape Province African National Congress. Recently in the U.S. as guest lecturer at Union Theological Seminary, he was denied right to petition U.N. His son, Joseph, was jailed in South Africa.

ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI, President-General, African National Congress, in South Africa. A teacher and leader of the fight against racial laws, government removed him from a chieftainship held for 17 years when he refused to sever connections with the Congress.

WILLIAM V. S. TUBMAN, President of Liberia, was re-elected in 1951 after banning opposition Reformation Party and exiling its leader Didwho Twe. Tubman regime has granted big concessions to U.S. corporations, but no more wages for workers.

DIDWHO TWE, opponent of the Tubman clique in Liberia, won world renown in 1929 before League of Nations upon exposing West Africa slave traffic. Educated in U.S. Twe is exiled here, after opposing Tubman. He is taking medical treatment.

THE CONTINENT

Continental Africa is a highly diverse land mass which spreads out over 11,000,000 square miles or one quarter of the earth's surface. It is the second largest of the continents after Asia. It is a land of mountains coastlines, changing into immense plateaus and grassland plains and forests in the central interior. Some of the world's greatest deserts are found in the north and the south. Four mighty rivers cut the continent. the Nile, the Congo, the Niger, and the Zamberi in the South.

Stretched throughout the continent are more than 500 main tribal units and twice that number of languages. Her 200,000,000 native peoples include the Berbers, Taureg, Tibu, and Fulani in the North; in the central Sudanic region there are the Kanem, Bornu and Bagrimi. Farther south along the western coast are the Kru, the Ashanti, Ewe, Yoruba and Hausa. Below the equator most native African peoples speak some variation of Bantu and in central south Africa the predominant Bantu-Zulu peoples include the Bamangwato, Basuto and the Herero-Ovambo. In central Africa the principle peoples are the Barotse, the Bakogo, the Bateke and the Fang; while in east Africa they are the Bagenda, the Kikuyu, the Akamba, the Masai and the Kavirondo.

Nigeria

This 383,000-square-mile British colony of 30 million people, primarily Yoruba, Hausa, and Ibo, is one of the main peanut and palm oil centers which feeds Britain's olemargerine industry. Having behind it one of Africa's oldest civilizations, Nigeria today is the scene of widespread political demonstrations and agitation for "Self-Government by 1956."

Ghana (Gold Coast)

About two times as large as the state of Louisiana, Ghana (Gold Coast) has an African population of four million, of whom 900,000 are Ashanti. Its youthful Prime Minister is an African, Lincoln University-educated Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Ghana produces almost one-half of the world's cocoa.

Belgian Congo

Belgium's sole possession, a land of eleven million Bantus and fifty thousand Europeans, the Congo is the source of more than half of the United States uranium ore supply. Its tin, cobalt, diamonds and palm oil add up to well over 750 million dollars a year in profit

Kenya

Bordered by Uganda on the west, Ethiopia on the north and the India Ocean on the east, Kenya has been for the past fifty years regarded by Europeans as a favorite land for settlement. The chief economic enterprise in the colony is land-stealing from the native peoples—the Masai, the Kavirondo and the numerically strong (one million) Kikuyu. The 225,000 square mile colony has thirty thousand Europeans settled on vast and choice lands while five million Africans are herded into reservations in the least fertile areas.

Union of South Africa

Situated at southernmost end of the continent and a member of the Free Commonwealth of the British Empire, South Africa has a population of eight million native African people, mainly Bantau and Iwo, two and a half million whites and close to a million Asians.

Liberia

About the size of the state of Pennsylvania, this African nation with a population of one and one-half million people, is the producer of the world's richest iron ore.

Ethiopia

An ancient country of 18,000,000 people ruled by Emperor Haile Salesse, Ethiopia's main industry is cattle and sheep breeding. The principle language of the country is Amharic and the population is divided into about 10,000,000 Christians and 3,000,000 Mohammedans. It is a mountainous, volcanic country of 350,000 square miles. The capital is Addis Ababa.

LIBERIA

THE WEST AFRICAN REPUBLIC IS A VIRTUAL COLONY OF THE U.S., WHICH TAKES 90% OF ITS EXPORTS, CONTROLS THE HARBOR OF MONROVIA, SITE OF A U.S. MILITARY-NAVAL-AIR BASE, AND HAS A MILITARY MISSION AND 84 POINT FOUR TECHNICIANS THERE.

GOLD COAST

BRITISH FORCED TO YIELD POLITICAL CONCESSIONS GRANTING MORE CONTROL TO AFRICANS THAN IN ANY OTHER COLONY. BUT THEY PLAN ON KEEPING THE COLONY AND ITS RICH RESOURCES TIED TO BRITAIN.

TUNISIA-MOROCCO

BITTER RESENTMENT AGAINST E
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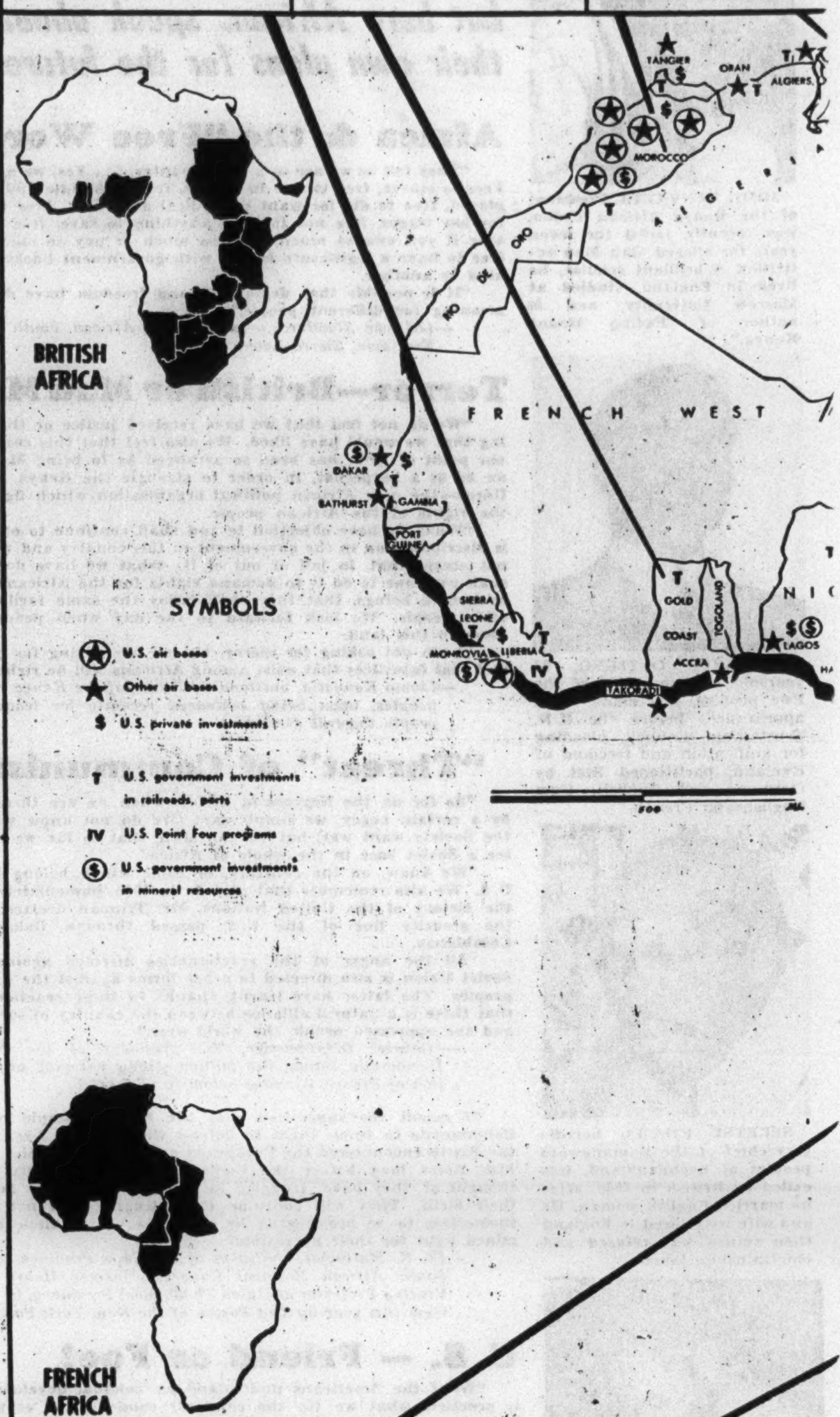
SUPPORT OF FRENCH MILITARY RE
SION OF NATIONALIST HOME-RUL
MAND. UNITED NATIONS DUCKS
AS JAILING OF THOUSANDS CONTI



BELGIAN CONGO

SUPPLIER OF URANIUM AND OTHER STRATEGIC MATERIALS TO THE U.S. BELGIAN AUTHORITIES REGARD THE AFRICANS AS THEIR PERMANENT WARDS AND STRIVE TO SMOTHER NATIONALIST AGITATION BY OUTLAWING AFRICAN POLITICAL AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

BECHUANALAND

SERETSE KHAMA, EXILED BY THE BRITISH FOR MARRYING A WHITE WOMAN. HIS PEOPLE STILL REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY OTHER CHIEF IN HIS PLACE AND THE BRITISH ARE CONFRONTED WITH AN EMBARRASSING STALEMATE.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

THIS PARTIALLY SELF-GOVERNING
ISH COLONY IS THE HUB OF THE
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ENCH WEST AFRICA

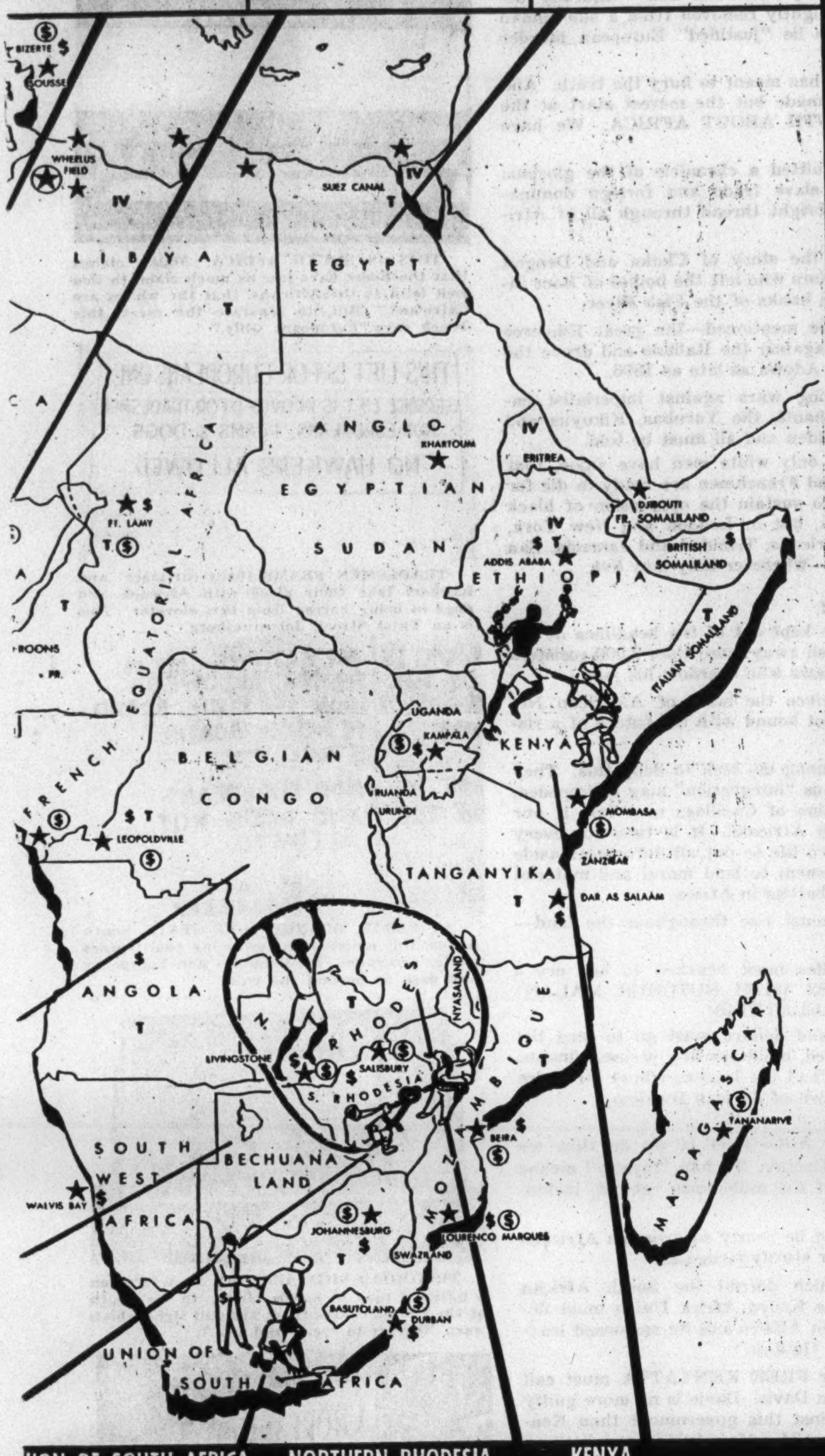
OR SOLIDARITY AND STRIKE ACTION AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS RECENTLY RCED THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT TO PROVE A LABOR CODE FOR THE AFRI-N COLONY GUARANTEEING BLACK ORKERS THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE, GO STRIKE, ETC.

NIGERIA

POLITICAL EXPLOSION LEAVES SCORES KILLED AND HUNDREDS WOUNDED AT KANO AS RESULT OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE NORTHERN FEUDAL ARISTOCRACY SUPPORTED BY THE BRITISH AND NIGERIAN MASSES WHO DEMAND "SELF-GOVERNMENT BY 1956."

EGYPT

DULLES BACKS UP BRITISH ON KEEPING SUEZ CANAL UNDER FOREIGN CONTROL. DICTATOR NAGUIB SUPPRESSES LABOR AND PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS BUT VOICES POPULAR DEMAND FOR BRITISH TO QUIT SUEZ AND THE SUDAN.



NION OF SOUTH AFRICA

W SOURCE OF URANIUM SUPPLY FOR E U.S. AND MAIN CENTER OF WHITE PREMACY DOMINATION IN AFRICA. ER 9,000 AFRICANS AND OTHER NON-HITES HAVE GONE TO JAIL IN THEIR AMPAIGN OF DEFIANCE OF UNJUST WS.

NORTHERN RHODESIA

HEAVY U.S. INVESTMENTS IN COPPER HERE. 40,000 IN THE AFRICAN MINE WORKERS UNION STRUCK FOR HIGHER WAGES LAST FALL AND WON AFTER SHUTTING DOWN THE MINES FOR THREE WEEKS. A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST THE FEDERATION SCHEME OCCURRED IN APRIL.

KENYA

WHITE SETTLERS AND BRITISH TROOPS JOIN FORCES IN A BRUTAL MALAYA-STYLE WAR AGAINST THE DESPERATE, LAND HUNGRY, DISPOSSESSED AFRICANS. ON THE PRETEXT OF COMBATTING MAU MAU, THE BRITISH AIM TO SMASH ALL AFRICAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

THE WEATLH

In Africa wealth accumulates in the hands of a small band of reckless parasites.

Some sit in ease in Johannesburg and other capital cities of the "Mother of Continents." But the great majority take ther pleasure in Brussels, London, Paris, and New York.

Who are these who fatten off the sweat and toil, precious blood and needless death of millions of Africans?

The companies they control are familiar names to Americans. But how much do we know about their plunder of Africa? How do they operate? Where are their investments? Here is part of the story.

Africa is a classic example of the economic meaning of colonialism: foreign control over industrially undeveloped countries for the purpose of continuously extracting raw materials from them, with cheap labor power and high profit rates, for the benefit of foreign interests. That is why colonial countries are poor and economically backward.

The foreign interests that profit from this system in Africa are not only the British, French, Belgian and others who directly rule most of Africa; it is American interests which are today grabbing the lion's share of many of Africa's most important resources—and the profits that go with them.

As the accompanying map indicates, American corporations and the United States government work closely together in many areas of Africa. You, as a taxpayer, contribute toward the big money being poured into Africa by U.S. government agencies to build railroads and port facilities, power plants, etc., so that the Neumont Mining Corporation, Republic Steel, Kennecott Copper Co., and other giant U.S. corporations can expand their grasp on African iron ore, copper, manganese, cobalt, chrome, industrial diamonds, uranium and dozens of other raw materials.

In 1951 nearly a billion dollars worth of such raw materials were brought into the United States from Eruope's colonies, principally in Africa.

U.S. Companies Reap Profits

There are well over a thousand U.S. corporations engaged today in making profits in the Union of South Africa. Kennecott Copper Company is one of those with a big stake in gold-mining and in the new uranium-producing industry, which is mainly financed by the U.S. government through Export-Import Bank grants.

In the Belgian Congo Rockefeller interests have bought into the uranium market through Tanganyika Concessions. In Uganda, Monsanto Chemicals Co. is exploring the territory's strategic minerals resources. Johns-Manville is exploiting Southern Rhodesia's asbestos. The Aluminum Corp. of America operates in many areas through subsidiaries and sub-subsidiaries. Union Carbide and Carbon is in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Gold Coast.

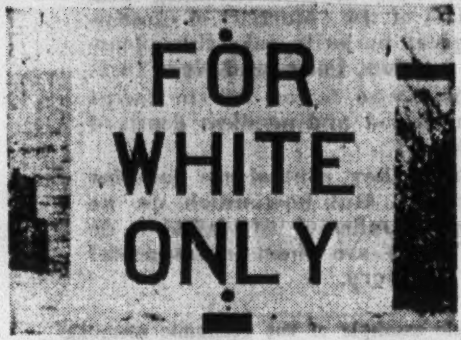
In Northern Rhodesia, three of the biggest copper mining companies are dominated by the American Metal Company and Newmont Mining Corp. (whose Board of Directors includes Gov. James E. Byrnes and Gen. Lucius Clay.) The two companies have other joint holdings in South Africa and South West Africa, and Newmont has additional stakes in French Equatorial Africa and Morocco.

Republic Steel is intrenched in Liberia, Bethlehem Steel in Nigeria and South West Africa, U.S. Steel in French Equatorial Africa. Likewise with the oil barons; apart from the South African market which is dominated by U.S. oil companies, we find Sinclair Oil prospecting in Ethiopia, Gulf Oil in Mozambique and Tunisia, Conorado (California) group in British Somaliland, and Standard Oil with technicians busy in many different areas of Africa.

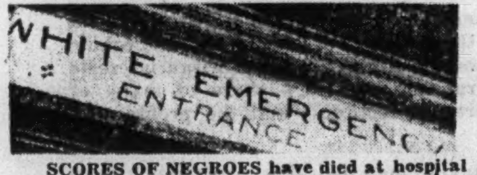
Such is a thumb-nail sketch of the network of American financial stakes in Africa. We hear a lot about the importance of keeping that great continent within the orbit of the "free world." Yes, the American financiers and their European allies have big plans for Africa. But the PEOPLES of Africa have somewhat different plans.

JIM CROW

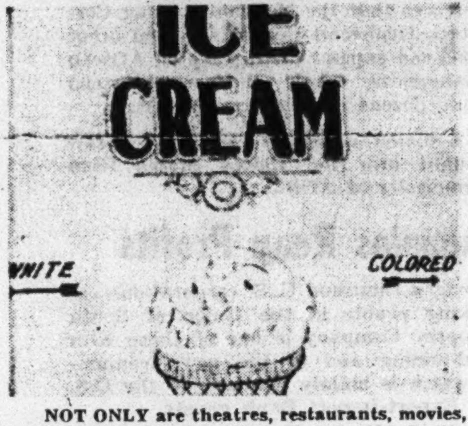
United States of America



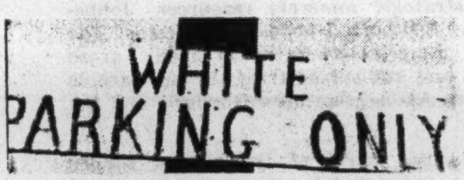
IN THE SOUTH—USA bathing beaches are reserved, as this Louisiana sign indicates, for whites only. Hundreds of Negro children, for lack of a decent place to swim, drown in creeks and mud-holes each year.



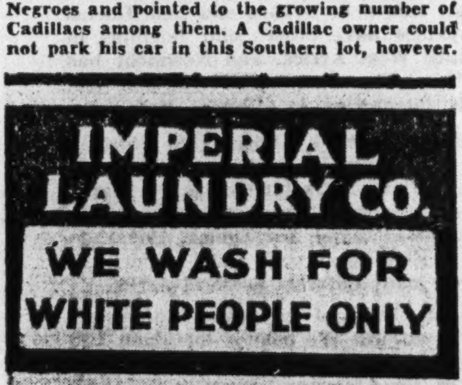
SCORES OF NEGROES have died at hospital doors in the South because of signs like this. When they are admitted, it's inevitably to the "Negro ward," often in the unhospitable environment of the basement.



NOT ONLY are theatres, restaurants, movies, schools, and churches Jim Crow in the South, but in this sign an innocent ice cream cone is made the symbol of prejudice. The kids must learn young.



A NATIONAL magazine recently reported on the last "decade of progress" of American Negroes and pointed to the growing number of Cadillacs among them. A Cadillac owner could not park his car in this Southern lot, however.



THIS SIGN, prominently displayed on a main street in Birmingham, Ala., tells its own story. While Negroes can't take their clothes to the Imperial laundry, they wash "white" clothes for miserabe wages.

A Myth Dies—and A New Day Dawns

— An Editorial —

AMERICANS HAVE BEEN TAUGHT for centuries that Africans were docile, backward and "naturally dependent" people, only slightly removed from a sub-human level of existence. This lie "justified" European murder and looting.

To entrench the lie has meant to bury the truth. And in this paper we have made but the merest start at the restoration of the TRUTH ABOUT AFRICA. We have but begun.

Space has not permitted a chronicle of the glorious resistance against the slave trade and foreign domination which runs like a bright thread through all of African history.

We have not told the story of Chaka and Dengan and the great Zulu warriors who left the bodies of Boer invaders piled high on the banks of the Fish River.

Menelik can only be mentioned—the great Emperor who led the Ethiopians against the Italians and drove the invaders into the sea at Adowa as late as 1896.

And the never-ending wars against imperialist encroachment—of the Ashanti, the Yorubas, Kikuyus and Masai—all have been hidden and all must be told.

For the myth that only white men have valor, that only Britons, Belgians and Frenchmen are ready to die for liberty, is a prop used to sustain the oppression of black men, not only in Africa, but in London and New York, Brimingham and New Orleans, Trinidad and Jamacia, San Juan and Rio de Janeiro—wherever they may live.

THE MYTH IS DYING.

Kenyatta can not be kept out of the headlines of the world. Malan can not wish away more than 8,000 resisters against "white-is-right" laws who overflow his jails.

No device can convince the mass of American Negroes that their fate is not bound with the future of a rising black Africa.

Some, well-placed among us, seek to deny this. They feel that their own precious "integration" may be impeded, that the rate of acquisition of Cadillacs may fall, if our struggles are bound with Africans. It is time for every section and trend in Negro life to put all differences aside and unite in a vast movement to lend moral and material support to the liberation battles in Africa.

A thunderous roar must rise throughout the land—FREE KENYATTA!

Eisenhower and Dulles must hearken to our cry—STOP DOING BUSINESS WITH BUTCHER MALAN! BREAK DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS!

Our pennies, dimes and dollars must go to feed the hungry, house the orphaned, build printing presses, finance the organizations, and defend the leaders whose struggles are bringing closer the dawn of African freedom.

MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT. If we do this, we will run afoul of McCarthy. To him "loyalty" means accepting every scheme of the millionaire cabinet, including the rape of Africa.

But the price need not be nearly so great as Africans are already paying in their sturdy struggles.

The same voiecs which defend the South African National Congress and the Kenya Africa Union must defend the Council on African Affairs and its renowned leaders, DuBois, Robeson and Hunton.

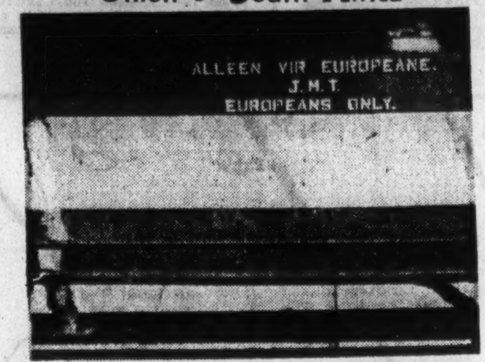
The throats that roar FREE KENYATTA must call for the release of Benjamin Davis. Davis is no more guilty of force and violence against this government than Kenyatta is of any crime against Her Majesty's imperialists.

The crimes are the other way around. They are the crimes of those who talk of freedom and spawn the Jim Crow and apartheid signs which border this page. They are the crimes of power-mad men intent on ruling the world and sweeping from their path all opposition.

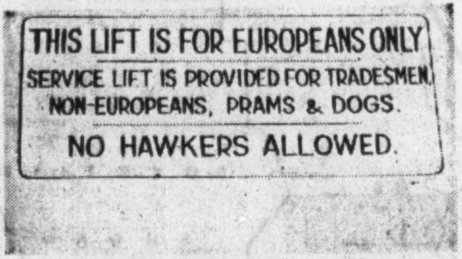
They will not succeed. In today's world we are the many; they are the few. Freedom awaits—for Africa and for Afro-Americans. We need but conquer our fears and petty differences, join hands and hearts, and march forward.

APARTHEID

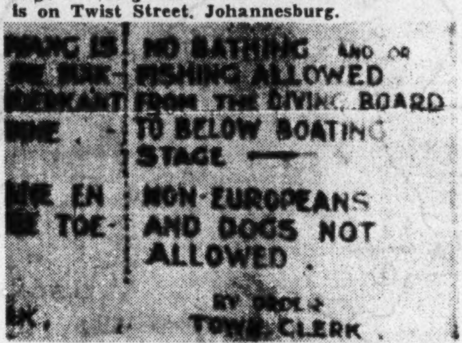
Union of South Africa



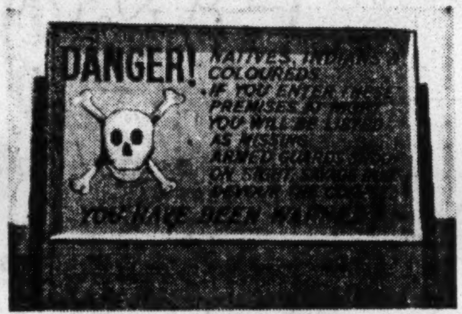
THIS IS SOUTH AFRICA. Malan claims that the Boers have just as much claim to this rich land as the Africans, that the whites are "Africans." But, to separate the races, this bench says "Europeans Only."


THIS LIFT IS FOR EUROPEANS ONLY
SERVICE LIFT IS PROVIDED FOR TRADESMEN,
NON-EUROPEANS, PRAMS & DOGS.
NO HAWKERS ALLOWED.

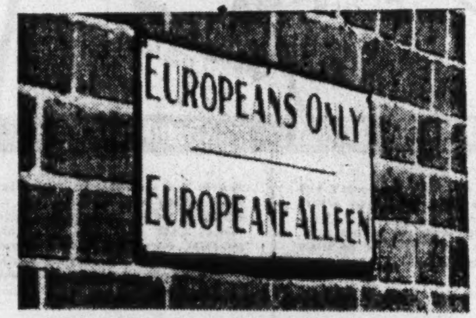
TRADESMEN, PRAMS (baby-carriages) and hawkers take their place with Africans and dogs in being barred from this elevator. This is on Twist Street, Johannesburg.


NO BATHING AND OR FISHING ALLOWED FROM THE DIVING BOARD TO BELOW BOATING STAGE
NON-EUROPEANS AND DOGS NOT ALLOWED
BY ORDER TOWN CLERK

AT PARYS, ORANGE FREE STATE, South Africa, this notice on a swimming pool typifies white arrogance by lumping non-Europeans and dogs as beyond the pale.



THIS ROAD SIGN APPEARS on a farm on a national road in South Africa. In the South of the United States there are still signs which warn Negroes to "read and run."



ALL PUBLIC CONVENIENCES are reserved for Europeans only. This sign appears on a ladies rest room in Johannesburg.

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LIBERIA

THE WEST AFRICAN REPUBLIC IS A VIRTUAL COLONY OF THE U.S., WHICH TAKES 90% OF ITS EXPORTS, CONTROLS THE HARBOR OF MONROVIA, SITE OF A U.S. MILITARY-NAVAL-AIR BASE, AND HAS A MILITARY MISSION AND 84 POINT FOUR TECHNICIANS THERE.

GOLD COAST

BRITISH FORCED TO YIELD POLITICAL CONCESSIONS GRANTING MORE CONTROL TO AFRICANS THAN IN ANY OTHER COLONY. BUT THEY PLAN ON KEEPING THE COLONY AND ITS RICH RESOURCES TIED TO BRITAIN.

TUNISIA-MOROCCO

BITTER RESENTMENT AGAINST ESTABLISHMENT OF U. S. BASES AND U. S. SUPPORT OF FRENCH MILITARY REPRESSION OF NATIONALIST HOME-RULE DEMAND. UNITED NATIONS DUCKS ISSUE AS JAILING OF THOUSANDS CONTINUES.

FRENCH WEST AFRICA

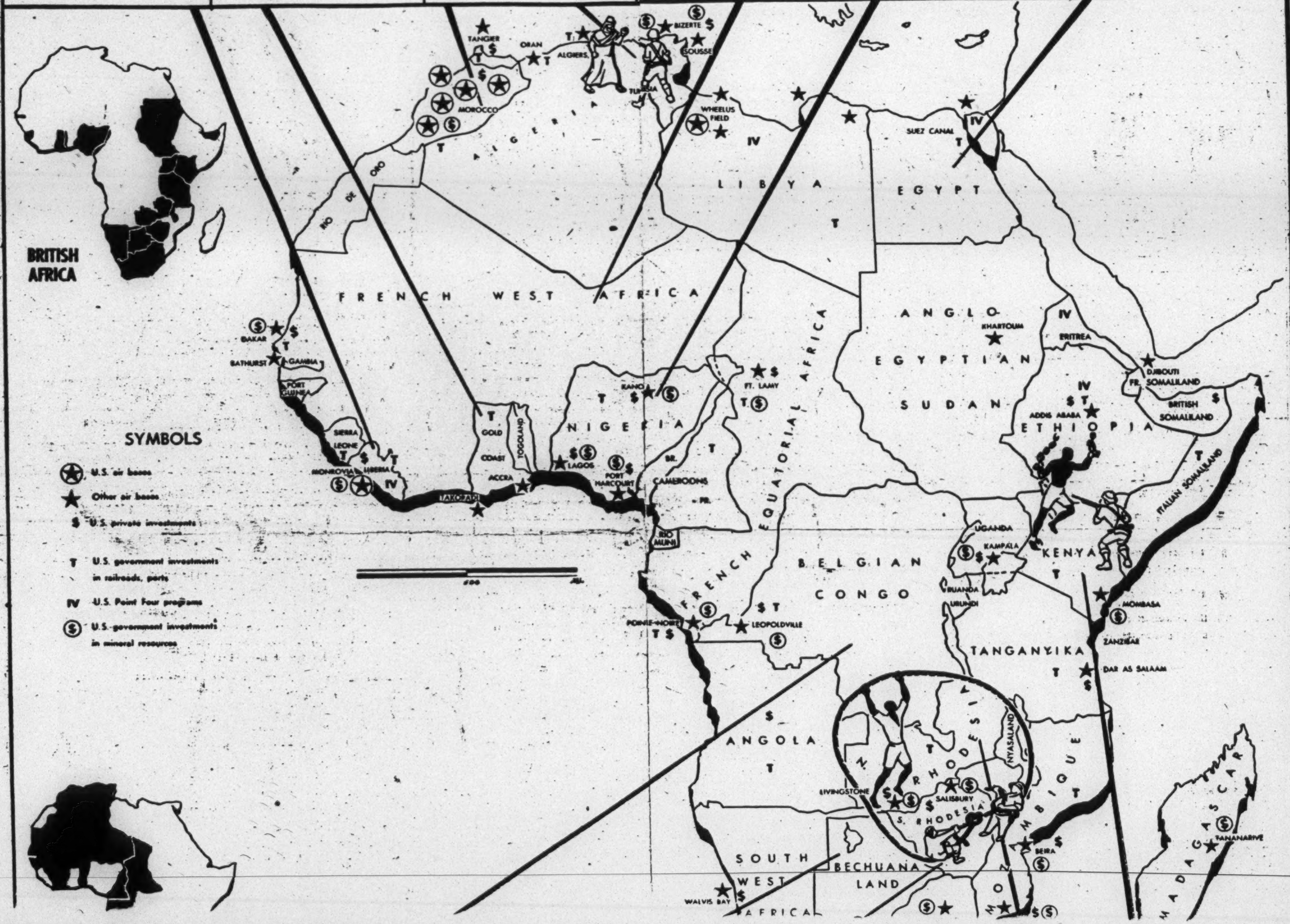
LABOR SOLIDARITY AND STRIKE ACTION OF AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS RECENTLY FORCED THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT TO APPROVE A LABOR CODE FOR THE AFRICAN COLONY GUARANTEEING BLACK WORKERS THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE, GO ON STRIKE, ETC.

NIGERIA

POLITICAL EXPLOSION LEAVES SCORES KILLED AND HUNDREDS WOUNDED AT KANO AS RESULT OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE NORTHERN FEUDAL ARISTOCRACY SUPPORTED BY THE BRITISH AND NIGERIAN MASSES WHO DEMAND "SELF-GOVERNMENT BY 1956."

EGYPT

DULLES BACKS UP BRITISH ON KEEPING SUEZ CANAL UNDER FOREIGN CONTROL. DICTATOR NAGUIB SUPPRESSES LABOR AND PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS BUT VOICES POPULAR DEMAND FOR BRITISH TO QUIT SUEZ AND THE SUDAN.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Other air bases
U.S. private investments
U.S. government investments in railroads, ports
U.S. Point Four programs
U.S. government investments in mineral resources
TANGIER
ORAN
ALGIERS
BIZERTE
SOUSSE
TUNISIA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
RIO DE ORO
WHEELUS FIELD
LIBYA
EGYPT
SUEZ CANAL
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
DAKAR
BATHURST
GAMBIA
PORT. GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
MONROVIA
LIBERIA
GOLD COAST
TOGOLAND
TAKORADI
ACCRA
NIGERIA
KANO
LAGOS
PORT HARCOURT
BR. CAMEROONS
FR.
RIO MUNI
FT. LAMY
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
KHARTOUM
ERITREA
DJIBOUTI
FR. SOMALILAND
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ADDIS ABABA
ETHIOPIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
UGANDA
KAMPALA
KENYA
MOMBASA
ZANZIBAR
BELGIAN CONGO
RUANDA URUNDI
POINTE-NOIRE
LEOPOLDVILLE
TANGANYIKA
DAR AS SALAAM
ANGOLA
N. RHODESIA
NYASALAND
LIVINGSTONE
SALISBURY
S. RHODESIA
MOZAMBIQUE
BEIRA
MADAGASCAR
TANANARIVE
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
WALVIS BAY
BECHUANA LAND

THE WEATLH

In Africa wealth accumulates in the ha
of a small band of reckless parasites.

Some sit in ease in Johannesburg
other capital cities of the "Mother of Con
ents." But the great majority take ther pl
ure in Brussels, London, Paris, and New Y

Who are these who fatten off the s
and toil, precious blood and needless deat
millions of Africans?

The companies they control are fam
names to Americans. But how much do
know about their plunder in Africa? Hov
they operate? Where are their investme
Here is part of the story.

Africa is a classic example of the economic r
of colonialism: foreign control ove industrially u
oped countries for the purpose of continuously ex
raw materials from them, with cheap labor power a
profit rates, for the benefit of foreign interests.
why colonial countries are poor and economically ba

The foreign interests that profit from this sy
Africa are not only the British, French, Belgian an
who directly rule most of Africa; it is American i
which are today grabbing the lion's share of r
Africa's most important resources—and the prof
go with them.

As the accompanying map indicates, American
ations and the United States government work
together in many areas of Africa. You, as a taxpa
tribute toward the big money being poured into A
U.S. government agencies to build railroads and p
ities, power plants, etc., so that the Neumont Min
poration, Republic Steel, Kennecott Copper Co., a
giant U.S. corporations can expand their grasp on
iron ore, copper, manganese, cobalt, chrome, i
diamonds, uranium and dozens of other raw mat

**In 1951 nearly a billion dollars worth of s
materials were brought into the United Stat
Eruope's colonies, principally in Africa.**

U. S. Companies Reap Prof

There are well over a thousand U. S. corpora
gaged today in making profits in the Union o
Africa. Kennecott Copper Company is one of th
a big stake in gold-mining and in the new
producing industry, which is mainly financed by
government through Export-Import Bank grants

In the Belgian Congo Rockefeller intere
bought into the uranium market through Ta
Concessions. In Uganda, Monsanto Chemicals Co.
ing the territory's strategic minerals resource
Manville is exploiting Southern Rhodesia's asbe
Aluminum Corp. of America operates in ma
through subsidiaries and sub-subsidiaries. Unior
and Carbon is in South Africa, Southern Rhodesi
Gold Coast.

In Northern Rhodesia, three of the bigge
mining companies are dominated by the Ameri
Company and Newmont Mining Corp. (whose

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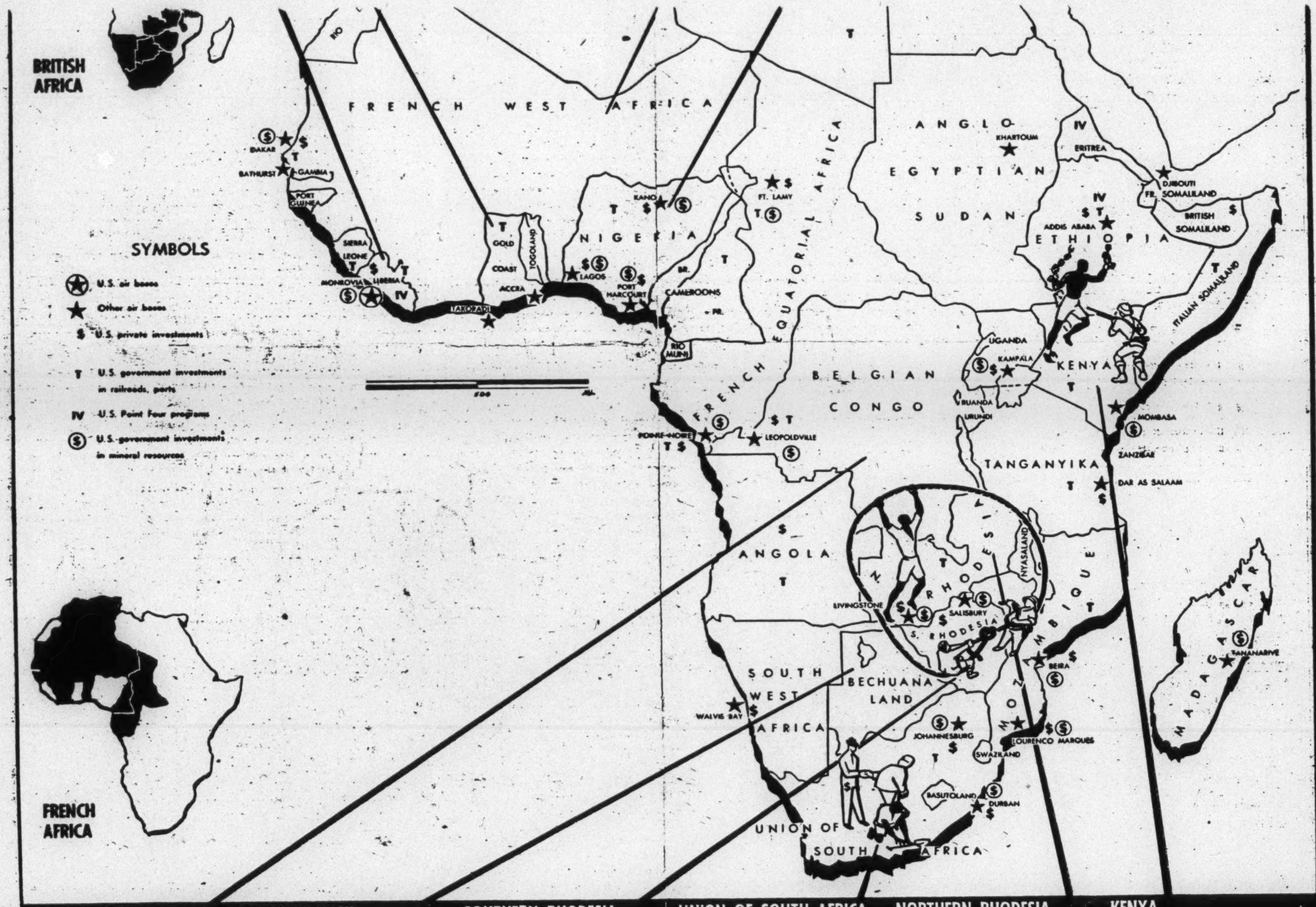
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BECHUANA LAND
JOHANNESBURG
LOURENCO MARQUES
SWAZILAND
BASUTOLAND
DURBAN
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

BELGIAN CONGO

SUPPLIER OF URANIUM AND OTHER STRATEGIC MATERIALS TO THE U. S. BELGIAN AUTHORITIES REGARD THE AFRICANS AS THEIR PERMANENT WARDS AND STRIVE TO SMOTHER NATIONALIST AGITATION BY OUTLAWING AFRICAN POLITICAL AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

BECHUANALAND

SERETSE KHAMA, EXILED BY THE BRITISH FOR MARRYING A WHITE WOMAN. HIS PEOPLE STILL REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY OTHER CHIEF IN HIS PLACE AND THE BRITISH ARE CONFRONTED WITH AN EMBARRASSING STALEMATE.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

THIS PARTIALLY SELF-GOVERNING BRITISH COLONY IS THE HUB OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION SCHEME INTENDED TO LINK NYASALAND, N. & S. RHODESIA UNDER WHITE SETTLER POLITICAL CONTROL. AFRICANS VOW DETERMINED RESISTANCE.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

NEW SOURCE OF URANIUM SUPPLY FOR THE U. S. AND MAIN CENTER OF WHITE SUPREMACY DOMINATION IN AFRICA. OVER 7,000 AFRICANS AND OTHER NON-WHITES HAVE GONE TO JAIL IN THEIR CAMPAIGN OF DEFIANCE OF UNJUST LAWS.

NORTHERN RHODESIA

HEAVY U. S. INVESTMENTS IN COPPER HERE. 40,000 IN THE AFRICAN MINE WORKERS UNION STRUCK FOR HIGHER WAGES LAST FALL AND WON AFTER SHUTTING DOWN THE MINES FOR THREE WEEKS. A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST THE FEDERATION SCHEME OCCURRED IN APRIL.

KENYA

WHITE SETTLERS AND BRITISH TROOPS JOIN FORCES IN A BRUTAL MALAYA-STYLE WAR AGAINST THE DESPERATE, LAND HUNGRY, DISPOSSESSED AFRICANS. ON THE PRETEXT OF COMBATTING MAU MAU, THE BRITISH AIM TO SMASH ALL AFRICAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

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profit rates, for the benefit of foreign i
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which are today grabbing the lion's sh
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go with them.

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In Northern Rhodesia, three of th
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Company and Newmont Mining Corp.
Directors includes Gov. James E. Byrnes
Clay.) The two companies have other
South Africa and South West Africa, a
additional stakes in French Equatorial Af
Republic Steel is intrenched in Li

Steel in Nigeria and South West Afri
French Equatorial Africa. Likewise wit
apart from the South African market w
by U.S. oil companies, we find Sinclair
in Ethiopia, Gulf Oil in Mozambique and
(California) group in British Somaliland,
with technicians busy in many different a

Such is a thumb-nail sketch of the
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importance of keeping that great continen
of the "free world." Yes, the American fi
European allies have big plans for
PEOPLES of Africa have somewhat diff

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Unions Grow in Africa; Spark Freedom Drives

By NATHAN BREWSTER

"The living and working conditions of the African transport and port workers, however different from one region to another, are dominated by some common features: capitalists plundering the national wealth, ruthless exploitation of the natives, brutal repression of the workers, racial discrimination, misery, slums, disease, unemployment and illiteracy. To be brief: all the evils brought about by colonial oppression."

These were the words of the first speaker at the African Conference of transport and port workers held last year in Algeria. Coming from Madagascar, from the various territories of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, more than 120 rail, port and trucking workers met to show their hatred of colonialism and their determination to fight to put an end to their servitude and misery.

This conference was only one of a series in French Africa.

1952 General Strike

These conferences, reflecting the growth of trade unions in French Africa south of the Sahara—French Black Africa—into coordinated organizations with regional councils in the east and west and displaying united activity of the General Confederation of Labor, affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Christian and splinter trade unions, was also accompanied by broad mass activity. The highlight of this upsurge to date: the united general strike of November 3, 1952, is described by Abdoulaye Diallo, General Secretary of Regional Trades Council of Trade Unions (French Sudan), as follows:

"On November 3, workers in all industries struck throughout French West Africa, Senegal, the Sudan, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey and the Upper Volta. In Conakri, Bamako and Abidjan, taxi owners and butchers joined in the workers' strike. Monday, Nov. 3, will enter the annals of the history of the African trade union movement. Not one train ran. Not one boy made a bed. Not one cook boiled water for his European master. All the manoeuvers of the fish carriers and the ice manufacturers failed to force the workers to save the perishable fish catches. Everywhere the Africans coolly and firmly avoided provocation, to the great disappointment of the colonialists."

Right to Organize

And the French African dock workers whose daily pay is 67c, the agricultural workers who make 22c per day, have already won a great victory on the basis of their united struggle. Immediately after the November general strike, the French parliament on Nov. 23d voted the long-fought-for Labor Code for Overseas Territories, their "Bill of Rights." The Labor Code contains the right to organize, the principle of a 40-hour week, family allowances and benefits to pregnant women, and it explicitly bans forced labor.

In South Africa also, trade unionists are in the heart of the peoples' struggles. Several African trade union officials, including J. B. Marks (African Mine Workers' Union,) L. Bhoola (Secretary, Johannesburg branch Tinworkers' Union,) and T. Gwala (Rubber Workers' Union) have been arrested for participation in the Campaign Against Unjust Laws, the Civil Disobedience Campaign. Drawing upon the large urban centers, that is, upon the African workers, the African National Congress membership has risen from more than 20,000 since the start of the campaign, and the great majority of the more than 8,000 Passive Resisters sent to jail by the Malan goverment are workers and trade unionists.

It is the strength of the Civil Disobedience Campaign and the African working class that was reflected in the policy statement issued last March by the two main trade union centers in South Africa, the South African Federation of Trade Unions and the Trades and Labor Council, asserting that unions should be open to all, "irrespective of race or color."

Rhodesian Mine Workers

And in Rhodesia the heart of Black Africa and the center of the struggle now being waged around the proposed Central African Federation, a great union, the 40,000 strong Northern Rhodesia African Mine Workers' Union has developed on the basis of victorious struggle against colonialist oppression. The Union's three week strike beginning last October 20th, against copper bosses dominated by the J. P. Morgan-controlled American Metal Co., won a further wage increase. Nine wage groups were established. In the lowest, wages for 30 days work were raised from $6.20-$9.38 to $11.20-$14.35. In the highest "special group" wages were set at $49.60-$56.70 for 30 days.

Thus, when Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president of the Nothern Rhodesian African National Congress, burned at a public meeting last March the British White Paper setting out the Central African Federation Plans as "a symbol of the bitter African opposition" and announced April 1-2 as days of national prayer against federation, African organized labor was the substance of this call. The overwhelming majority of African workers, including the strong copper-belt union, stayed away from work.

Unions Oppose Federation

A Supreme Action Council of nine, including five seats filled by the Trade Union Congress, has been formed to lead the anti-Federation fight in Northern Rhodesia. This Action Council has declared, **"Should federation be forced against the wishes of the African people, it will be taken as a final betrayal of Africans and treaty obligations. We will not submit to federation. We will take our case to the courts of the world. We will resist it at home."**

And similarly in Kenya. Nigeria and Ghana (Gold Coast,) in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, African labor is in the vanguard of the struggle for working class and national liberty, fighting effectively on the political as well as economic front. Trade unions, a new and most important factor on the African scene, are playing a vital role within the upsurging African liberation movements.

What the Northern Rhodesian correspondent of the London Financial Times wrote about the copper strike is true for the entire continent: **"This is the first time that a major African union has managed to bring its members to the point of using industrial force. Clearly a new power has arrived in Africa whose poteitialities are tremendous."**

WE DEMAN
AWAY WITH PASSES
FREEDOM
VOTES
AFRICA BACK

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN are the main backbone of the campaign for equality led by the South African National Congress. Here they are participating in a huge demonstration in Johannesburg.

A GROUP OF WOMEN participants in the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws are on their way to defy the apartheid (Jim Crow) law at the railway station at Alice, Cape Province, S. Africa.

"Under These Conditions We Are Like Dead People"

The women of Africa, wives and mothers of small children, workers in the fields; women made widows by the savage "justice" of white settlers in Kenya or South Africa, or through the unsafe conditions their husbands are exposed to in the mines; women living in terror of the policeman's boot come to arrest her husband on some flimsy charge and send him to slave labor on the white man's farms; or fighting off with their fists the advances of the lecherous white overlords—the women of Africa are fighting back, moulding the future of Africa and of their children.

African women by the hundreds and the thousands, teenagers and mothers carrying small children, were in the front of the campaign to defy Malan's racist laws in South Africa.

Karabo Sello

Among the first resisters arrested in the campaign was Karabo Sello, only 17, and an executive member of the African National Congress Youth League. She was among the initial 30 volunteers to defy railroad jimcrow in Port Elizabeth.

Last summer, at the height of the campaign, scores of women resisters were rounded up in Cape Province, stripped, and forced to stand for hours in an open jail-yard, pelted by the fury of a South African rainstorm.

An African woman, Mrs. Florence Mapomela was among the 45 African and Indian Congress leaders arrested under Malan's fascist "Suppression of Communism Act" for organizing resistance to the racist laws of that land.

Mrs. N. Mquose, mother of an 18-month-old child, told the judge who sentenced her to prison for defying jimcrow in Capetown why the women have volunteered.

"We are volunteers," she declared, "because we are opposed to the oppressive laws of this government. Under these conditions we are like dead people. We are defying the laws because we want our children to have a future."

Mrs. Ransom-Kuti

And women have taken leadership not only in South Africa. In Nigeria, West Africa, Mrs. Funmilayo Ransom-Kuti, a teacher who founded and is now president of the Nigerian Women's Union has built an organization which has a membership of some 80,000 women in the town of Abeokuta, where her husband is a minister, and its surrounding villages alone.

The union has pressed for free education, free hospitals and clinics, and full democratic rights—including proportional representation for women on local councils and higher organs of government.

In 1949, when 58 women in Enugu, Nigeria were arrested for carrying water to their striking coal-miner husbands, over 800 women from the town surrounded the court and demanded that the arrested women be immediately released or the government would have to arrest all the women in Enugu. The judge dismissed the accused.

It is the same story in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, where women have joined their husbands to fight the hated Federation plan of the British to enforce white supremacy throughout the area of Central Africa; it is the same in Kenya, where women and men both are herded into concentration camps because they want an end to British terror and white settler pillage.

An African Leader Exposes Max Yergan

By DR. Z. K. MATTHEWS

Dr. Max Yergan, described as "America's foremost authority on Africa," has recently through the medium of a long interview with the "U. S. News & World Report" given the American public the benefit of impressions gained by him during a "tour of Africa's trouble spots."

Note

The writer (Chairman of the Cape Province African National Congress) answers in this article, a 12 page interview with Max Yergan, (former YMCA Secretary) in the May issue of the magazine, U.S. News & World Report, entitled "Africa: Next Goal of Communists." The Yergan interview has aroused widespread resentment among U. S. Negroes. Typical of the reaction is the editorial of the May 9 Baltimore Afro-American which hits Yergan's defense of white supremacy. Noting Yergan's years in Africa the Afro declared "It is a sad situation when a person with this background boldly voices the fantastic belief that the three-centuries-old oppression of Africans is to be free from criticism."

As an African who has lived all his life in Africa except for occasional visits abroad, and as an accredited representative of the African National Congress, the premier political organization of the Africans in the Union of South Africa, I feel that I cannot allow Dr. Yergan's observations to go unchallenged, especially as they are addressed to a public which, for obvious reasons, may not possess the necessary background of African experience and information on which a critical assessment of the value of his impressions must be based.

Unlike Dr. Yergan who has taken the greater part of Africa for his province, I shall confine myself to the Union of South Africa, the area which he himself, on the basis of his long residence there as a YMCA Secretary would probably claim to know best and for whose white rulers he has emerged as such a fervent apologist in his interview.

No Contact Made

During his long stay in the Union of South Africa, he had little or no first hand contact with African political organizations such as the African National Congress. To my knowledge he first made contact with an African political organization in 1936 when he attended some meetings of the All-African Convention. This was shortly before he returned to the United States where, as all the world knows, he was one of the foundation members and executive secretary of the Council on African Affairs. Through that organization he maintained contact with the Union of South Africa until he broke with that organization.

About his recent visit to South Africa in 1952 the extent to which he made contact with the dynamic movements then in progress among the non-whites may be gauged from this statement by Mr. Nelson Mandela, an African attorney practicing in Johannesburg who is an active member of the African National Congress: "I was struck with the fact that Mr. Yergan made no attempt to meet the Non-European leaders and discuss the defiance campaign with them direct. He came to this country to study the campaign, he said. Yet all his impressions were second hand or gleaned from newspapers which cannot speak for the campaign."

The Rev. Michael Scott, Anglican minister of South Africa has been barred from his homeland because of his outspoken support of the Herero people of South West Africa whose lands the Malan regime seeks to annex. Rev. Scott has recently fought the proposed Central Federation scheme.

In other words while Dr. Yergan apparently made a special effort to get into touch with the advocates of apartheid in order that he might develop the "sympathetic and constructive approach" to their problems which he is now seeking to communicate to the American public, he did not consider it necessary to do so as far as the leaders of the victims of the policy of apartheid are concerned. For that reason he can perhaps claim to have special knowledge and concern for the hopes and aspirations, "the high stakes," as he calls them, of the white man and act as their spokesman, but as far as the non-whites are concerned, they will have no hesitation in repudiating the suggestion that Dr. Yergan speaks with any real knowledge of their situation and/or any solicitude for their welfare.

Dr. Yergan may of course have special knowledge or aptitude for identifying "communists" which is not available to those who have not at any time been closely associated with them, but I think it would only have been fair to his readers for him to indicate that this word is used in different ways in different countries and in particular by the whites in South Africa whose point of view he has shown such pains to get across to the American public. Both legally and otherwise the term 'communist' in that country is applied to those who, yielding to no one in their loyalty to their country, seek to work for the amelioration of the lot of the majority of the inhabitants of South Africa. They will not of course be deterred from their work by vituperation and abuse or by veiled suggestions that movements for liberation must always be "communist-inspired," but as one who has been closely associated with the African National Congress both as a member of the National Executive and as President of the Cape Province section of that organization I have no hesitation in saying that Dr. Yergan would be hard put to it to substantiate his statement that "communists" exercise a powerful influence in that organization whatever the sense in which he uses the term.

False Statements

Besides errors of judgment, this interview shows mistakes of fact which are surprising in one who claims close acquaintance with developments in South Africa. Questioned about "riots" in South Africa he gave a version of them which even a casual reader of newspaper reports about them would realize was wide off the mark. No "white religious sister" lost her life in a riot at Port Elizabeth; no "white religious sister" tried "to persuade Africans to disband a meeting either at Port Elizabeth or at East London

In fairness to the African and other non-white groups who have been connected with the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, an impartial observer might have noted that although over 8,000 persons were arrested for their participation in the Campaign in no instance was there any violence connected with the Campaign. It is this peculiar combination of errors of judgment and mistakes of fact which will make those who are interested in the resolution of the problems with which black and white are confronted in South Africa dubious about the value of his contribution.

Malan Cops Search Dr. Matthews

When Dr. Z. K. Matthews returned to South Africa on May 19, he was searched by detectives, in Johannesburg. Dr. Matthews returned to Fort Hare college for Africans after serving as visiting professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York.

"I was ordered to turn out my pockets and my wallet was examined," Dr. Matthews declared: "Detectives took some of my private papers. They looked through every scrap of paper I had, also my books."

"I take the strongest exception to this," declared the noted African leader, "as I do not know of any crime I have committed to warrant this."

The white supremacy government of Malan refused to renew Dr. Matthews' passport. Prior to this, C. R. Swart, Justice Minister complained that Dr. Matthews had appealed to U.S. Negroes for aid to Africans in their struggle against the racial policies of Malan. This was evidently Dr. Matthews "crime."

DR. Y. M. DADOO, right, Indian leader, and J. P. Marks, African union leader, after trial of 20 in Johannesburg under Suppression of Communism Act.

Indians in Africa

By KUMAR GOSHAL

The story of Indians in Africa furnishes another illustration of colonial exploitation of cheap labor for huge profits, of the imperialist method of "divide and rule," of the need for unity among the exploited in their struggle for liberation.

Of the approximately 400,000 Indians in Africa, more than half—nearly 300,000—live in the Union of South Africa, while in Kenya and Tanganyika there are about 50,000 each. The majority of South African Indians are concentrated in the province of Natal. Eighty per cent of the Indians in South Africa are descendants of indentured laborers brought the Natal almost a hundred years ago.

Deprived of Rights

The first indentured Indian laborers arrived in Natal in 1860. By 1870, after finishing their terms of service, many of them decided to settle in Natal. Trouble started almost immediately, for the British residents refused to allow any but the most menial occupation to the Indians. A series of laws were enacted depriving the Indians of all political rights, restricting their movements and residence, and denying them the right to own any property. In 1895, the Natal government imposed a $12 annual poll tax on all Indians; failure to pay the tax was punishable by perpetual reindenture, imprisonment or deportation to India.

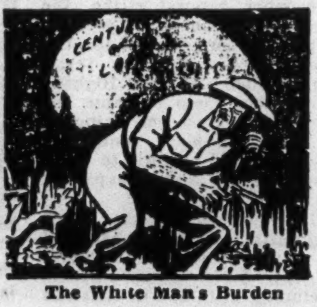
Between 1885 and 1945, the central and provincial governments of South Africa enacted 66 laws discriminating against the Indians. By the time Dr. Malan came to power, Indians were already forbidden from living in the Orange Free State and had to secure permits to enter one province from another. If unemployed, they were barred from securing employment in another province. They had no political rights and only severely restricted trading rights. Skilled trades were not open to them, nor did they enjoy unemployment insurance.

Wherever there have been sizable numbers of Indians, the white people of Africa have tried to pit them against the Africans, and both against the Coloreds (people of mixed descent). As late as 1949,, they managed to foment riots between Africans and Indians in Natal. Even today the white rulers are looking for opportunities to utilize the Indians against the Africans. Hugh Latimer, a writer for the (London) **Observer**, suggested (**N. Y. Herald Tribune, 1/21/53**) that "with a little encouragement" the "native gift for loyalty" of Sikh and Punjabi Indian settlers in Kenya "could be harnessed" to form " a specifically Asian fighting unit, of the army or police. . . ." (Sikhs and Punjabis in the past supplied excellent mercenary soldiers for the British army.)

Gandhi Was There

From the time when the late Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi—practicing law in Natal at the turn of the century—organized Indian passive resisters in South Africa to the present day, Indians in Africa have learned many political lessons. Despite widespread illiteracy and strict government censorship, the story of the accomplishments of colored peoples in the Soviet Union has gradually spread among the non-whites in Africa. The fact that the socialist countries have been the only consistent supporters in the United Nations of the rights of colonial, colored and exploited peoples of the earth has not failed to impress the Indians and Africans.

The progress in political understanding the Indians in Africa have made has been demonstrated in the solid African-Indian-Colored unity displayed in the recent civil disobedience campaign launched by them in South Africa; the openly fascist character of the newly-elected Malan regime in South Africa will undoubtedly help cement this unity more firmly. The Indians in Africa have at last learned that only by uniting with the Africans and other oppressed peoples can they secure freedom, justice and equality for themselves.



The White Man's Burden

Unrest in Africa Due to Oppression

By ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON

When, at the United Nations, I had the good fortune to be granted special interviews with the delegates from Liberia and Ethiopia, I learned many things. Not the least of these was that it is not simply the color that is tending to unite Africans among themselves and with other peoples as never before. Most important, it is a common resistance to oppression.

The struggle of the African people in Kenya for the return of their land; the struggle of the African, Indian and colored people in South Africa against segregation and discrimination; the struggle of the North African people in Tunisia and Morocco for control of their land, resources and internal affairs; the struggle of the people of Indo-China and Malaya for control of their natural wealth—all these are closely related to the struggle of the Negro people here in these United States for truly representative government and full equality.

And these struggles are essentially another part of the successful struggle of the people of India and of Indonesia for self-government and independence. Their victories are our victories.

And, to go a little further back in history, the successful struggle of the Chinese people under the War Lords, and of the Russian people under the Czars, for control of their land, resources and government, were and are part of this whole picture, and their victories are also our victories.

The struggle of women, and labor, and minorities here in the United States and everywhere for equality, human rights, and truly representative government are all part of this same picture.

Same Pattern

In this universal struggle by people everywhere for freedom, there is always the same general pattern:

There is always the beating of drums and the calling to arms, the name-calling, the flood of pious declarations of peaceful intentions, the "benefits" of civilization by the oppressors, who scream about the evil intentions, the savagery and backwardness, the trouble-making, disloyalty, subversiveness and sedition of the people who insist upon equal rights, self-government, human rights, an end to oppression, and payment for services rendered.

In this general pattern there is always the jailing and exile and persecution of the freedom leaders, the confiscation of their lands and resources, the use of real force and violence—the army, navy, air force. There is always the attack upon the freedom organizations, the banning of the publications, the forbidding of public meetings, the threats and the terror.

From Jail to Power

North, East, South African leaders against oppression; Malayan, Indochinese, American freedom leaders are now in prison or in exile. Not so long ago freedom leaders in India, Indonesia, and the Gold Coast in West Africa came out of prison to lead new governments. **Just so freedom leaders now in prison and in exile will soon also lead new governments.**

In this world struggle of people against colonialism and oppression the local circumstances and methods of resistance may vary, but the objectives art always basically the same—in Asia, Africa, the Americas—the objectives are self-government, independence, freedom, equality, human rights.

In South Africa and in India the method is and was organized passive resistance. In Kenya it is active resistance. In West Africa it was strike, boycott, demonstration. In North Africa it is now active resistance. In Indonesia it was war. In Malaya and Indochina it is war. In the United Nations it is the ever-growing consolidation of the Arab-Asian-African bloc.

Part of Majority

I believe all this double-talk of the Western nations about Free Nations, Free World, Democracy, the Four Freedoms, Human Rights and Peace is reverberating and will echo back to blast the colonialism and oppression right on out of existence. Too many people in too many places have set their sights on Freedom and will not settle for anything else. When more than two-thirds of the population of the world decide—as they have decided now—that human rights must be fought for, then that's it, brother, that's it. And we American citizens, Negro and and white, who are insisting upon equality and our civil rights no longer find ourselves a minority, but part of a fighting—and winning—world majority. I feel comfortable and confident with so many people on our side, fighting oppression.

SOUTH AFRICAN RESISTERS: Volunteers in the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws are shown being loaded into a truck at Boksburg Location last June 26. One raises thumb in the Afrika salute.

A Thousand Years? . . . No, Now's the Time!

(Continued from Page 1)

fluence of African music to Europe — to Spain with the Moors, to Persia and India and China, and westward to the Americas. And I came to learn of the remarkable kinship between African and Chinese culture (of which I intend to write at length some day).

My pride in Africa, that grew with the learning, impelled me to speak out against the scorners. I wrote articles for the **New Statesman and Nation** and elsewhere championing the real but unknown glories of African culture. I argued and discussed the subject with men like H. G. Wells, and Laski, and Nehru; with students and savants.

Now, there was a logic to this cultural struggle, and the powers-that-be realized it before I did. The British Intelligence came one day to caution me about the political meanings of my activities. For the question loomed of itself: **If African culture was what I insisted it was, what happens then to the claim that it would take 1,000 years for Africans to be capable of self-rule?**

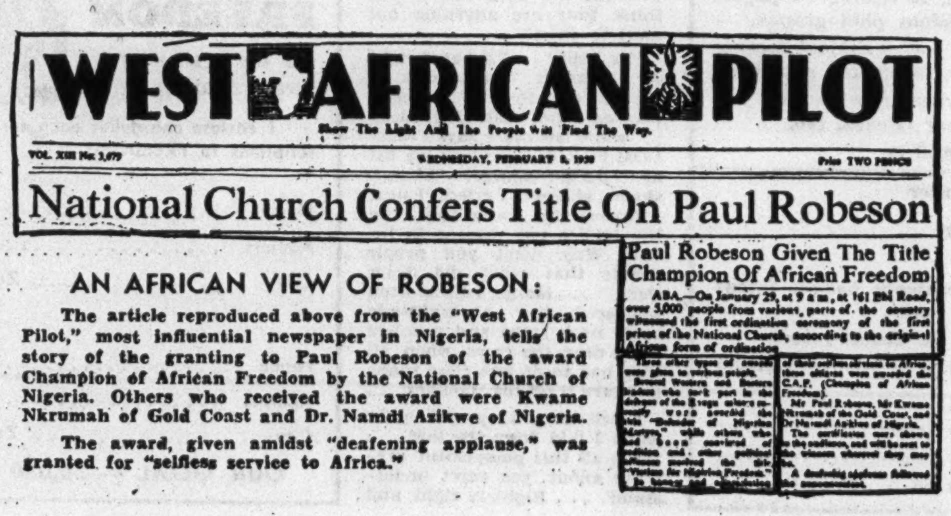
YES, CULTURE AND POLITICS were actually inseparable here as always. And it was an African who directed my interest in Africa to something he had noted in the Soviet Union. On a visit to that country he had travelled east and had seen the Yakuts, a people who had been classed as a "backwards race" by the Czars. He had been struck by the resemblance between the tribal life of the Yakuts and his own people of East Africa.

What would happen to a people like the Yakuts now that they were freed from colonial oppression and were a part of the construction of the new socialist society?

I saw for myself when I visited the Soviet Union how the Yakuts and the Uzbeks and all the other formerly oppressed nations were leaping ahead from tribalism to modern industrial economy, from illiteracy to the heights of knowledge. Their ancient cultures blossoming in new and greater spendor. Their young men and women mastering the sciences and arts. A thousand years? No, less than 30!

So through Africa I found the Soviet Union—a beacon, a tried and tested way for whole nations, peoples, continents to revive the mother-roots of culture, to flower in freedom.

A thousand years? No, Africa's time is now! We must see that and realize what it means to us, we American brothers and sisters of the Africans. We must see that we have a part to play in helping to pry loose the robbers' hold on Africa. For if we take a close look at the hands that are at Africa's throat, we will understand it all: **we know those hands.**



WEST AFRICAN PILOT

Show The Light And The People Will Find The Way.

National Church Confers Title On Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson Given The Title Champion Of African Freedom

ABA.—On January 29, at 9 a.m., at 161 Ebi Road, over 3,000 people from various parts of the country witnessed the first ordination ceremony of the first priest of the National Church, according to the original African form of ordination.

AN AFRICAN VIEW OF ROBESON:

The article reproduced above from the "West African Pilot," most influential newspaper in Nigeria, tells the story of the granting to Paul Robeson of the award Champion of African Freedom by the National Church of Nigeria. Others who received the award were Kwame Nkrumah of Gold Coast and Dr. Namdi Azikwe of Nigeria.

The award, given amidst "deafening applause," was granted for "selfless service to Africa."

Students From Africa in U.S.

According to the Institute of International Education, there were 1,173 African students in United States colleges during the school year 1951-52. The students came from 21 countries and dependencies and were scattered in institutions throughout the United States.

Among Negro colleges, Lincoln U. in Pa., Howard in Washington, D.C., Fisk at Nashville, and Tuskegee in Alabama, have for many years attracted a sizeable number of African scholars.

Of the 1,173 students reported on, the largest numbers came from Egypt (349) and Nigeria (334). Liberia with 108 and Gold Coast with 101 were next in line. Other areas represented were Sierra Leone, 49; Ethiopia, 41; Algeria, 31; Angola, 14; Morocco, 12; Kenya, 9, and Uganda, 6. It is estimated that of the 96 students who came from the Union of South Africa the vast majority, if not all, are white.

A majority of African students in the U. S. come on full or partial government scholarships, and a growing number receive aid from such business-controlled groups as the Ford Foundation.

Robeson Begins Concert Tour

Paul Robeson, begins his second nation-wide concert tour on May 31, with an appearance in Detroit, at the Greater St. Peter's Baptist Church. Sponsored by Freedom Associates, the tour spanning five months will take him to the West Coast, and the Deep South.

The noted singer's June dates include concerts at Macedonia Baptist Church, June 7, San Francisco; The Embassy Auditorium, June 14, Los Angeles; and Grace Memorial Parish, June 28, St. Louis.

A Conversation from Life

What Does Africa Want..? Freedom!

By ALICE CHILDRESS

THESE MEN WANT FREEDOM! Grim-faced and strong-willed, men of the Kikuyu tribe in Kenya sit on the ground in a concentration camp where they have been herded by the British because of their fight to regain their land from the tiny minority of 30,000 whites who rule with an iron fist the destinies of five and a half million Kenyans.

Marge, you can't understand anything if you don't get up and go, in order to keep in the know. . . . Now, you take all this talk about Africa—what do you know about Africa? . . That's right—nothin'! Or even worse than nothin' because we don't know anything but a pack of fancy lies.

All our education about Africa comes from bad moving pictures . . . you know how they show us bunches of "wild folk" goin' crazy and bein' et up by lions, tigers and snakes. We see pictures about Africans dancin' all day and drummin' all night . . . and ain't it funny Marge, how the animal always eats the African and not the white man?

Yes, girl, I went to an African meetin' tonight. No, it wasn't given by African people, but it was all about Africa. . . . Well, the evenin' started out with speakers tellin' things about Africa and how Africans are different groups of people and not all one single thing. . . . Well, like in Europe—you know there's English, French, Italians and Germans but yet you can plainly see and hear how they are different even though they are all Europeans. . . . That's right, there are even more groups of Africans than there are different Europeans.

Then someone explained all about African art and sculpture, and they showed us beautiful photographs of the things. . . . No, Marge, we didn't get to see any of the real stuff. How could we when it's all in the British Museum?

Another speaker told us about history and slavery and all such as that, finally ending up with today and what's going on now. And believe me when I say THINGS ARE POPPIN! . . .

Wait, Marge . . . don't get excited . . . save that for later. It seems that the South Africans are breakin' the Jim Crow laws! . . . Just like if you was to walk in a Mississippi waitin' room, tear down the "white sign" and sit yourself down! HOW 'BOUT THAT AFRICA! . . . Oh, honey, thousands of 'em are doin' that in trains, in the parks and everywhere! . . .

. . . But what bugged me was the "discussion" they had at the meetin' . . . Marge, you should have been there to hear the people arguin' back and forth about "WHAT THE AFRICAN WANTS" and "WHAT THE AFRICANS DON'T WANT" . . . Yes, that took up all the discussion time, and it kept battin' around from one person to the other: "The African wants this and not that" . . . and on and on it went. . . .

All of a sudden I jumped straight up and hollered, **"There ain't no mystery about that! Africans want to be free!** . . . How in the devil can you sit and hear how they're starved, whipped, kept out of schools, jailed and shot down and then ask WHAT the African wants?" . . . I went right on. . . . "You folks been talkin' so uppity 'bout 'Are Africans fit to govern themselves?' . . . 'are they educated enough?' and all such trash." . . . "Let me tell you one thing," I says: "If educated folk can't do anything but jail, whip, starve and abuse, what in the devil makes you think **they** are anything but **unfit to rule!"**

Yes, I did! . . . I squared right off: "There's two schools of thought over there . . . one says **privileges for white folk alone** . . . while the other says FREEDOM FOR ALL. I shook my fist at them, Marge. **"Shame, shame, shame!"** I cried. "I hear Jesus call for water and I see the soldier put vinegar to his lips! Why don't you people **debate that**—what did Jesus want!" . . . Marge, I have often wondered how a **multitude** could have stood and watched Jesus drag the cross, when all they had to do was close ranks and take it off his shoulder. . . .

I tell you, they got quiet when I laid down the law. . . . "Stop all this pussyfootin' pretense about 'you can't understand'. . . . Right is right and wrong is wrong. FREE AFRICA! Then I turned and asked, "Now who don't understand that?"

. . . Well, maybe I did make a scene, Marge, but I'm sick and tired of folks pretendin' they don't know the score just so they can duck the issue, 'cause we all got to go when the wagon comes and it behooves each and every one of us to "put up or shut up" as the gambler said. . . . Sure, Marge, the truth is just pure beautiful!

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